ON YUAN CHWANG'S TRAVELS IN INDIA

ON YUAN CHWANG'S TRAVELS IN INDIA

(A.D. 629-645)

BY

THOMAS WATTERS M.R.A.S.

EDITED AFTER HIS DEATH BY

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AND

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WITH TWO MAPS AND AN ITINERARY BY

VINCENT A. SMITH

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Publisher's Note

Yuan Chwang or Hiuen Tsiang, the famous Chinese traveller, commands such a high seat of eminence that he is styled as 'one of the three mirrors that reflect Indian Buddhism' in the country of his birth To us in India too, he is no ordinary mirror, for had it not been for the records which he so diligently maintained of his visit to India during A. D. 629 to 645, a good part of our past, of our history, that too of one of the golden periods of this land, would have been lost in the limbo of oblivion. To Yuan Chwang goes the gratitude of all Indians as well as Indian historians.

The work in which the details of Yuang Chwang's travels in India and other countries is recorded is called *Hsi-yu-shi* in the original Chinese. Thomas Watters who was a distinguished Chinese scholar had spent several years in studying and researching into this great work, and here in one volume are presented the results of his study, as edited by T. W. Rhys Davids and S.W. Bushell. The work also carries as an appendix the graphic itinerary in two maps followed by Yuan Chwang, arranged for the readers by Vincent A. Smith

This work which had been published in two volumes in 1904-05 by the Royal Asiatic Society, London and was for long out of print is now made available in a single, handy volume We are grateful to the Royal Asiatic Society, London, who have made this possible, by giving their generous permission for reprinting the work.

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PREFACE.

As will be seen from Dr. Bushell's obituary notice of Thomas Watters, republished from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1901 at the end of those few words of preface, Mr. Watters left behind him a work, ready for the press, on the travels of Yüan-Chwāng in India in the 7th Century A. D. The only translation into English of the *Travels* and the *Life* of Yüan-Chwāng, the one made by the late Mr. Beal, contains many mistakes. As Mr. Watters probably knew more about Chinese Buddhist Literature than any other European scholar, and had, at the same time, a very fair knowledge both of Pali and Sanskrit, he was the very person most qualified to correct those mistakes, and to write an authoritative work on the interpretation of Yüan-Chwāng's most interesting and valuable records. The news that he had left such a work was therefore received with eager pleasure by all those interested in the history of India. And Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot, who had so generously revived our Oriental Translation Fund, was kind enough to undertake to pay for the cost of publishing the work in that series. I was asked by the Council to be the editor, and was fortunate enough to be able to receive the cooperation of Dr. S. W. Bushell C. M. G., late medical officer attached to our embassy at Peking

We have thought it best to leave Mr. Watters's Ms. untouched, and to print the work as it stands. The

reader is requested therefore never to lose sight of the fact that, as printed, it has not had the advantage of any such corrections or improvements as the author might have made, had it passed through the press under his supervision.

As a rule the author gives the Indian equivalents for the Chinese names of persons and places in their Sanskrit form. But occasionally he uses the Pali form, and there are cases where we find both Pali and Sanskrit forms used even on the same page. I gathered from many conversations with the autho , that this apparent inconsistency was intentional. At the time when Yüan-Chwāng travelled in India, not only all the most famous Buddhist teachers, but all the teachers of the school of thought especially favoured by the famous pilgrim, the school of Vasubandhu, wrote in Sanskrit. But Pali was still understood; and the names of places that the pilgrim heard in conversation were heard in local dialects In his transcription the pilgrim would naturally therefore reproduce, as a rule, the Sanskrit forms, but he knew the Pali forms of ancient names, and the local forms of modern ones. It is not therefore improper, in an English work on Yüan-Chwāng, to use occasionally the Pali or vernacular forms of Indian names.

As regards the author's method of transliterating the name of the pilgrim I annex the copy of a letter by myself in the Journal of our society. Yüan-Chwāng is the correct presentation of the present Pekinese pronunciation. What would be the correct presentation, in English letters, of the way in which the pilgrim himself pronounced it, is not known.

Full indices, by the author and ourselves, and two maps which Mr. Vincent Smith has been kind enough to undertake, will be included in the second volume, which is in the press, and which we hope to bring out in the course of next year.

With these few remarks I venture to ask for a generous and sympathetic reception of this posthumous work by an

author whose untimely death was an irreparable loss to historical science, whose rare qualities of mind and the breadth of whose knowledge earned the admiration of those most qualified to judge, and whose personal qualities endeared him to all who knew him.

T. W. Rhys Davids

Nālanda, May 1904.

THOMAS WATTERS,

1840—1901.

With very much regret for the loss of an old friend, I have to notice the death of Mr. Watters, at Ealing, on January 10th. He was a member of the Council of the Society from 1897 to 1900, and a valued contributor to the Journal. The loss of a scholar who had such a wide knowledge of the vast literature of Chinese Buddhism will be deeply felt by those interested in the subject, as was amply acknowledged by Professor Rhys Davids in a few well-chosen, appreciative words addressed to the last meeting of the Society.

He was born on the 9th of February, 1840, the eldest son of the Rev. Thomas Watters, Presbyterian Minister of Newtownards, co. Down. His father died some ten years ago, after having ministered to the same congregation for fifty-six years; his mother is still living at Newtownards. It was from his father that he inherited his great love of books, and he was educated by him at home until he entered Queen's College, Belfast, in 1857. His college career was most distinguished, and he gained many prizes and scholarships during the three years. In 1861 he graduated B.A. in the Queen's University of Ireland, with first-class honours in Logic, English Literature, and Metaphysics; and in 1862 took his M. A. degree, with first-class honours, again, in the same subjects and second-class in Classics.

In 1863 he was appointed to a post in the Consular Service of China, after a competitive examination, with an honorary certificate. He proceeded at once to Peking, and subsequently served in rotation at many responsible

spots in all parts of the Chinese empire. He was Acting Consul General in Corea 1887—1888, in Canton 1891—1893, and afterwards Consul in Foochow until April, 1895, when impaired health compelled him to retire finally from the Far East, after over thirty-two years' service.

But this is hardly the place to refer to Mr. Watters's official work, or to the blue-books in which it is bound up. In his private life he was always courteous, unselfish, and unassuming, a special favourite with his friends, to whose service he would devote infinite pains, whether in small matters or grave.

His early philosophical training fitted him for the study of Oriental religions and metaphysics, which always remained his chief attraction. The character of his work may be summarized in the words of an eminent French critic, who says of Mr. Watters: "A ses moindres notices sur n'importe quoi, on sentait si bien qu'elles étaient puisées en pleine source, et sur chaque chose il disait si bien juste ce qu'il voulait et ce qu'il fallait dire."

Much of his best works is, unfortunately, buried in the columns of periodicals of the Far East, such as the *China Review* and the *Chinese Recorder*, his first published book being a reprint of articles in the *Chinese Recorder*. The list of his books is—

"Lao-tzŭ. A Study in Chinese Philosophy." Hongkong, London, 1870.
"A Guide to the Tablets in the Temple of Confucius." Shanghai, 1879.
"Essays on the Chinese Language." Shanghai, 1889
"Stories of Everyday Life in Modern China. Told in Chinese and done into English by T. Watters." London, 1896

In our own Journal two interesting articles were contributed by him in 1898, on "The Eighteen Lohan of Chinese Buddhist Temples" and on "Kapilavastu in the Buddhist Books."

A far more important and extensive work remains in manuscript, being a collection of critical notes on the well-known travels throughout India, in the seventh century of our era, of the celebrated Buddhist pilgrim Yüan-Chuang (Hiouen - Thsang). In this Mr. Watters discusses and identifies all the Sanskrit names of places, etc., transliterated in the original Chinese text, and adds an elaborate index of the persons mentioned in the course of the travels. The work appears to be quite ready for publication. Should means be forthcoming, its appearance in print will be eagerly looked for by all interested in Buddhist lore and in the ancient geography of India.

Mr. Watters has given his library of Chinese books, I am informed, to his friend Mr. E. H. Fraser, C.M.G., a Sinologue of light and learning and a Member of our Society, who may be trusted, I am sure, to make good use of the valuable bequest.

S. W. Bushell

YÜAN CHWÂNG OR HIOUEN THSANG?

The name of the celebrated Chinese pilgrim and translator is spelt in English in the following ways (among others): —

1. M Stanislas Julien .... Hiouen Thsang.
2. Mr. Mayers[1]............. Huan Chwang.
3. Mr. Wylie .... Yuên Chwâng.
4. Mr. Beal .... Hiuen Tsiang.
5. Prof. Legge[2]............ Hsüan Chwang.
6. Prof. Bunyiu Nanjio[3] ...... Hhüen Kwân.

Sir Thomas Wade has been kind enough to explain this diversity in the following note :—

"The pilgrim's family name was 陳, now pronounced *ch'ên*, but more anciently *ch'in*. His 'style' (official or honorary title) appears to have been both written

玄奘 1 and 元奘 2.

In modern Pekinese these would read in my transliteration (which is that here adopted by Dr. Legge)-

1 hsüan chuang.
2 yüan chuang.

The French still write for these two characters—

1 *hiouen thsang,*
2 *youan thsang,*

following the orthography of the Romish Missionaries, Premare and others which was the one adapted to English usage by Dr. Morrison I doubt, *pace* Dr. Edkins, tha we are quite sure of the contemporary pronunciation, and should prefer, therefore, myself, to adhere to the Frenc

[1] Readers Manual, p. 290. [2] Fa Hien, p. 83, etc. [3] Catalogue, p. 435.

Hiouen, seeing that this has received the sanctification of Julien's well-known translation of the pilgrim's travels."

It is quite clear from the above that in the Chinese pronunciation of the first part of the name there is now nothing approaching to an English H. And of course Julien never intended to represent that sound by his transliteration. Initial H being practically silent in French, his Hiouen is really equal to Iouen, that is, to what *would be expressed by Yuan* in the scientific system of transliteration now being adopted for all Oriental languages. But the vowel following the initial letter is like the German ü or the French u, so that *Yüan* would, for Indianists, express the right pronunciation of this form of the word. It is particularly encouraging to the important cause of a generally intelligible system of transliteration to find that this is precisely the spelling adopted by Sir Thomas Wade.

This is, however, only one of two apparently equally correct Chinese forms of writing the first half of the name. The initial sound in the other form of the word is unknown in India and England. Sir Thomas Wade was kind enough to pronounce it for me, and it seems to be nearly the German ch (the palatal, not the guttural,—as in Mädchen) or the Spanish x, only more sibilant. It is really first cousin to the y sound of the other form, being pronounced by a very similar position of the mouth and tongue. If it were represented by the symbol HS (though there is neither a simple h sound nor a simple s sound in it), then a lazy, careless, easy-going HS would tend to fade away into a y.

The latter half of the name is quite simple for Indianists. Using c for our English ch and ṅ for our English ng (ṅ or ṃ or ṁ), it would be simply cwāṅ.

Part of the confusion has arisen from the fact that some authors have taken one, and some the other, of the two Chinese forms of the name. The first four of the transliterations given above are based on Sir Thomas Wade's No. 2, the other two on his No. 1. All, except

only that of Mr. Beal, appear to be in harmony with different complete systems of representing Chinese characters in English letters, each of which is capable of defence. The French, not having the sound of our English CH, for instance, have endeavoured to reproduce it by THS. This may no longer be used even by scholars; but in Julien's time reasons could be adduced in support of it.

It appears, therefore, that the apparently quite contradictory, and in some parts unpronounceable, transliterations of this name, so interesting to students of Indian history, are capable of a complete and satisfactory explanation, and that the name, or rather title, is now in Pekinese—whatever it may have been elsewhere, and in the pilgrim's time—Yuan Chwang.

T. W. Rhys Davids.

CHAPTER I.

THE TITLE AND TEXT.

THE Chinese treatise known as the *Hsi-yu-chi* (or Si-yü-ki) is one of the classical Buddhist books of China, Korea, and Japan. It is preserved in the libraries attached to many of the large monasteries of these countries and it is occasionally found for sale in bookshops. The copies offered for sale are reprints of the work as it exists in some monastery, and they are generally made to the order of patrons of learning or Buddhism. These reprints are more or less inaccurate or imperfect, and one of them gives as the complete work only two of the twelve *chuan* which constitute the treatise.

The full title of the book is Ta-T'ang-Hsi-yü-chi (大唐西域記), that is, "Records of Western Lands of the Great T'ang period". By the use of the qualifying term "Great T'ang" the dynasty within which the treatise was composed is indicated and this particular work is distinguished from others bearing the same general name. In some native writings we find the treatise quoted or designated by the title *Hsi-yu-chuan* (傳) which also means "Records of Western Lands". But it does not appear that the work was ever published or circulated with this name. In its original state and as it exists at present the treatise is divided into twelve *chuan*, but we find mention of an edition brought out in the north of China in which there are only ten *chuan*.[1]

[1] Hsiao-yueh-tsang-chih-chin (小閱藏知津) ch. 4

On the title-page of the Hsi-yu-chi it is represented as having been "translated" by Yuan-chuang and "redacted" or "compiled" by *Pien-chi* (辯機). But we are not to take the word for *translate* here in its literal sense, and all that it can be understood to convey is that the information given in the book was obtained by Yuan-chuang from foreign sources. One writer tells us that Yuan-chuang supplied the materials to Pien-chi who wrought these up into a literary treatise. Another states that Yuan-chuang communicated at intervals the facts to be recorded to Pien-chi who afterwards wove these into a connected narrative.

This Pien-chi was one of the learned Brethren appointed by T'ai Tsung to assist Yuan-chuang in the work of translating the Indian books which Yuan-chuang had brought with him. It was the special duty of Pien-chi to give literary form to the translations. He was a monk of the Hui-chang (會昌) Monastery and apparently in favour at the court of the Emperor. But he became mixed up in an intrigue with one of T'ai Tsung's daughters and we cannot imagine a man of his bad character being on very intimate terms with the pilgrim. As to the Hsi-yü-chi we may doubt whether he really had much to do with its formation, and perhaps the utmost that can be claimed for him is that he may have strung together Yuan-chuang's descriptions into a connected narrative. The literary compositions of Yuan-chuang to be found in other places seem to justify us in regarding him as fully competent to write the treatise before us without any help from others. Moreover in an old catalogue of books we find the composition of a "Ta-T'ang-Hsi-yü-chi" ascribed to Yuan-chuang and a "Hsi-yü-chi" ascribed to Pien-chi in similar terms.[1] Further in Buddhist books of the T'ang and Sung periods we frequently find a statement to the effect that Yuan-chuang *composed* the Hsi-yü-chi, the word used being that which has been here rendered for the moment "redacted" or "compiled" (撰).[2] It is possible that the text as we have it now

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[1] T'ung-chih-liao the Yi-wên-liao, *ch* 4 (通志略 the 藝文略).

[2] K'ai-yuan-lu (No 1485) *ch* 8; Su-kao-sêng-chuan (No. 1493), *ch* 4. See also Y.'s Memorial to the Emperor in *Ch.* 6 of the Life

is for at least nine out of the twelve *chüan* practically that of the treatise drawn up by Yuan-chuang and presented to his sovereign. Some of the notes and comments may have been added by Pien-chi but several are evidently by a later hand. In some of the early editions these notes seem to have been incorporated in the text and there is reason for supposing that a few passages now in the text should be printed as interpolated comments.

The Hsi-yü-chi exists in several editions which present considerable variations both in the text and in the supplementary notes and explanations. For the purposes of the present Commentary copies of four editions have been used. The first of these editions is that known to scholars as the *Han-shan* (函山) *Hsi-yü-chi*, which was brought out at private expense. This is substantially a modern Soochow reprint of the copy in one of the collections of Buddhist books appointed and decreed for Buddhist monasteries in the time of the Ming dynasty. It agrees generally with the copy in the Japanese collection of Buddhist books in the Library of the India Office, and it or a similar Ming copy seems to be the only edition of the work hitherto known to western students. The second is the edition of which a copy is preserved in the library of a large Buddhist monastery near Foochow. This represents an older form of the work, perhaps that of the Sung collection made in A. D. 1103, and it is in all respects superior to the common Ming text. The third is an old Japanese edition which has many typographical and other errors and also presents a text differing much from other editions. It is apparently a reprint of a Sung text, and is interesting in several respects, but it seems to have many faults and it is badly printed. The fourth is the edition given in the critical reprint which was recently produced in the revised collection of Buddhist books brought out in Japan. This edition

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on the completion of the Records which does not contain any mention or hint of assistance. Instead of the B reading 譔 the other texts have 撰 which is the correct form

is based on the text recognized in Korea and it supplies the various readings of the Sung, Yuan, and Ming editions. Some of these variations are merely different ways of writing a character but many of them give valuable corrections for the Korean text which is often at fault.

THE TRANSLATORS.

In 1857 M. Julien published his long promised translation of the "Ta-T'ang-Hsi-yü-chi" with the title "Mémoires sur les Contrées occidentales traduits du Sanscrit en Chinois, en l'an 648, par Hiouen-Thsang, et du Chinois en Français." This work was regarded by the learned translator as supplementary to his "Histoire de la Vie de Hiouen-Thsang et de ses voyages dans l'Inde, depuis l'an 629 jusqu'en 645" translated by him from the Chinese and published in 1853 He had already supplemented the latter treatise by an interesting series of "Documents Géographiques" on the countries of which the book makes mention. Julien's "Mémoires sur les Contrees occidentales" is a work of great merit, and it shows a wonderful knowledge of the Chinese language. Much use has been made of it by students of the history, geography, antiquities, and religions of India and Central Asia and on all these subjects it has been regarded as an authority. And although it is not wise to accept with unquestioning faith all the renderings and identifications of the translator yet it is not without diffidence that one dissents from or condemns his interpretation of a difficult phrase or passage either in the Life or the Records.

The only other translation of the "Hsi-yü-chi" into a western language is the English version by the late Revd S. Beal. This was published in 1884 with the title "Buddhist Records of the Western World, Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A. D. 629)". The title is characteristic of the translator, and the reader may compare it with that given by Julien to his translation. Mr Beal's work is a translation partly "from the Chinese" and partly from the French. In it many of the careless mistakes which dis-

figure Julien's treatise are corrected and its notes supply the student with numerous references to old and recent western authorities.

Within the last few years the Preface to the Hsi-yü-chi attributed to Chang yueh, to be noticed presently, has attracted the attention of some western students of Chinese In the "Muséon" for November 1894 there appeared an article by M. A. Gueluy entitled "A propos d'une Préface Aperçu critique sur le Bouddhisme en Chine au 7e siècle" This article gives M Gueluy's criticism on Julien's translation of the Preface and a new rendering by the critic. One can scarcely treat M. Gueluy's production seriously, it is so full of fancies and fictions and shows such a slight acquaintance with Buddhism and the Chinese language.

Professor Schlegel however, took the "A propos d'une Preface" seriously and has given us a criticism of it together with a new translation of this Préface to the Hsi-yu-chi. The Professor's treatise which shows much industry and ingenuity, is entitled "La Loi du Parallelisme en style Chinois demontrée par la Preface du Si-yu-ki." In this he defends some of Julien's translations against the criticism of M. Gueluy and shows how absurdly wrong is the latter's version. M. Schlegel brings numerous quotations from Chinese books to support his own renderings of the difficult passages in the Preface. Many of these renderings are apparently correct and an improvement on those by Julien, but in several instances the learned Professor seems to have missed the author's meaning His criticisms on M Gueluy's "A propos d'une Preface" drew from M Gueluy a reply which is not convincing: it is entitled "L'Insuffisance du Parallélisme prouvee sur la Préface du Si iu-ki contre la traduction de M. G. Schlegel."

THE PILGRIM.

The life of Yuan-chuang is narrated at length in the book entitled "Ta T'ang Ta Tzŭ-ên-ssŭ San-tsang-fa-shih-chuan", that is "Record of the Tripitaka Master of the Great Compassion Monastery". It is this work of which Julien's "Histoire

de la Vie de Hiouen Thsang" is an abstract, and of which Mr Beal has given us a similar abstract in English. It is also the work usually cited in the following pages by the short title "the Life". From this and a few other Chinese treatises the following short summary of the ancestry and life of the pilgrim has been compiled.

The surname of the family to which he belonged was *Ch'en* (陳) and his personal name was *I* (禕).[1] But he seems never to have been known in history, literature, or religion, or among his contemporaries by any other name than that written 玄 (or 元) 奘 and read *Hsüan* (or *Yuan*)-*chuang* (or *tsang*). In modern literature the character for *Yuan* is commonly used in writing the pilgrim's name and this is said to be due to the character for *Hsüan* entering into the personal name of the Emperor Kanghsi. But we find Yuan in the pilgrim's name before the reign of Kanghsi and we find Hsuan in it during that reign and since. This interchange of the two characters is very common and is recognized. The personal name of the Chinese envoy Wang who went to India in Yuan-chuang's time is given as *Hsuan* (and *Yuan*)-*tsê* (王玄 or 元策) and the name of another great contemporary of the pilgrim is written Fang Hsüan-ling and Fang Yuan-ling (房玄 or 元齡). The two characters at the T'ang period may have had the same sound, something like Yun, and our pilgrim's name was probably then pronounced *Yun-ts'ang*.[2] This was his *hui* (諱) or "appellation", called in the Life also his *tzu* (字). This word *hui* is often used to denote the *Fa-hao* or "name in religion" of a Buddhist monk, and it is sometimes replaced by *tu*(度)-*hui* or "ordination name". It commonly means simply "the name of the deceased" that is, the name given to him when capped,

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[1] Su-kao-seng-chuan, l. c.: Shên-sêng-chuan (No. 1620) ch. 6.

[2] The Japanese write the name *Hsuan-tsang* but call the pilgrim Gen-jo corresponding to the Chinese *Yuan-ts'ang*. In Tibetan books the name is given as T'ang Seen-tsang or T'ang Sin (or Sang), and Seen-ts'ang is, I think, for Hsuan-ts'ang and not for San-tsang.

and I do not know of any authority for Julien's rendering "nom d'enfance".

The family from which Yuan-chuang sprang is said to have been descended from the semi-mythical Huang-Ti through the great Emperor Shun, and to have originally borne the territorial designation of Shun, viz. *Kuei* (嬀). In very early times the seat of the family was in the district now bearing the name Kuei-tê (歸德)-foo in the east of Honan, and it was afterwards removed for a time to the neighbourhood of the present Ts'ao-chou in Shantung. At the time of Wu Wang, the first king of the Chow dynasty, a man known as *Hu-kung-kuei-man* (胡公嬀滿) was regarded as the lineal representative of the Shun family.

This man was the son of *O-fu* (閼父) of *Yu* (虞) who had served Wu Wang as his *T'ao-chêng* (陶正), an officer variously explained as Director of Potteries and as Superintendent of Schools. The office was apparently hereditary and Wu-Wang rewarded Man by giving him his eldest daughter in marriage while at the same time he ennobled him as *How* or Marquis, and endowed him with the fief of *Ch'en* (陳) that he might be able to continue the services of worship to his ancestor Shun. These honours made Man one of the *San-k'ê* (三恪) or "Three Reverends", that is, three who were faithfully diligent in the discharge of their public duties. The other *K'ês* were according to some accounts the representatives of the ancient emperors Huang Ti and Yao, and according to other accounts the representatives of the founders of the Hsia and Yin dynasties.[1] Man's fief comprised the modern prefecture of Ch'ên-chow in Honan together with the adjacent territory. It existed as a separate principality down to B. C. 478 when it was extinguished. The members of the reigning family were then dispersed but they retained Ch'ên as their surname.

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[1] T'ung-chih-liao, the Li (禮)-liao, *ch.* 3. These circumstances about Yuan-chuang's reputed ancestors are mentioned here because they are alluded to in the Preface.

We have to come down to the end of the third centu B C before we find a Ch'ên of historical celebrity. W then meet with the famous Ch'ên P'ing (陳平) a nati of Yang-wu (陽武) in the present Prefecture of K'a fêng (開封) of Honan. In the time of the Han dynas this Prefecture bore the name Ch'ên-liu (陳留) and th explains why Yuan-chuang is sometimes described as a Ch'ê liu man. His ancestor P'ing was an eccentric genius wh rising from extreme poverty to wealth and power, found a great family and made himself immortal in histor His success in life and his posthumous fame were main due to his ready wit which never left him without answer, and to his ingenuity in devising expedients desperate circumstances. Of these expedients six we con ... d extraordinary and successful above the others, a hence came the saying in his time *liu-chu-chi-chi* (六 奇計) that is, "six times he brought out extraordina plans" These were all employed on behalf of Liu Pan the Han Kao Tsu of history. They were stratagems expedients devised to meet special occasions they we kept very secret and were all successful

In the second century of our era we have another gre man claimed as an ancestor of Yuan-chuang. This is Ch' Shih (陳實) better known by his other name Chung-Ku (仲弓), a native of Hsü (許) a district corresponding the present Hsü-chow-foo in Honan. At the time of th Han dynasty Hsü was in the political division called Yin ch'uan (穎川) and hence we find Yuan-chuang often desc bed as a Ying-ch'uan man. This man Ch'ên-Shih was call to office and served in the reign of Han Huan Ti (A. 147 to 167). As an official Shih was pure and uprig attentive to business and zealous for the welfare of h people. Gentle but firm and kind but strict he won th affection, confidence and esteem of the people. His fam is chiefly associated with his administration of T'ai-Ch' (太丘), now the Yung-ch'êng (永城) District in the Kue tê Prefecture of Honan. Here his personal influence w great and he made the people ashamed to do wrong. Th

effects of his just decisions and benevolent government spread over all the country, and people flocked to him from surrounding districts. Resigning office, however, after a few years he retired to his native place. He was happy and successful also in his family, and sons and grandsons grew up before him to virtue and honour. His family was recognized to be a cluster of *Tê-shing* (德星) Stars of virtuous merit, and Heaven took notice of the fact and visibly responded. In later life Chung-kung refused to return to office and died at home in the year A. D. 187 in the 84th year of his age.[1]

The next one that we have to notice in the line of descent is Ch'ên Ta (達) the sixth from Shih. Ta lived in the 4th century A. D. in the time of the Chin (晉) dynasty. He also was a learned man and an official of some distinction. Being appointed Magistrate of Ch'ang-ch'êng (長城) in the present Hu-chow (湖州) Foo of Chekiang he prophesied that his posterity would sit on the throne. This prediction was fulfilled in the year 556 when the tenth from Ta the illustrious Ch'ên Pa-hsien (霸先) established the Ch'ên dynasty. This branch of the family was settled in Hu-chow for more than 200 years, and it was not from it, apparently, that the immediate ancestors of our pilgrim were derived

We now come to Yuan-chuang's great-grandfather whose name was Ch'in (欽). He was an official of the After Wei dynasty and served as Prefect of Shang-t'ang (上黨) in Shansi. The grand-father of our pilgrim, by name K'ang (康), being a man of distinguished learning in the Ch'i dynasty obtained the envied appointment of Professor in the National College at the capital. To this post were attached the revenues of the city of Chou-nan corresponding to the modern Lo-yang-hsien in Honan. The father of our pilgrim, by name Hui (慧), was a man of high character. He was a handsome tall man of stately manners, learned and intelligent, and a Confucianist of the strict

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[1] Hou Han-shu, *ch.* 62.

old-fashioned kind. True to his principles he took office at the proper time, and still true to them he gave up office and withdrew into seclusion when anarchy supplanted order. He then retired to the village Ch'ên-pao-ku (陳堡谷) at a short distance south-east from the town of Kou-shih (緱氏). This town was in the Lo-chow, now Ho-nan, Prefecture of Honan, and not far from the site of the modern Yen-shih (偃師) Hsien. Yuan-chuang is sometimes called a Kou-shih man and it was probably in his father's home near this town that he was born in the year 600.

The family of Ch'en Hui was apparently a large one and Yuan-chuang was the youngest of four sons. Together with his brothers he received his early education from his father, not, of course, without the help of other teachers. We find Yuan-chuang described as a rather precocious child shewing cleverness and wisdom in his very early years. He became a boy of quick wit and good memory, a lover of learning with intelligence to make a practical use of his learning. It was noted that he cared little for the sports and gaieties which had over-powering charms for other lads and that he liked to dwell much apart. As a Confucianist he learned the Classical work on Filial Piety and the other canonical treatises of the orthodox system.

But the second son of the family entered the Buddhist church and Yuan-chuang, smitten with the love of the strange religion, followed his brother to the various monasteries at which the latter sojourned. Then he resolved also to become a Buddhist monk, and proceeded to study the sacred books of the religion with all the fervour of a youthful proselyte. When he arrived at the age of twenty he was ordained, but he continued to wander about visiting various monasteries in different parts of the country. Under the guidance of the learned Doctors in Buddhism in these establishments he studied some of the great works of their religion, and soon became famous in China as a very learned and eloquent young monk. But he could not remain in China for he longed vehemently to visit the holy land of his religion, to see its far-famed shrines, and all the visible

evidences of the Buddha's ministrations. He had learned, moreover, to be dissatisfied with the Chinese translations of the sacred books, and he was desirous to procure these books in their original language, and to learn the true meaning of their abstruse doctrines from orthodox pundits in India. After making enquiries and preparations he left the capital Ch'ang-an (長安), the modern Hsi-an (西安)-foo, in the year 629, and set out secretly on his long pilgrimage. The course of his wanderings and what he saw and heard and did are set forth in the Life and Records.

After sixteen year's absence Yuan-chuang returned to China and arrived at Ch'ang-an in the beginning of 645, the nineteenth year of the reign of T'ang T'ai Tsung. And never in the history of China did Buddhist monk receive such a joyous ovation as that with which our pilgrim was welcomed. The Emperor and his Court, the officials and merchants, and all the people made holiday. The streets were crowded with eager men and women who expressed their joy by gay banners and festive music. Nature, too, at least so it was fondly deemed, sympathised with her children that day and bade the pilgrim welcome. Not with thunders and lightnings did she greet him, but a solemn gladness filled the air and a happy flush was on the face of the sky. The pilgrim's old pine tree also by nods and waves whispered its glad recognition. This tree, on which Yuan-chuang patted a sad adieu when setting out, had, obedient to his request, bent its head westward and kept it so while the pilgrim travelled in that direction. But when his face was turned to the east and the homeward journey was begun the old pine true to its friend also turned and bowed with all its weight of leaves and branches towards the east.[1] This was at once the first sign of welcome and the first intimation of the pilgrim having set out on his journey home. Now he had arrived whole and well, and had become a many days' wonder. He had been

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[1] Fo-tsu-t'ung-chi (No. 1661), *ch.* 29.

where no other had ever been, he had seen and heard what no other had ever seen and heard. Alone he had crossed trackless wastes tenanted only by fierce ghost-demons. Bravely he had climbed fabled mountains high beyond conjecture, rugged and barren, ever chilled by icy wind and cold with eternal snow. He had been to the edge of the world and had seen where all things end. Now he was safely back to his native land, and with so great a quantity of precious treasures. There were 657 sacred books of Buddhism, some of which were full of mystical charms able to put to flight the invisible powers of mischief. All these books were in strange Indian language and writing and were made of trimmed leaves of palm or of birch-bark strung together in layers. Then there were lovely images of the Buddha and his saints in gold, and silver, and crystal, and sandalwood. There were also many curious pictures and, above all, 150 relics, true relics of the Buddha. All these relics were borne on twenty horses and escorted into the city with great pomp and ceremony.

The Emperor Tai Tsung forgave the pilgrim for going abroad without permission, made his acquaintance and became his intimate friend. He received Yuan-chuang in an inner chamber of the palace, and there listened with unwearied interest from day to day to his stories about unknown lands and the wonders Buddha and his great disciples had wrought in them. The Emperor tried to persuade Yuan-chuang that it was his duty to give up the religious life and to take office. But the heart of the pilgrim was fixed, and as soon as he could he withdrew to a monastery and addressed himself to the work of translating into Chinese his Indian books. On his petition the Emperor appointed several distinguished lay scholars and several learned monks to assist in the labour of translating, editing, and copying. In the meantime at the request of his Sovereign Yuan-chuang compiled the Records of his travels, the Hsi-yü-chi. The first draft of this work was presented to the Emperor in 646, but the book as we have it now was not actually completed until 648. It was apparently copied and circulated

in Ms in its early form during the author's life and for some time after. When the Hsi-yü-chi was finished Yuan-chuang gave himself up to the task of translating, a task which was to him one of love and duty combined. In his intervals of leisure he gave advice and instruction to the young brethren and did various kinds of acts of merit, leading a life calm and peaceful but far from idle. In the year 664 on the 6th day of the second month he underwent the great change. He had known that the change was coming, and had made ready for his departure. He had no fears and no regrets: content with the work of his life and joyous in the hope of hereafter he passed hence into Paradise. There he waits with Maitreya until in the fullness of time the latter comes into this world. With him Yuan-chuang hoped to come back to a new life here and to do again the Buddha's work for the good of others.

In personal appearance Yuan-chuang, like his father, was a tall handsome man with beautiful eyes and a good complexion. He had a serious but benevolent expression and a sedate and rather stately manner. His character as revealed to us in his Life and other books is interesting and attractive. He had a rare combination of moral and intellectual qualities and traits common to Chinese set off by a strongly marked individuality. We find him tender and affectionate to his parents and brothers, clinging to them in his youth and lovingly mindful of them in his old age. He was zealous and enthusiastic, painstaking and persevering, but without any sense of humour and without any inventive genius. His capacity for work was very great and his craving for knowledge and love of learning were an absorbing passion. Too prone at times to follow authority and accept ready-made conclusions he was yet self possessed and independent. A Confucianist by inheritance and early training, far seen in native lore and possessing good abilities, he became an uncompromising Buddhist. Yet he never broke wholly with the native system which he learned from his father and early teachers. The splendours of India and the glories of its religion did not weaken

or shake his love for China and his admiration for its old ways of domestic, social, and political life. When he was more than sixty years of age he wished to pay the duty of filial piety at his parents' tombs. Unable to discover these he sought out his married sister Mrs Chang, and by her help he found them. Then, distressed at the bad state in which the tombs were at the time, he obtained leave from the Emperor to have the remains of his parents transferred to a happy ground and reinterred with honourable burial. Though the man had long ago become a devoted son of Sākyamuni he still owned a loving duty to his earthly parents.

As a Buddhist monk Yuan-chuang was very rigorous in keeping the rules of his order and strict in all the observances of his religion But his creed was broad, his piety never became ascetic and he was by nature tolerant. There were lengths, however to which he could not go, and even his powerful friend the Emperor T'ai Tsung could not induce him to translate Lao-tzŭ's "Tao-Tê-Ching" into Sanskrit or recognize Lao-tzŭ as in rank above the Buddha. Modest and self-denying for himself Yuan-chuang was always zealous for the dignity of his order and bold for the honour of its founder. He was brave to a marvel, and faced without fear the unknown perils of the visible world and the unimagined terrors of unseen beings. Strong of will and resolute of purpose, confident in himself and the mission on which he was engaged, he also owned dependence on other and higher beings. He bowed in prayer and adoration to these and sued to them for help and protection in all times of despair and distress. His faith was simple and almost unquestioning, and he had an aptitude for belief which has been called credulity. But his was not that credulity which lightly believes the impossible and accepts any statement merely because it is on record and suits the convictions or prejudices of the individual. Yuan-chuang always wanted to have his own personal testimony, the witness of his own senses or at least his personal experience. It is true his faith helped

his unbelief, and it was too easy to convince him where a Buddhist miracle was concerned. A hole in the ground without any natural history, a stain on a rock without any explanation apparent, any object held sacred by the old religion of the fathers, and any marvel professing to be substantiated by the narrator, was generally sufficient to drive away his doubts and bring comforting belief. But partly because our pilgrim was thus too ready to believe, though partly also for other reasons, he did not make the best use of his opportunities. He was not a good observer, a careful investigator, or a satisfactory recorder, and consequently he left very much untold which he would have done well to tell.

We must remember, however, that Yuan-chuang in his travels cared little for other things and wanted to know only Buddha and Buddhism. His perfect faith in these, his devotion to them and his enthusiasm for them were remarkable to his contemporaries, but to us they are still more extraordinary. For the Buddhism to which Yuan-chuang adhered, the system which he studied, revered, and propagated, differed very much from the religion taught by Gautama Buddha. That knew little or nothing of Yoga and powerful magical formulæ used with solemn invocations. It was not on Prajñapāramita and the abstract subtleties of a vague and fruitless philosophy, nor on dream-lands of delight beyond the tomb, nor on P'usas like Kuan-shi-yin who supplant the Buddhas, that the great founder of the religion preached and discoursed to his disciples. But Yuan-chuang apparently saw no inconsistency in believing in these while holding to the simple original system. Yet he regarded those monks who adhered entirely to the "Small Vehicle" as wrong in doctrine and practice, and he tried to convert such to his own belief wherever he met them or came into correspondence with them.

After Yuan-chuang's death great and marvellous things were said of him. His body it was believed, did not see corruption and he appeared to some of his disciples in visions of the night. In his lifetime he had been called a "Present

Sākyamuni", and when he was gone his followers raised him to the rank of a founder of Schools or Sects in Buddhism. In one treatise we find the establishment of three of these schools ascribed to him, and in another work he is given as the founder in China of a fourth school. This last is said to have been originated in India at Nalanda by Silabhadra one of the great Buddhist monks there with whom Yuan-chuang studied.[1]

In some Buddhist temples we find images of our pilgrim to which a minor degree of worship is occasionally offered. These images usually represent the pilgrim seated clothed in his monk's robes and capped, with his right hand raised and holding his alms-bowl in his left.

THE PREFACES TO THE HSI-YÜ-CHI.

There is only one Preface in the A, B, and C editions of the "Hsi-yü-chi" but the D edition gives two Prefaces. The second of these is common to all, while the first is apparently only in D and the Corean edition. This latter was apparently unknown to native editors and it was unknown to the foreign translators. This Preface is the work of Ching Po (敬播), a scholar, author, and official of the reigns of T'ang Kao Tsu and T'ai Tsung. Ching Po was well read in the history of his country and was in his lifetime an authority on subjects connected therewith. He was the chief compiler and redactor of the "Chin Shu (晉書), an important treatise which bears on its title-page the name of T'ang T'ai Tsung as author. Ching Po's name is also associated with other historical works, and notably with two which give an official account of the rise of the T'ang dynasty and of the great events which marked the early years of T'ai Tsung. It is plain from this Preface that its author was an intimate friend

[1] Chên-ming-mu-t'u (眞名目圖) last page: Fo-tsu-t'ung-chi, l. c. where Yuan-chuang is the founder of the Tzŭ-ên-tsung (慈恩宗) in China, and this is the Fa-hsiang (法相)-tsung of the San-kuo-fa-chuan (三國法傳) and other works: See also Mr Bunyiu Nanjio's "Short History of the Twelve Buddhist Sects" p. 33.

of Yuan-chuang whose name he does not think it necessary to mention. He seems to have known or regarded Yuan-chuang as the sole author of the "Hsi-yü-chi", writing of him thus:—"he thought it no toil to reduce to order the notes which he had written down". Ching Po must have written this Preface before 649, as in that year he was sent away from the capital to a provincial appointment and died on the way. The praises which he gives Yuan-chuang and their common master, the Emperor, are very liberal, and he knew them both well.

The second Preface, which is in all editions except the Corean, is generally represented as having been written by one Chang Yüeh (張說). It has been translated fairly well by Julien, who has added numerous notes to explain the text and justify his renderings. He must have studied the Preface with great care and spent very many hours in his attempt to elucidate its obscurities. Yet it does not seem to have occurred to him to learn who Chang Yüeh was and when he lived.

Now the Chang Yüeh who bore the titles found at the head of the Preface above the name was born in 667 and died in 730, thus living in the reigns of Kao Tsung, Chung Tsung, Jui Tsung, and Hsüan-Tsung. He is known in Chinese literature and history as a scholar, author, and official of good character and abilities. His Poems and Essays, especially the latter, have always been regarded as models of style, but they are not well known at present. In 689 Chang Yüeh became qualified for the public service, and soon afterwards he obtained an appointment at the court of the Empress Wu Hou. But he did not prove acceptable to that ambitious, cruel and vindictive sovereign, and in 703 he was sent away to the Ling-nan Tao (the modern Kuangtung). Soon afterwards, however, he was recalled and again appointed to office at the capital. He served Hsüan Huang (Ming Huang) with acceptance, rising to high position and being ennobled as Yen kuo kung (燕國公).

Now if, bearing in mind the facts of Chang Yüeh's

birth and career, we read with attention the Preface which bears his name we cannot fail to see that it could not have been composed by that official. Passing by other arguments, let us take the following statement in the Preface—"the reigning sovereign when heir-apparent composed the "Shu-shêng-chi" (述聖記), or Memoir on the transmission of Buddhism, in 579 words." Now the sovereign who wrote the "Shu-shêng-chi" was, as we know from the Seventh Book of the Life and other sources, Kao Tsung. That Emperor died in 683 when Chang Yüeh was *only* sixteen years of age and the Preface must have been written before that date. So, according to the Chinese authorities and their translators Julien and Professor G. Schlegel, it was a schoolboy who composed this wonderful Preface, this "morceau qui offre un spécimen bien caractérise de ces éloges pompeux et vides, et présente, par conséquent les plus grandes difficultés, non-seulement à un traducteur de l'Occident, mais encore à tout lettré Chinois qui ne connaîtrait que les idées et la langue de l'ecole de Confucius." We may pronounce this impossible as the *morceau* is evidently the work of a ripe scholar well read not only in Confucianism but also in Buddhism. Moreover the writer was apparently not only a contemporary but also a very intimate friend of Yuan-chuang. Who then was the author?

In the A and C editions and in the old texts Chang Yüeh's name does not appear on the title-page to this Preface. It is said to have been added by the editors of the Ming period when revising the Canon. Formerly there stood at the head of the Preface only the titles and rank of its author. We must now find a man who bore these titles in the Kao Tsung period, 650 to 683, and who was at the same time a scholar and author of distinction and a friend of the pilgrim. And precisely such a man we find in Yü Chih-ning (于志寧), one of the brilliant scholars and statesmen who shed a glory on the reigns of the early T'ang sovereigns. Yü was a good and faithful servant to T'ai Tsung who held him in high esteem

and took his counsel even when it was not very palatable. On the leath of T'ai Tsung his son and successor Kao Tsung retained Yü in favour at Court and rewarded him with well-earned honours. In 656 the Emperor appointed Yü along with some other high officials to help in the redaction of the translations which Yuan-chuang was then making from the Sanskrit books. Now about this time Yü, as we know from a letter addressed to him by Hui-li and from other sources, bore the titles which appear at the head of the Preface. He was also an Immortal of the Academy, a Wên-kuan Hsüo-shĭ (文館學士). He was one of the scholars who had been appointed to compile the "Sui Shu" or Records of the Sui dynasty and his miscellaneous writings from forty *chuan*. Yü was probably a fellow-labourer with Yuan-chuang until the year 660. At that date the concubine of many charms had become all-powerful in the palace and she was the unscrupulous foe of all who even seemed to block her progress. Among these was Yü, who, accordingly, was this year sent away into official exile and apparently never returned.

We need have little hesitation then in setting down Yü Chih-ning as the author of this Preface. It was undoubtedly written while Yuan-chuang was alive, and no one except an intimate friend of Yuan-chuang could have learned all the circumstances about him, his genealogy and his intimacy with the sovereign mentioned or alluded to in the Preface. We need not suppose that this elegant composition was designed by its author to serve as a Preface to the Hsi-yü-chi. It was probably written as an independent eulogy of Yuan-chuang setting forth his praises as a man of old family, a record-beating traveller, a zealous Buddhist monk of great learning and extraordinary abilities, and a propagator of Buddhism by translations from the Sanskrit.[1]

This Preface, according to all the translators, tells us

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[1] Life, *ch.* 8: Ku-chin-i-ching-t'u-chi (No 1487) last page: Postscript to Y.'s "Ch'êng wei-chih-lun" (No. 1197) where Yü Chih-ning is styled as in the heading to the Preface.

that the pilgrim acting under Imperial orders translated 657 Sanskrit books, that is, all the Sanskrit books which he had brought home with him from the Western Lands. No one seems to have pointed out that this was an utterly impossible feat, and that Yuan-chuang did not attempt to do anything of the kind. The number of Sanskrit texts which he translated was seventy four, and these seventy four treatises (*pu*) made in all 1335 *chüan*. To accomplish this within seventeen years was a very great work for a delicate man with various calls on his time.[1]

The translations made by Yuan-chuang are generally represented on the title-page as having been made by Imperial order and the title-page of the Hsi-yü-chi has the same intimation. We know also from the Life that it was at the special request of the Emperor T'ai Tsung that Yuan-chuang composed the latter treatise. So we should probably understand the passage in the Preface with which we are now concerned as intended to convey the following information. The pilgrim received Imperial orders to translate the 657 Sanskrit treatises, and to make the Ta-T'ang-Hsi-yü-chi in twelve *chuan*, giving his personal observation of the strange manners and customs of remote and isolated regions, their products and social arrangements, and the places to which the Chinese Calendar and the civilising influences of China reached.[2]

Then the number 657 given here and in other places as the total of the Sanskrit treatises (*pu*) does not agree with the items detailed in the various editions of the Life and the A, B, and D texts of the Records. In the C text of the Records, however the items make up this total They are as follows:—

[1] See Life ch. 10. Julien's translation of this passage cannot be used. B. Nanjio's Catalogue p 435. Mr Nanjio makes the total 75, but he counts the *Chin-kang-ching* twice

[2] See Life ch 6 The term here rendered "civilizing influences of China" is *shêng-chiao* (聲教). This term is often used by Buddhist writers as a synonym for "Buddhist religion".

Mahāyānist sūtras	224 pu
Mahāyānist śāstras	192 „
Sthavira sutras, śāstras and Vinaya	14 „
Mahāsaṅgika „ „ „	15 „
Mahīśāśaka „ „ „	22 „
Sammitiya „ „ „	15 „
Kāśyapiya „ „ „	17 „
Dharmagupta sūtras, Vinaya, śāstras	42 „
Sarvāstivādin „ „ „	67 „
Yin-lun (Treatises on the science of Inference)	36 „
Shêng-lun (Etymological treatises)	13 „
	657 *pu*

CHAPTER II.

THE INTRODUCTION.

At the beginning of *Chüan* I of the Records we have a long passage which, following Julien, we may call the Introduction. In a note Julien tells us that "suivant les éditeurs du *Pien-i-tien*, cette Introduction a été composé par *Tschang-choue* (i. e. Chang Yue), auteur de la préface du *Si-yu-ki*". Another native writer ascribes the composition of this Introduction to Pien-chi But a careful reading of the text shews us that it could not have been written by either of these and that it must be regarded as the work of the pilgrim himself. This Introduction may possibly be the missing Preface written by Yuan-chuang according to a native authority.

The Introduction begins—"By going back over the measures of the [Three] *Huang* and examining from this distance of time the records of the [Five] *Ti* we learn the beginnings of the reigns of Pao-hsi (Fu-hsi) and Hsien-Yuan (Huang Ti) by whom the people were brought under civil government and the country was marked off into natural divisions. And [we learn how] Yao of T'ang receiving astronomical knowledge (lit. "Celestial revolutions") his light spread everywhere, and how Shun of Yü being entrusted with the earthly arrangements his excellent influences extended to all the empire. From these down only the archives of recorded events have been transmitted. To hear of the virtuous in a far off past, to merely learn from word-recording historians—what are these compared with the seasonable meeting with a time of ideal government and the good fortune living under a sovereign who reigns without ruling?"

The original of the last two sentences of this passage is rendered by Julien thus. "Depuis cette époque (i. e., the

time of Yao and Shun) jusqu'à nos jours c'est en vain qu'on consulte les annales où sont consignés les événements, que l'on écoute les opinions émanées des anciens sages, que l'on interroge les historiens qui recueillaient les paroles mémorables. Il en est bien autrement lorsqu'on vit sous une dynastie vertuense et qu'on est soumis à un prince qui pratique le *non-agir*." The text is here given, 自玆已降空傳書事之冊逖聽前修徒聞記言之史豈若時逢有道運屬無爲者歟 and it will be seen that Julien's translation is hasty and inaccurate and that it does an injustice to the author. No Chinese scholar, Buddhist or Confucianist, would ever write in this disparaging way of the books of national history including the "Springs and Autumns" of Confucius, the commentaries on that treatise, and later works. What our author here states to his reader is to this effect. In the records of the very early times we find the institution of government officials to guide and teach the people (司牧黎元), the first mapping out of the empire into natural divisions with corresponding star-clusters (疆畫分野), the adaptation of astronomical learning to practical uses, and the first systematic reclamation of land and distribution of the country into political divisions. These great and beneficial achievments of the early sovereigns are mentioned only with the view of comparing the Emperor on the throne with these glorified remote predecessors. From the time of Yao and Shun down, according to our author, the annals of the empire contained only dry records of ordinary events.

All this is only the prelude to the generous panegyric which our author proceeds to lavish on the T'ang dynasty or rather on the sovereign reigning at the time, viz. T'ai Tsung. A rough and tentative translation of this eulogy is now given and the reader can compare it with Julien's version.

"As to our great T'ang dynasty, it assumed empire[1] in accor-

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[1] The term here rendered "assumed empire" is *yü-chi* (御極) which J. translates by "gouverne". But the context seems to show

dance with Heaven, and taking advantage of the times it concentrated power to itself. [His Majesty] has made the six units of countries into one empire and this his glory fills; he is a fourth to the Three *Huang* and his light illumines the world. His subtle influence permeates widely and his auspicious example has a far-reaching stimulus. Combining Heaven's covering with Earth's containing powers he unites in himself the rousing force of wind and the refreshing action of rain. As to Eastern barbarians bringing tribute and "Western barbarians submitting themselves"[1] in founding an imperial inheritance for his posterity,[2] in bringing order out of chaos and restoring settled government,[3] he certainly surpasses former kings and sums up in himself all that previous dynasties had attained. That there is a uniformity of culture[4] over all the empire is the marvellous

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that the term is to be taken here, as commonly, in the sense of "begin to reign", "accede to empire" Thus the phrase *shêng-t'ien-tzŭ-yu-chi-yi-lai* means "since His Majesty ascended the throne".

[1] This is a quotation from the Yu-Kung of the Shu-Ching where it is used of the western tribes submitting to the regulations of the emperor Yu. The Hsi Jung or "western barbarians" of this passage are described as Tibetan tribes living in the neighbourhood of the Koko Nor.

[2] The text is Chuang-ye-ch'ui-t'ung (創業垂統) This is a stock phrase of Chinese literature and occurs, for example, in the 17th *ch* of the Shih-Chi as a popular quotation It or a part of it is often used of T'ang Kao Tsu and his successor although properly it applies only to the former. One writer amplifies the meaning of the expression thus—"Kao Tsu laid the foundation (創基) and established the patrimony (定業) and T'ai Tsung enlarged and gave peace to the empire' (Ta T'ang-nei-tien-lu *ch*. 5. Bun. No. 1485).

[3] The original is *poh-luan-fan-chêng* (撥亂反正). Here the word *poh*, we are told, is to be taken in the sense of *regulate or reduce to order*, and *chêng* denotes *settled government*. The phrase i applied to the Ch'ün-Ch iu of Confucius by Kung-yang at the end of his commentary on that classic. It occurs also in the Han-Shu (*ch*. 22) where the commentator explains it as meaning "to exterminate disorder and restore a right state of affairs". One of T'ai Tsung's Ministers is represented as applying the phrase to that emperor in a conversation with him, saying to His Majesty that "in bringing order out of anarchy and restoring good government (poh-luan-fan-chêng) and in raising men from mud and ashes" he had far transcended the achievments of the founders of the Chow and Han dynasties

[4] The Chinese is *t'ung-wên-kung-kuei* (同文共軌) which means to, "have the same writing and go in the same rut". There is

result of his perfect government. If I did not mention them in these Records I should not have wherewith to praise his great institutions and if I did not publish them abroad I could not shed light on his abundant merits.

In my mention of the natural characteristics of the people in any place which I visited though I did not investigate local peculiarities of custom yet I am to be believed. Beyond the Five [*Ti*] and the Three [*Huang*] (or, according to another interpretation, "In more than three-fifths of the places I traversed") all living creatures feel the genial influence [of H. M's. reign] and every human being extols his merit. From Ch'ang-an to India the strange tribes of the sombre wastes, isolated lands and odd states, all accept the Chinese calendar and enjoy the benefits of H. M's. fame and teaching. The praise of his great achievments in war is in everybody's mouth and the commendation of his abundant civil virtues has grown to be the highest theme.[1] Examine the public records and they have no mention of anything like this, and I am of opinion that there is no similar instance in private genealogies. Were there not the facts here set forth I could not record the beneficial influences of His Majesty The narrative which I have now composed is based on what I saw and heard."

大唐御極則天乘時握紀一六合而光宅四三皇而照臨玄化滂流祥風遐扇同乾坤之覆載齊風雨之鼓潤與夫東夷入貢西戎即敘創業垂統撥亂反正固以跨越前王囊括先代同文共軌至治神功非載記無以贊大猷非昭宣何以光盛業玄奘輒隨遊至舉其風土雖未考方辨俗信已越五踰三含生之儔咸被凱澤能言之類莫不稱功越自天府暨諸天竺幽荒異俗絕域殊邦咸承正朔俱沾聲教 &c.

This is an address well spiced with flattery in good oriental fashion. We may perhaps regard it as a sort of Dedication to the pilgrim's great friend and patron, the

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apparently a reference to Ch. 6 of the "Chung-yung" where we read, in Legge's translation.—"Now, over the empire, carriages have all wheels of the same size: all writing is with the same characters; and for conduct there are the same rules." (Life and Teachings of Confucius p. 312.) So also of the uniformity which Ch'in Shih Huang Ti produced it was said *Ch'ê-t'ung-kuei-shu-t'ung-wên-tzŭ* (車同軌書同文字), "carriages went in the same ruts and books were in one writing" (Shih-chi *ch.* 6).

[1] The pilgrim's report of his Imperial Master's fame in India will be illustrated when we come to *chüan* 5 and 10 of the Records.

second Emperor of the T'ang dynasty. For though, as has been seen, the writer uses the term Ta T'ang, yet the context shews he had in his mind only, or chiefly, T'ai Tsung. The founder of the T'ang dynasty, it should be remembered, was neither a hero nor a man of extraordinary genius, and he came near being a prig and hypocrite. His loyalty and honour were questioned in his lifetime, and history has given him several black marks. While sick of ambition, he was infirm of purpose, and wishing to do right he was easily swayed to do what was wrong. He had undoubted abilities, a happy knack of turning events to his advantage, and a plausible manner with friends and foes. But all his success in later life and the fame of his reign were largely due to the son who succeeded him on the throne. This son, T'ai Tsung, meets us several times in the pilgrim's wanderings, and it will help us to understand and appreciate the passage now before us and the references to him in other parts of the work, if we recall some particulars of his life and character.

The Li family, from which the founder of the T'ang dynasty sprang, claimed to have a long and illustrious line of ancestors, many of whom had deserved well of the State. The founder himself, whose name was Yuan (李淵), was born at Ch'ang-an, and was related to the family of the reigning dynasty, the Sui. He was a hereditary nobleman with the title T'ang Kung, and he served with distinction under Sui Yang Ti (601 to 616). But that despot could not brook Yuan, who was gaining favour with army and people, and he tried to get rid of him.

At this time the two eldest sons of Li Yuan were also in the public service, and it is with the younger of these that we are now concerned. This boy, who seems to have been extraordinary from a very early stage of his life, was born in the year 597. When he was four years of age a mysterious stranger, dressed like a professional scholar, came one day to Li Yuan's house. Professing to be able to read fortunes, this stranger recognised Yuan as destined

to greatness. Then taking the little child, he read fate's characters in his face, and predicted that the child would rise to power and that he would "save the age and give peace to the people"--*Chi-shih-an-min* (濟世安民). The father, perhaps finding the prophecy jump with his thoughts and wishing to prick lagging destiny, gave to his son a name, Shih-min, which recalled the prediction.

But fate made no delay, and Li Shih-min while only boy, on the summons of Sui Yang Ti, entered the publi service as a military officer. He soon found, however, tha to propagate a tottering dynasty was not his destined worl The whole country, moreover, was now in a dreadful stat of violence and disorder. Hydra-headed rebellion waste the land, and the monster who sat on the throne was hate and rejected even by his own kindred. The districts o the Empire which marched with the lands of the barbarian were the prey of these ruthless savages who again an again, swooping with harpy-flight on town and countr made life in such places impossible. But when the peopl fled thence into the central parts of the Empire, the found neither peace nor safety, for the line of confusio and the plummet of stones were stretched out in the lan Over all the country, life and property were at the merc of powerful rebels and bands of marauders and murderer The good found safety in flight or concealment, and onl the lawless and violent prevailed. So Li Shih-min, lik others, saw that the Decree had passed and that th collapse of the Sui dynasty was imminent. He now resolv-ed to help those who wished to hasten that event, an joined the conspiracy which succeeded in effecting th dethronement of Yang Ti. Then Shih-min's father, L Yuan, became Emperor in 618 to the satisfaction of mos and the Empire began to have peace again. It was Shih-min who placed his father on the throne and won th Empire for him. During all Kao Tsu's reign, also, Shih-min took a very active and prominent part in public affair He fought many hard battles, and won great and splendi victories, thereby extending and consolidating the newl

won Empire. For he was wise and daring in counsel and brave and skilful in battle. He was much beloved by his father who rewarded his services with many honours. Among these was the title *Ch'in* (秦) Wang, Prince of Ch'in, a title by which he is still remembered. In 626 Kao Tsu resigned, appointing Shih-min his successor. The latter, the T'ang T'ai Tsung of history, mounted the throne with apparent reluctance, but with eager delight and earnest purpose, and he reigned "with unrivalled splendour" until his death in 649.

This reign is perhaps the most celebrated in all the history of China, and T'ai Tsung is still regarded as one of her greatest and wisest rulers. From the moment he mounted the throne, he set himself to govern the people for their welfare, and began by enabling them to live in confidence and security. No ruler before ever wove so quickly and deftly into a fair web of peace and order such tangled threads of wild lawlessness. Only four years had he been in power, when over all the country the people had returned to settled lives, and the fame of his greatness and goodness had brought back hope and happiness. He crushed internal rebellion and reduced all parts of the Empire to his sway. He broke the power of the hereditary foes of China on her frontiers and made them willing and appreciative vassals. He introduced a new and improved distribution of the Empire into Provinces, each of these again divided and sub-divided to suit natural or artificial requirements. In the civil list he inaugurated great reforms, and he succeeded in calling into active service for the State some of the best men China has produced. His ministers, native historians tell us, administered the government with combined ability and honesty, such as had never been known before. In the military organisation also he made improvements, and above all he reformed the penal code and the administration of justice, tempering its severity. Learning of all kinds was fostered and promoted by him with an intelligent earnestness and a personal sympathy. He knew himself how to write and

he made some permanent contributions to the native literature. In astronomy he made reforms and he tried to restore that science and astrology to their high estate, that is, as branches of practical learning. Solicitous above all things for the welfare of his people, he set them an example of plain living and frugality. His influence was immense, and his fame and character were known not only over all the Empire but also in countries far beyond its limits. He had an impulsive affectionate disposition, and his loving services to his father and mother are household stories. He was also social and genial in his intercourse with his statesmen, whose criticism he invited and whose censures he accepted.

The splendour of T'ai Tsung's great achievements, the conspicuous merits of his administration, and the charm of his sociable affable manner made the people of his time forget his faults. Even long after his death, when the story of his life came to be told, the spell was in the dull dry records, and passed over him who wrought those into history. So it came that the historian, dazed by the spell and not seeing clearly, left untold some of the Emperor's misdeeds and told others without adding their due meed of blame. For this great ruler smutched his fair record by such crimes as murder and adultery. The shooting of his brothers was excusable and even justifiable, but his other murders admit of little palliation and cannot plead necessity. Though he yielded to his good impulses, again, in releasing thousands of women who had been forced into and kept in the harem of Sui Yang Ti, yet he also yielded to his bad impulses when he took his brother's widow and afterwards that maid of fourteen. Wu Chao, into his own harem. His love of wine and women in early life, his passion for war and his love of glory and empire, which possessed him to the end, were failings of which the eyes of contemporaries dazzled by the "fierce light" could not take notice.

But when the crimes and failings of T'ai Tsung are all told, they still leave him a great man and a ruler of rare

excellence. His genius gave life to all his laws and institutions, and his personal influence was felt in every department of government. Nor was it until long after his death that it was found how much the good reforms he made owed to his personal presence and action. Happy in the character he bore among contemporaries, he became still greater with their successors, and there is almost a perfect unanimity of consent to count him great and good. Indeed the native panegyrists generally write of him as above all who preceded him, except those semi-mythical sovereigns who moulded man from the brute. The Chinese youth and patriots love and praise T'ai Tsung for the great feats he achieved in battle and his hard won victories which restored the country to its old splendour and supremacy. The native student praises him for the success he had in preserving the valuable literature then extant but in danger of being lost, and for the great encouragement he gave to learning. The Buddhist praises him for the patronage he extended to his religion, and the friendly interest he took in its affairs. The Taoist praises him for his exaltation of that dim personage, a reputed ancestor of the Emperor, the fore-father of Taoism. Even the western Christian joins the chorus of praise, and to him the "virtuous T'ai Tsung" is a prince nearly perfect ("Princeps omnibus fere numeris absolutus"). It was during the reign of this sovereign, in the year 636, that Christianity was first introduced into China. The Nestorian missionaries, who brought it, were allowed to settle in peace and safety at the capital. This was the boon which called forth the gratitude of the Christian historian and enhanced in his view the merits of the heathen sovereign.

The author next proceeds to give a short summary of the Buddhistic teachings about this world and the system of which it forms a constituent. He begins--

"Now the Saha world, the Three Thousand Great Chiliocosm, is the sphere of the spiritual influence of one Buddha. It is in the four continents (lit. "Under heavens") now illuminated by one sun and moon and within the Three Thousand Great Chiliocosm that the Buddhas, the World-honoured ones, produce their

spiritual effects, *are visibly born and visibly enter Nirrvāna*, teach the way to saint and sinner."

For the words in italics the original is *hsien-shêng-hsien-mie* (現生現滅) which Julien renders "tantôt ils apparaissent, tantôt ils s'éteignent". This does not seem to express the author's meaning and is not quite correct. All the Buddhas, the writer tells us, exercise their spiritual sovereignty ("send down their transforming influence") in one or other of the four great divisions of the habitable world; in one of these each Buddha becomes incarnate as a man, teaches saints and common people, and passes into Nirvana.

Our author proceeds—

"In the ocean, resting on a gold disk, is the mountain Sumeru composed of four precious substances. along its middle the sun and moon revolve and on it the Devas sojourn."

The phrase for "revolve along its middle" is *hui-po* (回 (or 廻) 薄 (or 泊)). Here the word *po* in the first form does not seem to have any appropriate meaning, and the second form which means "to stop" or "anchor" is also unsatisfactory. From a paraphrase of the passage, however, we learn the meaning of the phrase, the words of the paraphrase being "the sun and moon revolve along its waist" (日月廻薄於其腰). The word *po* in this sense of "waisting" a hill is still used in the colloquial of some parts of China, but there does not seem to be any certain character to represent it in writing. In some books we find the word written 欂 *po*, as by Fa-hsien, for example. Instead of *hui-po* in the above passage the D text has *Chao-hui* (照回), "to illuminate in revolving", a reading which agrees with statements about Sumeru in other Buddhist writings.[1]

Around the Sumeru Mountain, our author continues, are seven mountains and seven seas and the water of the seas between the mountains has the "eight virtues": outside the seven Gold

[1] In the Fo-shuo-li-shih-a-p'i-tan-lun *ch.* 1 (No. 1297) the sun and moon are described as making their revolutions at a height of 40000 Yojanas above the earth and half-way up Mount Sumeru, and a similar statement is made in the Yu-ka-shih-ti-lun *ch.* 2 (No. 1170).

Mountains is the Salt Sea. In the sea (or ocean) there are, speaking summarily, four habitable Islands, viz-*Pi-t'i-ha* Island in the east, *Chan-pu* Island in the south, *Ku-t'o-ni* in the west, and *Kou lo* Island in the north. The influence of a Gold-wheel king extends over these four Islands, a Silver-wheel king rules over all except the north one, a Copper-wheel king rules over the South and East Islands, and an Iron-wheel king bears sway only over *Chan-pu* Island. When a "Wheel-king" is about to arise a gold, silver, copper, or iron wheel, according to the Karma of the man, appears for him in the air and gives him his title while indicating the extent of his dominion.

In the centre of Chan-pu Island (Jambudvīpa), south of the Perfume Mountain and north of the Great Snow Mountain is the *A-na-p'o-ta-to* (Anavatapta) Lake above 800 *li* in circuit. Its banks are adorned with gold, silver, lapis-lazuli, and crystal: all its sand are golden and it is pure and clear. The p'usa *Ta-ti* (Great-land) having by the force of his prayer become a dragon-king lives in the depths of the Lake and sends forth its pure cold water for Jambudvīpa. Thus from the silver east side through the Ox Mouth flows the Ganges which after going once round the Lake flows into the south east sea: from its gold south side through the Elephant Mouth flows the *Sin-tu* (Indus) which after flowing round the Lake enters the south-west sea: from the lapis-lazuli west side through the Horse Mouth the Fo-chu (Oxus) flows passing round the Lake and then on into the north-west sea from the crystal north side through the Lion Mouth flows the Si-to (Sītā) river which goes round the Lake and then on the north-east sea. Another theory is that the Sītā flows underground until it emerges at the *Chi-shih* ("Heaped up stones") Mountain and that it is the source of the [Yellow] River of China.

The seven mountains here represented as surrounding Sumeru are supposed to form seven concentric circles with seas separating them. These seven rows of mountains are golden, and we read in other accounts of the Buddhist cosmogony of seven circles of iron mountains surrounding the habitable world.

The names of the four great Islands of this passage are not all known as divisions of the world to orthodox Indian writers, but they are found in Buddhist treatises. Our pilgrim calls the first *chou* or Dvipa (Island) *P'i-t'i-ha* restored as Videha. This name is properly used to designate a particular district in India corresponding to

the modern Tirhut in Behar. But here it is the Pūrva-Videha, (in Pali Pubbavideho), the Eastern Continent or great Island of Buddhist cosmogony. Our pilgrim in his translation of a śāstra renders the word Videha by *Shêng-shen* (勝身) or "Superior body", and the Tibetan rendering is *Lus-hp'ags* with a similar meaning. But the old transcriptions for the name of the East Island as given in a note to our text are *Fu-p'o-t'i* (弗婆提) and *Fu-yu-ti* (弗于逮) which seem to point to an original like Pubbadik or "East Region". It is the *Fu-p'o-t'i* of this note which is given as the name in the "Fo-shuo-ch'u-chia-kung-tê-ching" translated in the 4th century A. D. (No. 776).

The second dvīpa is *Chan-pu*, Jambu, as in most other works. But the character read *Chan* should perhaps be read *Yen*, and this would agree with the other transcriptions given in the note, viz.-Yen-fou-t'i (閻浮提) and *Yen*(剡)-*fou*, the former appearing in the sūtra just quoted.

Our pilgrim in the śāstra referred to translates his *Ku-t'o-ni*, the name of the West Island, by *Niu-huo* or "Cattle goods", that is, cattle used as a medium of exchange. The name has been restored as Godhāna or Godhanya, the Gaudana of the Lalitavistara, but Godhāni or Godāni would be nearer the transcription. Other names given by the annotator are *Kü-yi(ya)-ni* and *Kou-ka-ni*, the former of these appears in the old sūtra already quoted, and it agrees with the Pali form Apara-goyānam.

The North Island is the Kurudvīpa, the Uttara-Kuru of other writers: it is also the *Yü-tan-yueh* (*viet*) of the sūtra already quoted and of many other Buddhist texts. This *Yü-tan-viet* may perhaps represent a word like Uttamavat.[1]

The *A-na-p'o-ta-to* (Anavatapta) Lake is here, we have seen, described as being in the middle of Jambudvipa to the south of the Perfume (that is Fragrance-intoxicating or Gandhamādana) Mountain, and north of the Great

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[1] See Yuan-chuang's A-pi-ta-mo-tsang-hsien-lun *ch* 16 (Bun. No. 1266) and his A-pi-ta-mo-ku-she lun *ch*. 11 (No. 1267) Chang-a-han-ching *ch*. 18 (No. 545). For the four Wheel-kings see Yuan-chuang's A-pi-ta-mo-shun-chêng-li-lun *ch*. 32 (No. 1265).

Snow (Himavat) Mountain. This is the situation ascribed to the Lake in certain śāstras, but in the Chang-a-han-ching and some other authorities it is on the summit of the Great Snow Mountain. In a note to our text we are told that the Chinese translation of the name is *Wu-jê-nao* (無熱惱) or "Without heat-trouble". This is the rendering used by Yuan-chuang in his translations and it is the term commonly employed by Chinese writers and translators, but the word Anavatapta means simply "unheated". It is said to have been the name of the Dragon-king of the Lake and to have been given to him because he was exempt from the fiery heat, the violent storms, and the fear of the garuḍas which plagued other dragons.[1] Our pilgrim's statement that the Ganges, Indus, Oxus, and Sitā (or Śitā) all have their origin in this Lake is found in several Buddhist scriptures: one of these as translated by Yuan-chuang used the very words of our passage,[2] but in two of them there are differences as to the directions in which the rivers proceed.[3] Nāgasena speaks of the water of this Lake, which he calls *Anotatta daha*, as flowing into the Ganges.[4] In the early Chinese versions of Buddhist works the name is given, as in the note to our text, A-nu-ta (阿耨達) which evidently represents the Pali form Anotatta. Then the pilgrim mentions a supposition that the Sitā had a subterranean course for a distance and that where it emerged, at the *Chi-shih* (積石) "Accumulated-rocks" Mountain, it was the source of the Yellow River. The *Chi-shih-shan* of this theory is the Chi-shih of the Yü-kung chapter of the Shu-Ching. This Chi-shih was the place at which, according to some, the Yellow River had its source and it was a district in what is now the western part of Kansuh Province.[5] But the term Chi-shih is also used in the sense of "mountain" as a synonym of *shan*.

[1] Chang-a-han-ching l. c.

[2] Abhi-ta-vib. *ch.* 5 (No. 1263). See also Nos. 1266, 1267 l. c.

[3] Chang-a-han-ching l. c., Hsin-ti-kuan-ching *ch.* 4 (No. 955): Abhi. vib-lun *ch.* 2 (No. 1264).

[4] Milindapañho ed. Trenckner p. 286.

It has been stated by some western writers that our pilgrim confuses the Anavatapta Lake with the Sarikul of the Pamirs, but this is not correct. Some other Chinese writers seem to make this mistake but Yuan-chuang does not. Then the Anavatapta Lake has been identified with the Manasarowar Lake of Tibet, but this cannot be accepted. We must regard the "Unheated" Lake as a thing of fairy-land, as in the Earthly Paradise or Garden of Eden. It is expressly stated that the Lake could be reached only by those who had supernatural powers, the faculty of transporting themselves at will by magic.[1] The Buddha and his arhats visited it on several occasions passing through the air from India to it in the twinkling of an eye or the raising of an arm, and down to the time of Asoka great Buddhist saints came to lodge on its banks.[2] Here was that wonderful incense the burning of which yielded a wide-spreading perfume which released all the world from the consequences of sin.[3] Here too was a goodly palace, and all about were strange trees and flowers through which breathed fragrant airs and birds with plaintive songs made harmony.[4]

I have not discovered the source from which the pilgrim obtained his information that the dragon-king of the Anavatapta Lake was the *Ta-ti* or "Great-land" p'usa. As the words of the text show, this p'usa was not the Buddha in one of his preparatory births, but a p'usa still living as the Nāga-raja of the Lake. In the D text instead of *Ta-ti* we have *Pa-Ti* or "Eight-lands". This reading seems to point to some Mahāyānist p'usa who had attained to *eight-lands*, that is eight of the ten stages to perfection.

The pilgrim next goes on to tell of the Four Lords (or Sovereigns) who divide Jambudvīpa when no one has the fate to be universal sovereign over that Island, and of the lands and peoples over which these Lords rule. In the south is the Ele-

[1] Nos. 1266, 1267 l. c.
[2] Divyāv. p. 399.
[3] Hua-yen-ching *ch.* 67 (No. 88).
[4] Chang-a-han-ching l. c.

phant-Lord whose territory has a hot moist climate with people energetic, devoted to study and addicted to magical arts, wearing garments which cross the body and leave the right shoulder bare, their hair is made into a topknot in the middle and hangs down on the sides they associate in towns and live in houses of several storeys. In the west is the Lord of Precious Substances who rules over the sea abounding in pearls, whose subjects are rude and covetous, wear short coats fastened to the left, cut their hair short and have long mustachios, they live in towns also and are traders The Horse-Lord rules in the north: his country is very cold, yielding horses, and with inhabitants of a wild fierce nature who commit murder without remorse, they live in felt tents and are migratory herdsmen. In the East (that is, in China) is the Man Lord, who has a well-peopled territory with a genial climate where all good manners and social virtues prevail, and the people are attached to the soil Of these four territories it is only the East country that holds the south direction in respect, the other three regions making the east their quarter of reverence. The East country (China) excels the other regions in its political organization. The system of religion which teaches purification of the heart and release from the bonds [of folly] and which instructs how to escape from birth and death flourishes in the country of the Elephant-Lord (India).

All these matters are set forth in authoritative writings (lit.-canonical treatises and official declarations) and are learned from local hearsay From a wide study of the modern and the old and a minute examination of what is seen and heard we learn that Buddha arose in the west region and his religion spread to the east country (China), and that in the translation [from Sanskrit into Chinese] words have been wrongly used and idioms misapplied. By a misuse of words the meaning is lost and by wrong phrases the doctrine is perverted. Hence it is said—"What is necessary is to have correct terms" and to set value on the absence of faulty expressions.

Now mankind differ in the quality of their natural dispositions and in their speech, the difference being partly due to local climatic circumstances and partly caused by continued use As to varieties of physical scenery and natural products in the country of the Man-Lord (China), and as to the differences in the customs and dispositions of its people, these are all described in our national records. The peoples of the Horse-Lord and the districts of the Lord of Precious Substances are detailed in our historical teachings, and a general account of them can be given. But as to the country of the Elephant-Lord (India) our ancient literature is without a description of it. We have the statement (made by Chang-Ch'ien) that "the land has much heat and

moisture", and this other "the people are fond of benevolence and compassion", such mention may occur in topographies but we cannot have thorough information. Whether caused by the alternate flourishing and depression of good government, or as the natural result of secular changes, the fact is that with reference to those who, knowing the due season for giving in allegiance and enjoying the benefits of [Chinese] civilisation, came to the Emperor's Court, who passing danger after danger sought admittance at the *Yü-mên* [Pass], and bearing tribute of native rarities bowed before the Palace Gate, we cannot relate their experiences. For this reason as I travelled far in quest of truth (that is. the Buddhist religion) in the intervals of my studies I kept notes of natural characteristics.

Julien in his translation of this passage gives the Sanskrit equivalents for Horse-Lord, Elephant-Lord, and Man-Lord; and tells us that a word meaning "Parasol-Lord" is found in a certain authority instead of the Precious-substances-Lord of our text. Throughout the passage, however, the pilgrim seems to be writing as a Chinese Buddhist scholar not drawing from Indian sources but from his own knowledge and experience. His information was acquired partly from Chinese books, and he perhaps learned something from the Brethren in Kashmir and other places outside of India. To him as a Chinese the people of China were *men* (*jen*), all outlying countries being peopled by *Man* and *Yi* and *Hu* and *Jung*, although as a good Buddhist he admitted the extension of the term *jen* to the inhabitants of other lands.

Our author, in writing the paragraph of this passage about Buddhism, evidently had in his memory certain observations which are to be found in the 88th Chapter of the "Hou Han Shu". These observations with the notes appended give us some help in finding out the meaning of several of the expressions in the text. For his statement here about the faults of previous translators the author has been blamed by native critics. These maintain that the transcriptions of Indian words given by Yuan-chuang's predecessors are not necessarily wrong merely because they differ from those given by him. The foreign sounds, they say, which the previous translators heard may not have

been those which our pilgrim heard, and, moreover, Chinese characters under the influence of time and place, may have changed both meaning and pronunciation. As to mistakes of interpretation, there are doubtless many to be found in the early translations, but in this matter Yuan-chuang also is far from perfect.

In the next paragraph Julien apparently understood his author to state that there existed documents in their own countries on the peoples of the Horse Lord (i. e., the northern tribes) and those of the Lord of Precious substances (i. e., the nations to the south-west of China). But the writer has in his mind here only Chinese literature. So also his *fang-chih* (方志) are not "des descriptions locales" of India. They are the *books of travel* or *topographies* of Chinese literature. The term is applied to such treatises as the "Hsi-yü-chi" which in fact is called a *fang-chih*. Our author states that Chinese topographies have little about India, and that consequently he had no native authorities to quote or refer to. Other writers of the same period make similar complaints, and there was some reason for the complaint. Even the information communicated by the pilgrims who had preceded Yuan-chuang had not been incorporated in the national histories.

The word here rendered by "good government" is *tao* (道) which Julien translated "la droite voie". We might also render it by "the Buddhist religion", an interpretation which seems to be favoured by other passages on this subject. But the terms applied to the word here, viz. *hsing tsang* (行藏), seem to require that we should render it by some such Confucian expression as "true principles" or "good government". In the last sentences of this passage Julien seems to have misunderstood his author whom he makes write about "peoples" and "all the nations". There is nothing in the text which corresponds to or requires these expressions, and the writer evidently still refers to Indian countries, the envoys from which to China had been few and little known. In the Later Han period there was one, in the reign of Ho Ti (A. D. 89 to 105);

during the Liu Sung period there were two, one in 428 and one in 466; and there were none, apparently, after this last date down to the Sui period. Now of the travels of these envoys the Chinese records had not preserved any particulars; and the references to India and the neighbouring countries in the histories of the Han and other dynasties down to the T'ang period are very meagre. It was because the records were thus imperfect, and information was unobtainable, that the pilgrim took notes of the topography and ethnology of the districts which he visited in the course of his pilgrimage.

The author next proceeds to make a few summary observations the text of which is here reproduced for the purpose of comparison. 黑嶺已來莫非胡俗雖戎人同貫而族類群分畫界封疆. In Julien's rendering the beginning of the passage runs thus—"A partir des montagnes noires, on ne rencontre que des mœurs sauvages. Quoique les peuples barbares aient été réunis ensemble, cependant leurs différentes races ont été tracées avec soin." But this does not seem to give the author's meaning which is rather something like this—

> "From the Black Range on this side (i. e to China) all the people are Hu· and though Jungs are counted with these, yet the hordes and clans are distinct, and the boundaries of territories are defined."

Now if we turn to the last section of *Chuan* I we learn what is meant by the "Black Range". We find that the frontier country on the route to India was Kapisa, which was surrounded on all sides by lofty mountains. One great range bounded it on the east, west, and south sides, separating it from "North India". This was called the Hei Ling, or Black Range, a name which translates the native term Siah-koh, though it is also used to render another native term, Kara Tagh, with the same meaning. From China to the mountains of Kapisa along the pilgrim's route the inhabitants, he tells us, were all Hu. These Hu are described by some writers as the descendants of early Jung settlers. But Yuan-chuang, who uses Hu as a

collective designation for all the settled nations and tribes through which he passed on his way to and from India, seems to consider the Jung as a race distinct from the Hu proper. Other writers also make this distinction, regarding the Jung as of the Tibetan stock and the Hu as of Turkic kindred. But the distinction is not generally observed, and we can only say that the Hu include the Jung, who were not supposed, however, to be found beyond the Ts'ung Ling westward. In early Chinese history, e. g. in the Yü kung of the "Shu Ching" we find Jung occupying the country about the Koko Nor. They were then pastoral tribes, rearing cattle and wearing clothing prepared from the skins of their animals Afterwards they spread to Hami and to Turfan and the Ts'ung Ling, becoming mainly agricultural peoples

Instead of *Jung* (戎) in the text here the C text has Shu (戍) which the editors explain as *soldier*, the *Shu jên* being the Chinese troops stationed in the Hu Countries. But this reading, which does not seem to be a good one was perhaps originally due to a copyist's error.

The pilgrim's description proceeds—"For the most part [these tribes] are settled peoples with walled cities, practising agriculture and rearing cattle They prize the possession of property and slight humanity and public duty (lit benevolence and righteousness) Their marriages are without ceremonies and there are no distinctions as to social position the wife's word prevails and the husband has a subordinate position. They burn their corpses and have no fixed period of mourning. *They flay* (?) *the face and cut off the ears they clip their hair short and rend their garments They slaughter the domestic animals and offer sacrifice to the manes of their dead.* They wear white clothing on occasions of good luck and black clothing on unlucky occasions. This is a general summary of the manners and customs common to the tribes, but each state has its own political organization which will be described separately, and the manners and customs of India will be told in the subsequent Records."

This brief and terse account of the social characteristics common to the tribes and districts between China and India presents some rather puzzling difficulties. It is too summary, and is apparently to a large extent secondhand

information obtained from rather superficial observers, not derived from the author's personal experience, and it does not quite agree with the accounts given by previous writers and travellers. Thus the pilgrim states that the tribes in question had no fixed period of mourning, that is, for deceased parents, but we learn that the people of Yenk'i observed a mourning of seven days for their parents. Nor was it the universal custom to burn the dead; for the T'ufan people, for example, buried their dead.[1]

All the part of the passage which I have put in italics is taken by Julien to refer to the mourning customs of the tribes, and this seems to be the natural and proper interpretation. But it is beset with difficulties. The original for "they flay the face and cut off the ears" is rendered by Julien—"Ils se font des incisions sur la figure et se mutilent les oreilles." The word for "flay" or "make cuts in" is in the D text *li* ([illegible]) which does not seem to give any sense, and in the other texts it is *li* (剺) which is an unknown character but is explained as meaning to "flay". Julien evidently regarded the latter character as identical with *li* (剺) which is the word used in the T'ang-Shu.[2] This last character means originally to *inscribe* or *delineate* and also to *blacken* and to *flay*. As an act of filial mourning for a dead parent the T'ufan people, we are told, blackened (*tai* 黛) their faces, and among some tribes it apparently was the custom to tear or gash the face at the funeral of a parent or chief. But to flay or brand the face and to cut off an ear were acts of punishment which were perhaps common to all the tribes in question.

Then "to cut the hair short" was an act of filial mourning in T'ufan, but in the first foreign countries which the pilgrim reached it was the universal custom for the men, and it was done, we learn elsewhere, to set off the head.[3] In Khoten, however, the hair was cut off and the face disfigured as acts

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[1] Wei-Shu *ch.* 102 T'ang-shu *ch.* 216. Ma T. l. *ch.* 334.
[2] *Ch.* 217.
[3] Wei-Shu l. c.

of mourning at a funeral.[1] We find it recorded moreover that when the death of T'ang T'ai Tsung was announced, the barbarians sojourning at the capital expressed their sorrow by wailing, cutting off their hair, gashing? (*li* [illegible]) their faces, and cutting their ears, until the blood washed the ground.[2]

Then as to the phrase "rend their garments", the words *lie-ch'ang* (裂裳) would seem to be susceptible of no other interpretation, and the pilgrim tells us afterwards that the people of India "rent their garments and tore out their hair" as expressions of mourning. The rending of the garments, however, was not a custom common to the tribes between India and China, and it could not have been practised by them generally on account of the material which was in general use for their clothing. Some native scholars explain the words *lie-ch'ang* here as meaning "they wear clothes without folds and seams", that is, their garments are strips or single pieces. Something like this was the style of the outer articles of a Chinaman's dress in the T'ang period and it was probably adopted by some of the foreign tribes to which Chinese influence reached. We still see survivals of it on the streets in Korea.

As to the slaughter of domestic animals, this was practised at funerals by the T'ufan people but not by all the other tribes. The Turks, who also gashed their faces in mourning, slew sheep and horses in front of the tent in which the body of a deceased parent was placed pending the completion of arrangements for burial. It is to be noted, however, that the T'ufan people and the Turks are not said to have slain their domestic animals in sacrifice to the *manes* of their deceased parents.[3] These animals were killed, we are expressly told in the case of the T'ufan people, that they might be at the service of the departed one, as the human beings who were slain, or killed themselves, on the death

[1] Ka-tan-chi *ch.* 5.

[2] T'ung-chien-kang-mu *ch.* 40.

[3] See Ma T. L. *ch.* 334, 343.

of a relative or chief went to serve the deceased in the other world. Julien makes our pilgrim here state that the tribes slew their domestic animals to make offerings to their dead. This is perhaps more than is in the text which is simply that they "slaughter their domestic animals, and offer sacrifice to the *manes*".

CHAPTER III.

FROM KAO-CH'ANG TO THE THOUSAND SPRINGS.

A-K'I-NI (YENK'I).

The narrative in the Records now begins with this account,

> Going from what was formerly the land of *Kao-ch'ang* we begin with the country nearest to it and called *A-k'i-ni*: this is above 600 *li* from east to west and 400 *li* from north to south, its capital being six or seven *li* in circuit.

In the Life we have a detailed account of the unpleasant and adventurous journey from the Chinese capital to the chief city of Kao-ch'ang. This city, we know, was in the district which is now called Turfan and it is said to be represented by the modern *Huo-chow* (火 州) otherwise Karakhojo. At the time of our pilgrim's visit Kao-ch'ang was a thriving kingdom, and its king, though a vassal of China, was a powerful despot feared by the surrounding states. This king, whose name was *Kü-wên-tai* (麴 文 泰) or as it is also given, *Kü-ka* (麴), had received Yuan-chuang on his arrival with great ceremony and kindness, had tried entreaty and flattery and even force to retain him, and had at last sent the pilgrim on his way with great honour, giving him presents and provisions and also letters of introduction to other sovereigns. Then why does Yuan-chuang here write of Kao-ch'ang as a state which had ceased to exist? The explanation is to be found in the great change which that kingdom had experienced between

the years 630 and 646. We learn from history that in the year A. D. 639 the Chinese emperor T'ai Tsung sent an army to invade Kao-ch'ang and punish its ruler, who had dared to defy the imperial power. This ruler was the Kü-wên-t'ai who had been Yuan-chuang's host. He thought himself safe from Chinese invasion and boasted and swaggered at the threat of a Chinese army coming into his country until the invading force was actually within his borders. When he learned, however, that the hostile army was fast approaching his capital, he became so utterly possessed by abject fear that he became helpless. And his death soon followed. Hereupon his wise son and successor at once submitted to the Chinese general who, however, "extinguished Kaoch'ang"; whereupon T'ai T'sung made its territory a Prefecture of the Empire. This procedure called forth a generous protest from one of the Emperor's wise and faithful ministers, but the remonstrance was in vain and in 640 Kaoch'ang became the Chinese *Hsi-chow* (西州). Thus Yuan-chuang, writing under imperial orders and for the Emperor's reading, must needs take notice of the great political change which had taken place in the Kaoch'ang country since the date of his visit. The change proved bad for China and the new state of affairs did not last very long. For the present, however, our author has to describe the "Western Lands", that is, the countries which were outside of the western border of the Chinese empire. Up to 640 Kaoch'ang was one of these countries, but from that year the empire reached on the east to the ocean, and on the west to the kingdom which was the first to the west of Kaoch'ang, viz. the *A-k'i-ni* of this narrative.

There cannot be any doubt that the country which Yuan-chuang here calls *A-k'i-ni* (阿耆尼) was, as has been stated by others, that which is known in Chinese history as *Yenk'i* (焉耆). This state rose to power in the Han period, and from that time down to the T'ang dynasty it bore in Chinese treatises this name Yenk'i which is still its classical and literary designation in Chinese literature.

Then why did Yuan-chuang use the name A-k'i-ni, a name for which he seems to be the sole authority?

The explanation is simple. There was, we learn from an "interpolated comment" to the text, an old name for this country which is given as *Wu-k'i* (烏 or 隖 耆). This seems to have been the name used by the translators of the sacred books and by Buddhist writers generally. Thus in the translation of the "Ta-pao-chi-ching" by Fa hu of the Western Ch'in dynasty we find mention of Wuk'i along with Khoten and other countries. So also Tao-hsüan in his "Su-kao-sêng-chuan" mentions Wuk'i as the country between Kutzŭ (Kuchih) and Kaoch'ang. In the Fang-chih also we find the name given as Wuk'i, and Fa-hsien's *Wu-i* (烏夷) is apparently the country under consideration. The first character, *wu*, in each of these varieties of the name was probably pronounced *a* or *o*, and the second character represented a sound like *k'i* or *gi*, the whole giving us a name like *akhi* or *agi*. Thus we have at Yuan-chuang's time three different designations for this country—the *Yenk'i* of Chinese historians, the *Wuk'i* of the Buddhist writers, and Y.'s own name for it, *A-k'i-ni*. The explanation of this variety is instructive as the theory which underlies it applies to several other districts. In Yenk'i we have the local or Hu name. This apparently was (or was understood to be) Yanghi, a Turkish word for *fire*, the full name being perhaps something like Yanghi-shaher or "Fire-city". Now in all the Hu countries the Buddhist monks, we are told, used among themselves the language of India. In this language the correct Sanskrit name for *fire* is *agni*, the *a-k'i-ni* of our author. We find the three characters of the text used by Yuan-chuang in a translation of a sacred book to transcribe *agni* as the Sanskrit name for *fire*, and by Gunabhadra in one of his translations to transcribe this word in the proper name Agnidatta.[1] But the monks of the Hu

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[1] A-pi-t'a-mo-ta-p'i-p'o-sha-lun, *ch.* 15 (Bun. No. 1268): Tsa-a-han-ching, *ch.* 25 (No. 544).

countries did not all come from "Central India" and they did not talk Sanskrit. They spoke and wrote dialectic varieties with vernacular forms of Indian words, and they often used words which were foreign but were made to assume a Sanskrit garb. So the Brethren of the country with which we are now concerned had apparently used the Pali form Agi instead of Agni, and this had been used by others, but Yuan-chuang being a purist preferred to write the Sanskrit form.

In the periods of the Yuan and Ming dynasties the city and district called Yenk'i, still retaining this name, were grouped with four others in the political aggregate called Bish-balik or Pentapolis. Hence we sometimes find it stated that Yenk'i is Bishbalik, but this latter name is more frequently applied to Urumtsi.[1] At the present time the city called Kara- (or Khara-)shahr is generally taken to be the representative of the ancient capital of Yenk'i. But the site of the latter was apparently somewhat to the west of the modern Kharashahr at a place which has several ancient ruins. This modern city is said to have received its name from the grimy appearance of its walls and houses, Karashahr in Turkic meaning "Black city", an etymology which is confirmed by Dr. Sven Hedin's account.[2]

Like many other states in this part of Asia Yen-k'i has had many ups and downs, passing several times from power and preeminence to subjection and vassalage. One of these

[1] Li-tai-yen-ko-piao (歷代沿革表) cn. o: Med. Res. Vol. II, p. 229. But the name Bishbalik seems to have been applied to six cities regarded as forming a political unit.

[2] Dr. Sven Hedin writes—"Kara-shahr (the Black Town) fully deserves its name: for it is without comparison the dirtiest town in all Central Asia. It stands on the left bank of the river (the Hädick- or Khaidik-gol), on a level, barren plain, totally destitute of any feature of interest. Nevertheless it is a large town, very much larger than Korla, consisting of a countless number of miserable hovels, courtyards, bazaars, and Mongol tents, surrounded by a wall, and is the chief commercial emporium in that part of Chinese Turkestan" 'Through Asia', p. 859.

vicissitudes was experienced by it in A. D. 643—644, when the Chinese emperor T'ai Tsung sent an army which invaded the country, conquered it, and made its king a prisoner for a time. A similar disaster befell it in A. D. 648, when its king was beheaded by the Turkish invader.[1] The country under the official designation *Kharashahr* (喀喇沙爾) is now a military station, and an important Sub-Prefecture of the Chinese empire.

It is remarkable that neither in the Records, nor in the Life of our pilgrim, nor in the itinerary of Wu-k'ung, is the distance of Yen-k'i from Kao-ch'ang given, but we learn from other sources that it was 900 *li*.[2] In another account of the country the capital is described as being 30 *li* in circuit which is a much larger area than that given in our text, but another account makes it to be only two *li* square. The name of the capital also is given as *Nan-ho-ch'êng* (南河城) and also as *Yun-k'ü* (員渠) which is perhaps only another form of Yen-k'i.[3] The city was situated 70 *li* south of the White Mountain and a few *li* from a lake.[4] This lake, which is described as having salt and fish and as abounding in reeds, has many names. It is sometimes simply the "sea" or Dengir, and it is the Bostang, or Barashahr, or Bagrash Lake. The description in our text, proceeding, states that

> [the country] on four sides adjoins hills, with roads hazardous and easily defended. The various streams join in zones, and their water is led in for the cultivated land. The soil grows millet, spring wheat, scented jujubes, grapes, pears, and prunes. The climate is genial and the people have honest ways Their writing is taken from that of India with slight modifications. Their garments are of fine and coarse woollen stuffs. The men cut their hair short and do not wear any head-dress. They use gold silver and small copper coins. Their king is a native of the country, who is brave, but without practical ability and conceited. The country

[1] T'ung-chien-kang-mu *ch.* 40 (18th year of T'ang T'ai Tsung by the Chinese, and 22d year by the Turks): Ma T. l. *ch.* 336.
[2] Ma T. l. l. c. T'ung-chih-liao, the [illegible] 略 *ch.* 1.
[3] Ch'ien Han shu *ch.* 96: Wei shu *ch.* 102
[4] Wei Shu l. c. Ma T. l. l. c.: Ch'ien Han shu l. c.

is without a political constitution, and its laws are not reduced to order.

The first sentence of this passage is not very clear as to whether the description is meant for the whole country or only for the district of the capital. Our pilgrim seems to have drawn his information partly from the source which supplied the author of the "Hou Han-Shu".[1] In that work, and in Ma Tuan-lin's treatise which follows it, it is the Yenk'i country which is described as being surrounded by hills or mountains. But there were apparently no mountains on the east side of Yenk'i, and the Life tells only of two cities which the pilgrim passed on his way from the capital of Kao-ch'ang, without any mention of a mountain. That the roads were dangerous and easily guarded is also stated in the Hou Han-Shu almost in the words used in our text, and this also seems to indicate that it is the country which is described. But the expression "on four sides adjoins (or abuts on) hills" (四面據山) is apparently more appropriate to a city than to a country. Then we have the statement that "the various streams join in zones" that is, unite to form belts or lines of water. For this the original is "ch'üan (in the B text *chung-liu-chiao-tai* (泉 in B 衆 流 交 帶), and Julien translates „une multitude des courants qui viennent se joindre ensemble, l'entourent comme une ceinture." The term *chiao-tai* seems to have in some places the meaning here given to it by Julien, but it commonly means to *join in forming a continuous line.* Thus it is used of a series of tanks formed or connected by a river and of tears uniting to form streams on the cheeks. This sense of "joining and carrying on" the stream seems to suit our passage, and the circumstances of the district. In Yenk'i the becks of the mountains joined in forming the various rivers by which the country was watered. Thus the Khaidu, the principal river, was formed by the junction of a large number of tributary streams from the Northern or White mountain.

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[1] *Ch.* 88.

In the passage of the Han-Shu already referred to we find the statement that the "water of the sea (that is the Bostang Lake to the south-east of the capital) was deflected into the four mountains and flowed all about the capital (其城) for above thirty li", a statement which is repeated by Ma-Tuan-lin. And although the kingdom contained several (according to one account, ten) other towns, it was doubtless of the capital and the surrounding districts that the words of our text were written. The water from the various rivers was led in channels from the lines of current to irrigate the land devoted to the cultivation of crops and fruit-trees. This artificial irrigation mentioned by our pilgrim is not noticed in the Han-Shu, but it was known to the author of the "Shui-ching-chu" (水經注), and it is referred to in recent works such as the Travels of Timkowski.[1]

In the list of products here given the term translated "millet" is *mi-shu* (糜黍) which Julien renders "millet rouge", the same rendering being given for the one character *mi* in the next page. Instead of this character the D text has in both places the word *mei* (or *meh* 穈) the name of a kind of millet "with reddish culms". The texts may be corrupt and Yuan-chuang may have written *mei* (穄) which, we learn from the "Yü-pien" was a synonym for *Chi* (禾祭) a kind of panicled millet much cultivated in the north and northwest of China. By "spring wheat" (宿麥) is meant the wheat which is sown in autumn and ripens in the following spring. This spends the winter in the ground; and in this way it passes from one year into the next, and hence its distinctive name.

The sentence 'Their writing is taken from that of India with slight modifications: their garments are of fine and coarse woollen stuffs' is in the original *wên-tzŭ-chü-tsê-yin-tu-wei-yu-tsêng-chüan-ja-shih-tieh-ho* (文字取則印度微有增損服飾氈褐) in the A, B, and C texts. The D

[1] Hsin-chiang *ch.* 8: Timkowski's Travels Vol. I, pp. 898, 410. The artificial irrigation is mentioned in the T'ang Shu *ch.* 221.

text has differences and it reads—'The writing is modeled after that of India. There is little of silk stuffs, the dress is of felt and serge.' Here we have *tsêng-chüan* (繒絹) "silk stuffs" instead of the other *tsêng-chüan* meaning "addings to and takings from" or "modifications", and we have *chan* (氈) "felt" or "coarse woollen stuff" instead of the *tieh* of the other texts. All the texts, we see, agree in the statement that the writing of this country was taken from that of India, and the Wei-Shu makes the same statement. If we are to take the author as adding that slight changes had been made in the Indian writing in Yenk'i the information may be regarded as correct.

So also if the D text is genuine and we are to substitute for "there are slight modifications" the words "there are few silks" we have a statement which is confirmed by other accounts. The people of Yenk'i had the silkworms, but they did not know how to make silk, and the only silk-stuffs they used were imported. So they did not wear silk, and their dress was of woollen material. Julien translates the four words *ju-shih-tieh-ho* by "Les vêtements sont faits de coton ou de laine". But the reading should probably be *chan* as in the D text. This reading of *chan* instead of *tieh* is supported by the epithet "Wearers of felt and serge" which the Chinese applied to the Hu and Jung in contrast to themselves as "silk-wearers". Then we have also the testimony of I-ching that the inhabitants of the countries with which we are concerned used mainly felt and fur as clothing, and that they had little cotton cloth (少有劫貝). But even if we take *tieh* to be the reading in the passage before us, it is at least doubtful whether it should be translated here by *cotton*. The word did come to be used as a name for cotton; and Yuan-chuang seems to employ it, in other passages, to denote something like fine cotton or muslin. In the T'ang-Shu we find *pai-tieh* described as the name of a plant of Kao-ch'ang from the flowers of which a cloth was made, and in this treatise *tieh* is cotton. But on the other hand the word is explained in old glossaries and dictionaries as denoting a "cloth made of

hair (or wool)", and the formation of the character seems to point to such material. Then we find such expressions as *pai-chan-tieh*, "white felt-cloth", and *tieh* alone, mentioned along with the *kieh-pei* or Kibat (Karpura) "cotton-cloth" as different materials. Moreover the modern equivalent for *tieh* in Chinese books about the Mongols, Tibetans, and peoples of Turkestan is *p'u-lu*, which is the name of a woollen fabric manufactured in the "west countries".[1] There is great confusion in the use of *chan* and *tieh* (not only in these Records, and the Life, but also in many other works,) and we have often to make the Context decide whether the author meant *cotton* or *woollen*.

The king of Yenk'i whose character is briefly described in the passage before us was *Lung-T'uk'ichi* (龍突騎支) of which Lung was the surname and T'uk'ichi (Dughitsi?) the name. This prince secretly renounced his duty and allegiance to China, and entered into an engagement with the West Turks to harass China. So the emperor T'ai Tsung in 643 sent an army to invade Yenk'i and punish its perfidious ruler. The latter was dethroned and taken prisoner in 644, but in the course of a few years the Chinese found it necessary to restore him to the throne.[2]

For the words—'The country is without a political constitution, its laws are not reduced to order' the text is *Kuo-wu-kang-chi-fa-pu-chêng-su* (國無綱紀法不整肅). Julien translates this —"Ce royaume ne possède point de code, l'ordre et la paix se maintiennent sans le secours des lois." The latter clause of this sentence does not seem to be possible as a rendering of the Chinese. Moreover in the term *Kang-chi* are included not merely a code, but also the ethical and political maxims which form the basis of the political system, and give the state enactments their sanction. Then *Kang-chi* comes to denote the general principles or essentials of goverment, and the particular rules or institutions of a State or Empire. Thence the

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1 Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei *ch.* 2; Yu-pien s. v. *Tieh*. Sung Shih *ch.* 489.
2 T'ung-chien-kang-mu l. c

term was extended to the constitution and laws of any system political or religious, and Yuan-chuang, for example, uses it with reference to Buddhism. As to Yenk'i, the author states, it had no fundamental statutes or national political regulations, and it was also without any system of definite laws in force among the people. This is a reproach which we find brought against the Country also in the Wei-Shu which writes of it as "without a political system and laws (無綱紀法令)".[1]

The pilgrim's description proceeds—

> "There are above ten Buddhist monasteries with above 2000 ecclesiastics of all degrees, all adherents of the Sarvāstivādin school of the "Small Vehicle" system. Since as to the sūtra teachings and vinaya regulations they follow India, it is in its literature that students of these subjects study them thoroughly. They are very strict in the observance of the rules of their order but in food they mix (take in a miscellaneous way) the three pure [kinds of flesh] embarrassed by the 'gradual teaching.'

One of the large monasteries in this country was that known as the Araṇya-vihāra: here Dharmagupta lodged in the year A. D. 585 when on his way to China. The Sarvāstivādin school to which the Brethren in Yenk'i belonged was a branch from the ancient Sthavira school It had its name from its *assertion* that *all were real*, viz. past, present, future, and intermediate states. Its adherents claimed to represent the original teaching of the Master, as it was delivered, and as settled in Council by the "Elders" (Sthaviras) who had heard it from his lips. So they considered themselves strictly orthodox, and they were zealous enthusiastic adherents of what they regarded as the simple primitive religion. The Brethren in Yenk'i followed the teachings of the Buddha as recorded in the Indian scriptures of which they were diligent students.

[1] The *kang* of *kang-chi* is originally the large thick rope of a fisherman's casting-net and the *chi* are the small cords of the same. Then *kang-chi* (or *chi-kang*) came to be applied to the established controlling principles of government, the codified means of preserving order in a state. From this use the term came to be extended to social institutions and to systems of religion and philosophy.

The next part of this paragraph has received bad treatment at the hands of the translators. Julien's version of it is—"Les religieux s'acquittent de leurs devoirs et observent les règles de la discipline avec un pureté sévère et un zèle persévérant. Ils se nourrissent de trois sortes d'aliments purs, et s'attachent à la doctrine graduelle." The words of the original are Chie-hsing-lü-i-chie-ch'ing-chin-li-jan-shih-tsa-san-ching-chih-yü-chien-chiao-i (戒行律儀潔清勤勵然而雜三淨滯于漸教矣). It is not easy to conjecture why *chie-hsing* should be here rendered "s'acquittent de leurs devoirs". The term is part of the clause which tells us that the Brethren were careful observers of the Vinaya commands to do and abstain from doing. Then the translation leaves out the important words *jan* meaning "but" and *tsa* meaning "to mix", and it renders *chih-yü*, "to stick in" or "be detained in" by "s'attachent surtout à". Then Julien did not know what was meant by the "trois sortes d'aliments purs", so he gives us in a note an account of certain five "aliments purs" derived from another treatise. What the pilgrim tells us here is plain and simple. The Buddhist Brethren in the monasteries of Yenk'i were pure and strict in keeping all the laws and regulations of their order according to their own Vinaya. But in food they took, along with what was orthodox, the three kinds of pure flesh, being still held in the "gradual teaching". The student will be helped in understanding this passage if he turns to the account of the next country, Kuchih, and to the pilgrim's experience in that country as set forth in the Life, and to the account of the Swan Monastery in *Chuan* IX of the Records (Julien III. p. 60) and *Chuan* III of the Life (*ib.* I. p. 162).

The explanation of the *san-ching* or "three pure kinds of flesh" is briefly as follows. In the time of Buddha there was in Vaiśali a wealthy general named Siha who was a convert to Buddhism He became a liberal supporter of the Brethren and kept them constantly supplied with good flesh *food*. When it was noised abroad that the bhikshus were in the habit of eating such food specially

provided for them the Tirtnikas made the practice a matter of angry reproach. Then the abstemious ascetic Brethren, learning this, reported the circumstances to the Master, who thereupon called the Brethren together. When they were assembled, he announced to them the law that they were not to eat the flesh of any animal which they had seen put to death for them, or about which they had been told that it had been killed for them, or about which they had reason to suspect that it had been slain for them. But he permitted to the Brethren as "pure" (that is, lawful) food the flesh of animals the slaughter of which had not been seen by the bhikshus, not heard of by them, and not suspected by them to have been on their account.[1] In the Pali and Ssŭ-fên Vinaya it was after a breakfast given by Sīha to the Buddha and some of the Brethren, for which the carcase of a large ox was procured, that the Nirgranthas reviled the bhikshus and Buddha instituted this new rule declaring fish and flesh "pure" in the three conditions.[2] The animal food now permitted to the bhikshus came to be known as the "three pures" or "three pure kinds of flesh", and it was tersely described as "unseen, unheard, unsuspected", or as the Chinese translations sometimes have it "not seen not heard not suspected to be on my account (不見不聞不疑爲我)". Then two more kinds of animal food were declared lawful for the Brethren, viz. the flesh of animals which had died a natural death, and that of animals which had been killed by a bird of prey or other savage creature. So there came to be five classes or descriptions of flesh which the professed Buddhist was at liberty to use as food.[3] Then the "unseen, unheard, unsuspected" came to be treated as one class, and this together with the "natural death (自死)" and

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[1] Shih-sung-lu *ch.* 26 (No. 1115) Sêng-ki-lü *ch.* 32 (No. 1119)

[2] Vin. Mah. V. 31. Ssŭ-fên-lü *ch.* 42 (No. 1117).

[3] Shou-lêng-yen-ching-hui-chie *ch.* 12 (Nos. 446 and 1624): Lung-shu-ching-t'u-wên (龍舒淨土文) *ch.* 9. The number of kinds of "pure flesh" was afterwards increased to nine, these five being included.

"bird killed (鳥殺)" made a *san-ching*. It is evidently in this latter sense that the term is used in these Records.

Then we have the "gradual teaching" which to Yuan-chuang's mind was intimately connected with the heresy of sanctioning flesh-food. Here we have a reference to an old division of the Buddha's personal teachings into "gradual (or progressive)", *chien* (漸) and "instantaneous", *tun* (頓).[1] Of these the former, according to the Mahāyānists, contained all those scriptures which gave the Buddha's early teaching, and also the rules and regulations which formed the Vinaya. The Buddha suited his sermons and precepts to the moral and spiritual attainments and requirements of his audience. Those who were low in the scale he led on gradually by the setting forth of simple truths, by parable and lesson, and by mild restrictions as to life and conduct. At a later period of his ministry he taught higher truths, and inculcated a stricter purity and more thorough self-denial. Thus in the matter of flesh-food he sanctioned the use of it as an ordinary article of food by his own example and implied permission. Afterwards when he found that some of his disciples gave offence by begging for beef and mutton, and asking to have animals killed for them, and eating as daily food flesh which should only be taken in exceptional circumstances he introduced restrictions and prohibitions. But the "Instantaneous Teaching", which took no note of circumstances and environments, revealed sublime spiritual truths to be comprehended and accepted at once by higher minds, taught for these a morality absolute and universal, and instituted rules for his professed disciples to be of eternal, unchanging obligation.

The "Gradual Teaching" is practically coextensive with the Hīnayāna system, and the Buddha describes his teaching and Vinaya as *gradual*, growing and developing like the mango fruit according to some

[1] Hua-yen-yi-shêng-chiao-yi-fên-chi-chang (No 1591): Ssŭ-chiao-yi (No. 1569). In the Chung-a-han-ching (No. 542) *ch.* 9 Buddha's dharma and vinaya are described as *gradual*

scriptures. The "Instantaneous Teaching" is the Mahāyāna system as found in those scriptures of the Buddhists which are outside of the Hīnayānist Tripiṭaka. This distinction, derived from a passage in the Laṅkāvatāra sūtra, is ascribed to Dharmapāla (*Hu-fa* 護法). The Nirvāṇa sūtras are quoted as specimens of the Gradual Teaching and the Avatamsaka sūtras are given as examples of the *Tun-chiao* or "Instantaneous Teaching".

Our pilgrim being an adherent of the Mahāyānist system refused to admit the validity of the "three-fold pure" flesh-food indulgence which the excellent Hīnayānist Brethren of Yenk'i followed. The Buddhist Scriptures to which Yuan-chuang adhered prohibit absolutely the use of flesh of any kind as food by the "sons of Buddha"[1] This prohibition is based on the grounds of universal compassion, and the doctrine of karma. Mahāyānism teaches that the eating of an animal's flesh retards the spiritual growth of the Brother who eats it, and entails evil consequences in future existences. Some Mahāyānists were strict in abstaining, not only from all kinds of flesh food, but also from milk and its products. In this they agreed, as we shall see, with the sectarians who were followers of Devadatta. There have also, however, been Mahāyānists who allowed the use of animal food of certain kinds, and we find wild geese, calves, and deer called *san-ching-shih* or "Three pure (lawful) articles of food". It was a common occurrence for a Hīnayānist to be converted and "advance" to Mahāyānism, but the Yenk'i Brethren were still *detained* or *embarrassed* in the "Gradual Teaching" of the Hīnayāna. The word for *detained* is *chih* (滯) which means to be fretted, or delayed, as a stream by an obstacle in its course. Then it denotes the mental suspense caused by doubts and difficulties, and the check given by these to spiritual progress; it is often associated with the word for *doubt*.

[1] Fan-wang-ching *ch.* 2 (No. 1087); Ta-pan-nie-pan-ching *ch.* 4 (No. 114); Ju-lêng-ka-ching *ch.* 8 (No. 176); Shou-lêng-yen-ching-hui-chie, l. c.

KUCHIH.

The pilgrim now goes on to tell us that from Yenk'i he went south-west above 200 *li*, crossed a hill and two large rivers west to a plain, and after travelling above 700 *li* from that he came to the *Ku-chih* country. This country was above 1000 *li* from east to west and 600 *li* from north to south: its capital being 17 or 18 *li* in circuit.

According to the account in the Life the pilgrim passed only one large river in the journey from Yenk'i to Kuchih. In other works the distance between these two places is somewhat greater, and the area of the capital of Kuchih is much less than in our text.

The Chinese annotator here tells us that the old name of Ku-chih (屈支) was *Ku-tse* (龜茲), as we are told to pronounce these characters. This is not only the old name but also the only one by which the country was known to the Chinese until a comparatively modern time.[1] A Sanskrit-Chinese Vocabulary gives Kuchina (俱支曩) as its Sanskrit designation; but the word does not seem to be otherwise known. There are various transcriptions of the sound Ku-tse, but Wu-k'ung tells us that Ku-chih is the correct form of the name.[2] The modern Chinese official name of the district and its capital is *K'u-ch'ê* (庫車), the Kuchah and Kocha of our maps. This term is explained as meaning the "Dry well of K'u", but the etymology cannot be accepted.[3] In modern Tibetan books the name is given as Khu-chhu or Khu-the. This country was known to the Chinese from the early Han time, and in

[1] An old variety of the name is *K'ucha* (苦叉). As Goez calls the country *Cucia* the modern official name was apparently in use before the Manchu conquest of China (See Yule's Cathay p. 573). Ku tsang (姑臧) which is sometimes identified with Kutse, was the name of an old district in what is now the Province of Kansu.

[2] The first syllable is found written also 丘, 邱, and 屈, and the second syllable is sometimes 慈. See Shih-li-ching, and J. A. T VI. p. 363 and note.

[3] Hsin-chiang *ch.* 3. Here it is stated that the country got its name from the "dry wells" in it.

A. D. 435 it became a vassal to China.[1] The old Kutse embraced, not only the district now called K'u-ch'ê, but also that of the present Sairam and other territory. It was an ancient state, and its extent varied at different periods. In a translation of a Buddhist book we find it mentioned as one of the parts of his great empire which Asoka proposed to give over to his son Kunāla.[2] The capital of Kutse was at one time (in the 1[th] cent. A. D.) the Yen (延) city, and afterwards it was *Yi-lo-lu* (伊羅盧).[3] In the Yuan period it was a constituent part of the Bish-balik territory, and it was also called *I-li-pa-li* or Il-balik.[4] We find it described as being 200 or 170 *li* south of the Ak-tagh or White Mountains which emitted fire and smoke and yielded sal-ammoniac.[5]

> This country, the pilgrim continues, yielded millet, wheat, rice, grapes, pomegranates, and plenty of pears, plums, peaches, and apricots. It produced also gold, copper, iron, lead, and tin· its climate was temperate and the people had honest ways: their writing was taken from that of India but had been much altered; they had great skill with wind- and stringed-musical instruments; they dressed in variegated woollen cloth, cut their hair short, wore turbans, used coins of gold and silver and small copper ones, and they flattened the heads of their babies. Their king was a Kuchih man, he had few intellectual resources, and was under the sway of powerful statesmen.

The word here rendered "millet" is the *mi* (糜) of the previous section. But instead of this character the C text has *ma* (麻), "hemp", and the D text has *mei* as before. The word *hsing* (杏) here rendered by "apricots" is translated "almonds" by Julien although in his "Documents Geographiques" he has given the correct rendering "abricots". The skill of the Kuchih people in music is mentioned by

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1 T'ung-chien-kang-mu *ch.* 25 (Sung Wên Huang Ti Yuan-chia 12th year

2 A-yü-wang-hsi-huai-mu-yin-yuan-ching (No. 1860).

3 Ch'ien Han Shu *ch.* 96: Wei-Shu *ch.* 102: Ma T. l. *ch.* 336. It was in the T'ang period that the capital was *Yi-lo-lu*.

4 Li-tai-yen-ko-piao, l. c.: T'ung-chien-kang-mu. *ch.* 25.

5 Sui Shu *ch.* 83: Ta-ch'ing-yi-t'ung-chih *ch.* 351: See also Timkowski's Voyage Vol. I. p. 398

other writers, and their music and musical instruments became well known to the Chinese. So also the woollen cloths and good rugs of this country were known to the Chinese before the time of our pilgrim, as were also its iron and copper products. We learn also that its king had a golden throne, and wore a magnificent turban with a long streamer hanging down behind. The reigning sovereign at the time of Yuan-chuang's visit had the surname Pai (白) and was a lineal descendant of the man whom Lü kuang (呂光) had put on the throne more than 200 years before Yuan-chuang's time. This king showed his want of political wisdom in renouncing Chinese suzerainty in favour of an alliance with the Turks, who in A. D. 648 invaded his country and took him prisoner.[1]

The pilgrim's description proceeds to relate that there were in this country more than 100 Buddhist monasteries with above 5000 Brethren who were adherents of the Sarvāstivādin branch of the "Little Vehicle" and studied the books of their religion in the language of India. These Brethren also were held in the "gradual teaching", and took along with other food the "three pure" kinds of flesh, but they were extremely punctilous in observing the rules of their code of discipline.

As we learn from other sources the people of this country were good Buddhists, and the number of Buddhist images and buildings throughout the land was very great.[2] Our pilgrim passed more than one monastery in it on his way to the capital, and he spent his first night there with the Kao-ch'ang Brethren in their monastery. That the lay people, or at least the king, kept the vows of lay disciples we may infer from the Life's account of the king's breakfast to the pilgrim. It is specially mentioned that among the food served at this entertainment were the "three pure" kinds of meat; Yuan-chuang partook of the rest of the food but declined these, explaining that although they were allowed by the "gradual teaching" they were for-

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[1] Wei Shu, l. c. Sui shu l. c.; T'ung-chien-kang-mu ch. 40.
[2] Fang-chih ch. 1. Chin (晉) Shu ch. 97; Tarikh-i-Rashid by Elias and Ross p. 124 note.

bidden by the "Great Vehicle" of which he was an adherent. The Brethren. who were all Hīnayānists, gave the pilgrim in their several monasteries as light refreshment grape-syrup which was a strictly orthodox beverage for all. Ku-chih had long been converted to Buddhism but it had not always been Hīnayānist as we read of one of its former kings being a devoted Mahāyānist

The pilgrim's description proceeds to relate that in the eastern part of Kuchih was a large Dragon-Tank in front of a Deva-Temple to the north of a city. The dragons of this tank changed themselves into horses and then coupled with mares: the offspring of this union was a fierce intractable breed, but the next generation formed fine horses patient of harness, and of these there were very many. Local tradition told of a king in recent times named Gold-Flower who by his regal ordinances and judicial impartiality moved the dragons to become his vehicles. and when he wanted to die he touched the dragon's ears with a whip, whereupon he sank out of sight with them to the present time. There were no wells in the city and the people drew water from the Tank: the dragons now changed themselves into men and had intercourse with the women: the offspring of this union became daring and fleet as horses, and all the inhabitants gradually came to have a mixture of the dragon in them; trusting to their might they made themselves feared, and came to slight the king's commands, whereupon the king brought in the Turks who slew all the living creatures in the city, and this was now a jungle without human inhabitants.

This interpretation of the story about king Gold Flower differs from the translation of the passage given by Julien which does not seem to be correct. It reads—' Le roi montrait, dans ses lois, une rare pénetration. Il sut toucher les dragons et les atteler a son char. Quand il voulait se rendre invisible, il frappait leurs oreilles avec son fouet et disparaissait subitement. Depuis cette époque, jusqu'à ce jour, la ville ne possède point de puits, de sorte que les habitants vont prendre dans le lac l'eau dont ils ont besoin." By a comparison of this with the original[1] we

[1] The original of the passage quoted from Julien is — 政教明察感龍馭乘王欲終沒鞭觸其耳因即潛隱以至于今城中無井取汲池水

see that Julien did not notice that it was the secret n of the king's wise and impartial government which the dragons to become his vehicles, and *Kan-lung-y* cannot be made to mean "Il sut toucher les dra les atteler a son char." Then "se rendre invisible' right for *chung-mê* which means "to die"; the wo "hereupon" is omitted, and the words *yi-chi-yu-chin* to the present" are divorced from their proper con This version also makes the author state that the tants still "vont prendre" water and yet a few lin we learn that the city was utterly uninhabited.

> Our narrative proceeds to relate that above forty *li* the depopulated city at the slopes of the hills, and seps a river, were two monasteries which bore the common nai *hu-li* distinguished respectively as Eastern and Weste images of the Buddha in these monasteries were beautifu beyond human skill, and the Brethren were punctiliou cipline and devoted enthusiasts. In the Buddha-Hal East *Chao-hu-li* monastery was a slab of Jade-stone al feet wide, of a pale yellow colour, and like a clam, a was an impress of Buddha's foot; this was one foot eig long by above eight (in the D text, six) inches wide, fast days it sent forth a brilliant light

The *Chao-hu-li* (昭 or 照 怙 釐) of this passage i rently a foreign, perhaps an Indian word, but we h hint as to its meaning. In other works we rea great *Chio-li* Buddhist monastery in this[1] country, also find *Chio-li* Buddhist buildings in other places *Chio-li* is perhaps another form of the word trans *Chao-hu-li*, although I-ching tells us it is Chinese a Chinese term transcribed 雀 離 *Chio-li* would "small birds such as sparrows and finches", but it written *Chio-li* (丨 梨) and this seems to be a f word. Our pilgrim's *Chao-hu-li* and the *Chio-li* of writers may perhaps represent the Indian word which denotes a small bird like the sparrow. Bi tope at the place where the brahmin carrying a sp

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[1] Shui-ching-chu: Kao-sêng-chuan *ch.* 2 (No. 1490).
[2] Shih-li-ching and J. A. T. VI. p. 361

interrogated the Buddha is the only one of the Buddhist buildings called *Chio-li* to which this interpretation can be applied with any probability. Another suggestion is that *Chio-li* and *Chao-hu-li* may be the foreign term represented by the common transcription *Chu-li* (侏離) which means *motley* or *particoloured*, of mixed bright and dark colours. This interpretation would evidently suit some, and perhaps would apply to all, of the buildings to which the terms in question are applied.

Outside of the west gate of the capital, the narrative relates, were two standing images of the Buddha, above ninety feet high, one on each side of the highway. These images marked the place where the great quinquennial Buddhist assemblies were held, and at which the annual autumn religious meetings of clergy and laity occurred. The latter meetings lasted for some tens of days, and were attended by ecclesiastics from all parts of the country. While these convocations were sitting the king and all his subjects made holiday, abstaining from work, keeping fast, and hearing religious discourses. All the monasteries made processions with their images of Buddha, adorning these with pearls and silk embroideries. The images were borne on vehicles, and beginning with a thousand, they became a great multitude at the place of meeting. North-west from this place of assembly and on the other side of a river was the *A-shê-li-yi* (阿奢理貳 or 兒) Monastery. This had spacious halls and artistic images of the Buddha: its Brethren were grave seniors of long perseverance in seeking for moral perfection and of great learning and intellectual abilities the monastery was a place of resort for men of eminence from distant lands who were hospitably entertained by the king and officials and people. The pilgrim then gives the curious legend about the origin of the monastery.

We know from the Life that our pilgrim's account of the Buddhist procession of images here was derived from his own experience as he reached the country in time to witness one of these processions. The native annotator explains the *A-shê-li-yi* here by "marvellous" and it is evidently a transcription of the Sanskrit word *āścharya*, meaning a *marvel* or *miracle*.[1] According to the legend

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[1] The character here read *yi* is 貳 and Julien transliterates it *ni*, but the old and correct sound of the character is *yi*, and in the Life

related by the pilgrim the monastery was erected by a king to commemorate the miracle which was wrought on his pure and noble-minded brother. One of its chief monks at this time, we learn from the Life, was the Brother known in religion by the name Mokshagupta, a Hīnayānist who had studied above twenty years in India, and had acquired a great reputation in Kuchih, especially for his knowledge of the commentaries and etymology. When Yuan-chuang arrived Mokshagupta treated him merely with the ordinary courtesy due to any guest, but when the pilgrim exposed the ignorance of his host the latter came to treat him as his master in religion. This monastery is mentioned in Wu-k'ung's itinerary by the name *A-shê-li-yi*. It is also perhaps the Wang-Ssŭ or Royal Vihāra of other writers, and we find Dharmagupta lodged in the Royal Vihāra about A. D. 585 while he stayed in this country. The Miracle Monastery, Yuan-chuang tells us, drew learned Brethren from distant places to it, and it seems that these men came chiefly to study the Vinaya. One of these great students was Vimalāksha, popularly known as the "Dark-eyed Vinaya-Master", a contemporary of Kumārajīva.[2]

POH-LU-KA

Our pilgrim continuing his narrative tells us that

from this (viz. Kuchih city) a journey of above 600 li west across a small desert brought him to the *Poh-lu-ka* country. This was above 600 *li* from east to west by more than 300 *li* from north to south, and its capital was five or six *li* in circuit. In general characteristics this country and its people resembled Kuchih and its people, but the spoken language differed a little. The fine cloth and serge of the district were esteemed by the neighbouring countries. There were some some tens of monasteries with above 1000 Brethren all adherents of the Sarvāstivādin school.

A Chinese note to our text tells us that old names for *Poh-lu-ka* were *Ki-mê* and *Ku-mê* in some

we have instead of this character another also read *yi*, viz. 兒. Wu-k'ung's transcription of the name is 阿遮哩貳.

[1] Su-kao-sêng-chuan *ch.* 2 (No. 1493).

[2] K'ai-yuan-lu *ch.* 3 (No. 1485).

copies 鉛 by mistake). This Ku-mê is found in the Han-Shu and is subsequent histories as the name of a state to the west of Kuchih. It had a capital called Nan-ch'êng or "South city", and it yielded copper, iron, and orpiment.[1] M. V. de St. Martin makes Ku-mê or Poh-lu-ka correspond to the modern district of Aksu and this identification has been adopted by others. Some Chinese writers identify it with the modern Bai city (拜 城), while others more correctly regard it as represented by the present Yurgun or Khara-yurgun (哈 拉 玉 爾 滾), the Karayalghan or Khara-yurgun of our maps, which is within the political district of Aksu.[2] It seems that Yuan chuang was the first to use this name Poh-lu-ka, and it is known only through these Records and the Life, for the "T'ang-Shu" evidently derived its information direct from the Records.[3] The explanation of its use is apparently simple. The *Ku-mê* of the Histories transcribes the Turkish word Kum (or Qum) which means "sand" or "a desert", a word of frequent occurrence in names of places in Central Asia. Then the Buddhist Brethren from India substituted for Kum its Sanskrit equivalent Bālukā which in our pilgrim's transcription became *Poh-lu-ka*.

The word translated in the above passage by "cloth" is *tieh* in the B text and *chan* or "felt" in the C and D texts. The latter in the sense of "woollen cloth" is probably here, as in other passages, the correct reading, and it was the reading in the text of the Record used by the compiler of the T'ang-Shu". It was the fine woollen fabrics of this district which were held in esteem by the surrounding countries.

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[1] Ch'ien Han-Shu, *ch.* 96: Wei-Shu, *ch.* 102 where Ku-mê is a dependency of Ku-tse.

[2] Hsin-ch'iang, ch. 1, 3. According to this treatise the "small desert" is the modern *Ch'a-êrh-chih-ko*, the Charchik of our maps. See Proceedings of R. G. S Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 86.

[3] T'ang-Shu, *ch.* 221. But the P'o-lu-ka (婆 樓 迦) or Bāluka of the Ta-fang-têng-ta-chi-ching *ch.* 55 (No. 62) is evidently the Bāluka of our text.

THE ICE MOUNTAIN AND CLEAR LAKE

The pilgrim goes on to relate that

> going north-west from Poh-lu-ka above 300 *li* passing along crossing) a stony desert he came to the *Ling-shan* (Ice M tain). This was the north beginning of the Ts'ung-Ling most of the streams from it flowed east. The gorges of mountain accumulated snow and retained their coldness sp and summer, and although there was the periodical melting freezing set in immediately, the path was dangerous, cold w blew fiercely. There were many troubles from savage dra who molested travellers those going by this road could not red clothes or carry calabashes or make a loud noise; a s provocation caused immediate disaster; fierce winds burst f and there were flying sand and showers of stones, those encountered these died, life could not be saved. A journe over 400 *li* brought the pilgrim to a great clear lake al 1000 *li* in circuit, longer from east to west than from nort south. The lake had hills on all sides and was the meeting-p for various streams, its waters were of a deep azure hue had a sharp brackish taste, it was a vast expanse with tu tuous billows. Fish and dragons lived in it pell-mell, and su natural prodigies appeared in it occasionally. So trave prayed for good luck, and although fish abounded no one w venture to catch them

From the Life we learn that Yuan-chuang was se days in crossing the Ice Mountain, and from the Fa chih we learn that he travelled in a western direc across it. The term which he uses for the Ice Mount is *Ling-shan* (凌山), *ling* being the classical word "ice". The modern Chinese name is *Ping-shan* with same meaning, the Turkish designation being Musur-dabgh According to the Life the mountain was high as heavens and covered with eternal snow, and the Pass extremely difficult and hazardous on account of its blo of ice and masses of rock. Our pilgrim's Ling-shan garded as a Pass has been identified with the pres Muzart or Ice-Pass, and there is much in favour of identification although there are also difficulties in way of its acceptance. Thus our pilgrim says he w north-west from the Kum or Kharayurgun district,

the Muzart is due north of that. M. St. Martin, accordingly, has to change the direction of the pilgrim's route and he tells us that "Hiouen-thsang, en quittant Po-lou-kia (Aksou), se porte au nord vers de grandes montagnes, qui forment, dit-il, l'angle (l'extrémité) septentrionale des monts Tsong-ling."[1] Some Chinese writers on the subject also describe the great mountain range south of Ili as the north "corner" (or "beginning") of the Ts'ung-Ling. But the Musur-dabghan is said to belong to a different range, not to the Ts'ung-Ling. The Muzart was and perhaps still is used by the traders passing between Kulja (Ili) and the districts of Kashgar, Yarkhand, and Khoten.[2] It is still very difficult and hazardous to cross the Muzart from the south side, and the trading caravans go from Kashgar to Kulja by other Passes, and take this one only on the return journey. Moreover our pilgrim's account of his journey over the *Ling-shan* Pass agrees well with the descriptions we have of the Muzart. But the Pass by which he crossed the great mountain may have been the Bedal, or one between that and the Muzart, or he may have gone north to the last and then in a westerly direction over the mountain to the "great clear lake".

A note to the text here tells us that this lake was the Hot Sea (熱海) and Salt Sea (鹹海) of others. It is the Issik-kül or Hot Lake of the Turkic-speaking people and the Temurtu-nor or Ferruginous Lake of the Mongols. It is explained that the water of the Lake is not actually hot, but that the Lake was called "Hot Sea" because although girt by snow-clad mountains its waters never froze. It was called Temurtu-nor on account of the abundant presence of flakes of iron brought down by the tributary streams.[3]

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[1] Julien III. p. 266.

[2] Hsin-ch'iang, *chs.* 1. 3. 4.

[3] See Reclus L'Asie-Russe p. 350. Proc*. R. G. S. Vol. XVIII, p. 249: Hsin-ch'iang, *chs.* 1. 4: T'ung-chien-kang-mu, *ch.* 41: Sven Hedin's Through Asia, Vol. II, p. 868. Description of Issik Kul in Schuyler's Turkestan, Vol. II, p. 128.

It will be noticed that the information which our pilgrim gives about this "great clear lake" is such as might have been acquired without a personal visit. Comparing the combined accounts of the Records and the Life with the descriptions given by later travellers, we are perhaps justified in at least doubting whether the pilgrim actually reached the Issik-kül. Other travellers, Chinese and western, agree in describing this lake as being actually hot, at least near the banks, the only parts accessible until lately. No mention, however, is made either in the Records or the Life of the nature of the banks, of the tribes who lived on them, or of the vestiges of a former state of affairs. In connection with the statement that no one dared to fish in the lake we may recall the fact that the Syrians forbade any interference with the large tame fish in the river Chalos, regarding the fish as divine.[1] Our pilgrim was evidently told that the Lake was the abode of mysterious powerful supernatural beings easily excited and supposed to be malevolent. It was by these creatures that the waters, even when there was no wind, were agitated, and monstrous billows put in motion. Through fear of these unseen beings also, apparently, the people of the district did not dare to fish in the Lake.

Yuan-chuang here makes the Issik-kül to be above 1000 *li* in circuit, and the Life makes it 1400 or 1500 *li* in circuit, but some other Chinese authorities represent it as only a few hundred *li* in circuit.

The pilgrim goes on the relate that

> [from] Issik-kül going north-west he travelled above 500 *li* to the city of the *Su-she* water which was six or seven *li* in circuit. It was inhabited by traders and Tartars (*Hu*) from various districts, the country yielded millet, wheat, grapes, but trees were sparse, its climate was regular and its winds cold; the people wore woollen (felt and serge) clothing. To the west of *Su-she* were some tens of isolated cities each with its own governor but all under the rule of the Turks.

[1] Xenophon Anab. A. IV. 9.

The translators seem to have understood the first words of the text of this passage as meaning that the pilgrim following the north side of Issik-kūl went north-west 500 *li* from it. But the Life gives the direction as "north-west following the Lake". Then Ma Tuan-lin, whose inspiration was derived from the Records, does not mention the "Clear lake" and places the "Su-she water City" 500 *li* north-west from the Ling-shan.[1] It seems to me that we must regard the pilgrim as coming out from the Ice Mountain on the south side of the Lake and going on keeping the Lake on his right hand travelling north-west 500 *li* to the city of the *Su-she* water. The name of this "water" or river is written 素葉 but we are told that the second character is to be read *she* and not *ye*, and Julien corrected his "Su-ye" to "Su-che", that is Sushe or Susa. We do not seem to know of this city, at least by this name, except through our pilgrim's narrative, although we find mention of another *Su-she* river. We read in the history of the T'ang dynasty of a city to the east of the *Hot Lake* called Sui-ye (or -she) (碎葉) and this is taken by Dr. Bretschneider and others, Chinese included, to be the *Su-she* of the present passage.[2] But this Sui-she city did not come into existence until A. D. 679 when it was built by the Chinese.[3] The expression used is chu-Sui-she-ch'êng (築碎葉城) "build the Sui-she city, but the words have been taken to mean that the Chinese built a fort at Sui-she. This city was apparently substituted for Yenk'i as one of the Four Stations under the Chief Resident of An-hsi: we have mention of it being restored to that position in the year A. D. 692, and in 748 it was destroyed. The T'ang-Shu mentions the *Sui-she* valley (川), 80 *li* from the mouth of which was the city of General P'ei Lo (裴羅), and 40 *li* west from it was the *Sui-she* city; on the north of this was the river with the same name, and 40 *li* north of it

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[1] *Ch* 336.

[2] Med. Res. Vol. i. p. 227.

[3] T'ung-chien-kang-mu, *ch.* 41 (T'ang Kao Tsung Tiao-li 1st year)

was the *Ku-tan* (羯丹) hill, the spot at which the Khans of the Ten surnames were crowned.[1] This city seems to have disappeared ever since the T'ang period. Its remains are supposed by some to exist at a place on the north side of the Issik-kül, but this does not suit the position of the city with reference to the Lake. The Su-she for our text was apparently situated to the west of Issik-kül, south of Tokmak, and not very far to the north-west of the Son-kül. Modern Chinese maps place in that neighbourhood a river called *Su-sa-ma-êrh* (蘇薩瑪爾), that is perhaps, "Susa water". In some of our maps this river appears as "Susamir", a name also given to a range of mountains in the neighbourhood. In some old maps of the Persian empire at the height of its greatness we find to the north of Samarkand a town called "Teras" and north-east from it a river "Sos-chi". Further it is to be observed that some Chinese geographers understand *Su-she-shui* to be an old name for the Issik-kül.[2] At the time of our pilgrim's visit the Su-she river and its city had been a part of the great Persian empire; and we may with some probability take the name Su-she to be for Susa transferred from the old Susa "by Choaspes' amber stream, the drink of none but kings". Professor Hirth, who considers the Su-she of our text to be the Sui-she of the T'ang History, restores the name Sui-she as Sūj-āb.[3] He writes *Su-ye* and *Sui-ye*, and if the latter term is regarded as a Chinese name his transcription of the characters may be correct. But the former is a foreign word read *Su-she*, and our pilgrim's *Su-she-shui* may possibly correspond to the Sūj-āb of Tabari quoted by Dr. Hirth.

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[1] *Ch.* 43. The "General Pei Lo" of this passage is perhaps the civil official Pei Hing chien (裴行儉) who caused a general to build the city.

[2] Han-i-hoang *ch.* 1 where the expression is *Sui-sheh-chuan* (川).

[3] Nachworte z. Inschrift d. Tonjukuk S. 71 and cf. S. 73. 75. (Die Alt-Türkischen Inschriften d. Mongolen. Radloff).

SU-LI.

The pilgrim adds—

> From the city of the Su-she water to the Kasanna country the territory and its inhabitants are called *Su-li.* This name is applied also to the language and the writing of the people. The letters of their language are only 20 (in the B text 30) odd which have come to produce a vast vocabulary. they read their writing vertically. teacher transmits instruction to his successor in unbroken continuity. Their garments, which are tight-fitting, are felt (in B *tieh*) and serge for inside and skins and wool (or Cotton *tieh*) outside. They cut the hair even leaving the top of the head exposed, some shave off all the hair, and they bind the forehead with a silk band They are of large stature but of a cowardly disposition they are treacherous and deceitful in their ways and very avaricious. Father and son scheme for gain: wealth gives eminence. there is no distinction between the well-born and the low-born· one who is extremely rich may live on poor food and wear coarse clothing. The people are half-and-half traders and farmers.

The country and people here called *Su-li* (窣利) are apparently almost unknown, at least by this name. I-ching several times mentions a region and people which he calls *Su-li* (速利) and this word is probably the Su-li of our passage. But whereas Yuan-chuang restricts his name to a small defined district, I-ching seems to use his Su-li as a general name for the northern extra-India people called Hu (胡) or at least for a main division of the Hu.[1] So also in his Sanskrit-Chinese Vocabulary I-ching gives Sali transcribed *Su-li* as the Sanskrit equivalent for Hu: the transcription for Sali is generally Su-li but in one place it is, perhaps by mistake, *Sunlin.* As to what Sali or Su-li means we seem to be left in ignorance. Alberuni mentions a country Sūlika which he places in the north, and another Sūlika which he puts in the north-west, but the latter name, which is taken from the Brihat-Samhitā

[1] Nan-hai-chi-kuei *Chs.* 9, 10, 25, and Takakusu pp. 49, 68, 69, 119.

should perhaps be read Mūlika.[1] It seems probable that the Su-li of our pilgrim corresponds to the "Sārts" of later times. This is a term applied, we are told, by the nomads of Central Asia to all dwellers in towns and villages without regard to race or origin. But, according to M. de Ujfalvy, the Tajiks are not counted as Sārts. These Tajiks, it is important to remember, are Iranians (Eranians) of three kinds, (1) indigenous Iranians, (2) Persian colonists, and (3) the descendants of Persian slaves. It is interesting to compare M. de Ujfalvy's "Carte ethnographique de l'Asie centrale" with Yuan-chuang's narrative and the description of the Su-li with that of the Sārts.[2] But although the descriptions may correspond it does not seem right to regard Su-li as a transcription of Sārt. Like another word to be noticed hereafter it may stand for the Turkic Sulıq in the sense of "having water", a term which seems to be very appropriate to at least a portion of the Su-li region but not to all. We should probably regard the pilgrim's statement that the country was called Su-li as a mistake and the name should perhaps be regarded as applying only to the inhabitants and their language.

THOUSAND SPRINGS.

Returning to the text of our Records we read that a journey of above 400 *li* westward from "Su-she city" brought the pilgrim to the "Thousand Springs". The district with this name was above 200 *li* square, it had Snowy mountains on its south side and level land on the other sides, it had a rich mouldy soil and trees everywhere, in the latter part of spring the place was an embroidery of flowers. There were a thousand springs and ponds and hence the name of the district, the Khan of the Turks came here every year to escape the summer heat. The place contained flocks of tame deer many of which wore bells and rings, the deer were cherished by the Khan who forbade the slaughter of any of them under the penalty of capital punishment, and so the deer lived their natural lives.

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[1] Alberuni Vol I. pp. 300, 302. Ind. Ant Vol. XXII. p. 190.
[2] Le Kohistan, Le Ferghanah et Kouldja pp. 59, 187.

From the Life we learn that the local native name of this charming district, here called *Ch'ien-Ch'uan* (千 泉), was Ping-yü (屏 聿). This evidently represents Bing-ghyul which is the Turkic equivalent for *Ch'ien-ch'uan* or "Thousand Springs". There is little mention of the district bearing this name in Chinese literature. We find it stated in the history of the Sui dynasty that in the year A. D. 619 the She-hu khan of the West Turks removed his Court to the Thousand Springs, described as being to the north of the Shih (石), that is, Tashkend country.[1] Moreover in the XII[th] *chuan* of these Records we are told that the Ts'ung-Ling range 'extended on the north to the Hot sea (the Issik-kül) and Thousand Springs'

M[r] Schuyler finds the district here named Thousand Springs in the country to the north of the Alexandrofsky range and between Auliéata and Ak-su. Of his journey from the former of these two places to the latter he writes — 'All along my right was the beautiful Alexandrofsky range, with many of its summits then white with snow. At almost every step I crossed rivulets trickling down from the hills, showing well the truth of the old name, 'the thousand sources'."[2] With this we may compare D[r] Bretschneider's opinion—"Vivien de St. Martin. in his geographical notes appended to Stan. Julien's translation of Hüan Thsang's narrative identifies *Ts'ients'üan* with a place *Ming bulak*, south of Lake Karakul, thus carrying the traveller far north-west, and then locates his *Ta-lo-sz* between the aforesaid lake and the Jaxartes. But this view is untenable. Ming bulak meaning 'Thousand Springs' in Mongol and other languages of the East, is a quite frequent name for places in Mongolia and Central Asia. It seems to me that the Thousand Springs of the Chinese traveller, bordered on the south by snowy mountains, whilst on the other sides all was level land, must be rather looked for somewhere on the northern slope of the high

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[1] See T'ung-chien-kang-mu *ch.* 88 (sui Kung Ti 2[d] year).
[2] Turkistan Vol. II. p. 123.

mountain stretching from Lake Issik-kül westward, and marked on Russian maps as *Alexander's Chain*".[1]

THE KHAN.

Before leaving this district we must take notice of the short description which the Life gives of the pilgrim's meeting with the Khan of the Turks.

It relates that at the Su-she-water city, called here the *Su-she* city, the pilgrim met with the Turk Sh'eh-hu Khan then on a hunting expedition. His military equipment, we are told, was very grand. The Khan wore a green satin robe; his hair which was ten feet long was free · a band of white silk was wound round his forehead hanging down behind The ministers of the presence, above 200 in number, all wearing embroidered robes and with plaited hair stood on his right and left The rest of his military retinue clothed in fur, serge, and fine wool, the spears and standards and bows in order, and the riders of camels and horses stretched far away out of ken. The Khan was delighted to meet Yuan-chuang and invited him to stay in the encampment during his absence which would be only for two or three days, giving him into the charge of a Minister of the presence named Ha-mo-chih. After three days the Khan returned and Yuan-chuang was taken to his tent The gold embroidery of this grand tent shone with a dazzling splendour, the ministers of the presence in attendance sat on mats in long rows on either side all dressed in magnificent brocade robes while the rest of the retinue on duty stood behind You saw that although it was a case of a frontier ruler yet there was an air of distinction and elegance The Khan came out from his tent about thirty paces to meet Yuan-chuang who after a courteous greeting entered the tent. As the Turks are fire-worshippers they do not use wooden seats, we are told, as wood has the principle of fire, and they use double mats as seats · but for the pilgrim the Khan provided an iron-framed bench with a mattress. After a short interval envoys from China and Kao-ch'ang were admitted and presented their despatches and credentials which the Khan perused. He was much elated and caused the envoys to be seated, then he ordered wine and music for himself and them, and grape-syrup for the pilgrim. Hereupon all pledged each other and the filling and passing and draining of the winecups made a din and bustle, while the mingled music of various

[1] Med. Res. Vol. I p. 228 note.

instruments rose loud: although the airs were the popular strains of foreigners yet they pleased the senses and exhilarated the mental faculties. After a little, piles of roasted beef and mutton were served for the others, and lawful food such a cakes, milk, candy, honey, and grapes for the pilgrim. After the entertainment grape-syrup was again served and the Khan invited Yuan-chuang to improve the occasion, whereupon the pilgrim expounded the doctrines of the "ten virtues", compassion for animal life, and the Paramitas and emancipation. The Khan raising his hands bowed and gladly believed and accepted the teaching. He detained the pilgrim some days and wanted to keep him permanently. "You need not go to the *In-tê-ka* country", he urged, "that land is very hot, its 10th month being as the 5th of this place; judging from your appearance I fear you will not survive a visit; its people are contemptible being black and uncivilized". But the pilgrim replied that notwithstanding all this he wanted to seek the traces of the Buddha and learn his religious system Then the Khan sought out among his retainers a young man who had spent some years in Ch'ang-an and could speak Chinese and other languages This young man he made *Mo-to-ta-kuan* and appointed him to go with the pilgrim as far as Kapistet entrusting him also with despatches about the pilgrim. The Khan, moreover, gave Yuan-chuang a dark-red silk monk's suit and fifty webs (*p'i* 疋) of soft silk, and he and his ministers escorted the pilgrim above ten *li* on his way.

The "Sheh-hu Khan" of this passage was probably a relative of that *To-lu* (咄陸) Khan of the West Turks who died in A. D. 635. His title is written *Ye-hu* (葉護), in other places also 葉護, but we are always told that the characters are to be read *Sheh-hu*. This term, which is of very frequent occurrence in historical works treating of the Turks, is generally interpreted as meaning *ta-ch'ên* (大臣) or "high official". We are told that it denoted the highest rank of Turkish officials under the Khan, and the person bearing this title was usually a son, brother, or other near relative of the Khan.[1] He was commonly the satrap or governor of a Province, but we read also of the Right and Left Shehhu at the Khan's court.[2] There

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[1] Ma I. l. *ch.* 343. 344.

[2] Ma I. l. *ch.* 347 T'angshu *ch.* 217. Here it is Uigour dignitaries who style themselves "Left and Right Sheh-hu". In the Life

is much probability in the supposition that the word represents the old Turkic Yabgu or Jabgu found in certain old inscriptions, and this word also denotes a viceroy or Governor.[1]

For the words "his military equipment was very grand" the Chinese is *Jung-ma-chên-shêng* (戎馬甚盛) which Julien translates—"Les chevaux de ces barbares étaient extrêmement nombreux." This rendering seems to be faulty and to spoil the description. *Jung-ma* is originally a "war-horse", and the term is used in this sense in classical literature. Then it came to denote the army and all the material equipment for a war, and it is also used to denote "a campaign," a "state of active warfare."[2] As the context here shews the pilgrim found reason to admire the army which attended the Khan and the army included soldiers mounted on elephants and horses along with standard-bearers and others. It seems better, accordingly, to translate the clause by some such words as "his military equipment was magnificent." In the Records we find the expression *ping-ma-chiang-shêng* (兵馬强盛) with a similar meaning.

As to the Khan's hair the D text makes it to have

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also we have the Governor of Tokhara, a grandson of the "Sheh-hu Khan" assuming the title of "Sheh-hu" (Life *ch.* 5: Julien I. p. 268). The pilgrim seems to have made a distinction between the "Sheh-hu Khan" or Governor of several Provinces and the "Sheh-hu", the Governor of one Province under the former. This distinction, however, is not strictly observed by him and it seems to be unknown to others.

[1] Thomsen's Inscriptions de l'Orkhon, p[s] 102, 146, 192: Hirth's Nachworte &c. op. c. S. 22, 45.

[2] Two examples may suffice. In the 46[th] chapter of the Tao-tê-ching we find the *draught horse* of peace and the *Jung-ma* or "war-horse" used in an illustration of the effects of good government and of disorder respectively. The words of this passage *Jung-ma-shêng-yü-chiao* (戎馬生于郊), "the war steeds are born on the wild frontiers," often shortened to *Jung-ma-tsai-chiao* are often used to denote the existence of a state of border warfare. Then "in the midst of war" is expressed by 在戎馬之間.

been above ten feet long,[1] but the O text, which Julien seems to have had, was taken by him to mean that it was the silk band which was ten feet long. This reading, however, is evidently wrong, the word *i* (以), as the parallel clause shews, being an improper interpolation.

The term here rendered "Ministers of the presence" is *ta-kuan* (達官) for which Julien gives "officiers" and "officiers de haut rang," but neither of these is so good as his discarded rendering "officiers introducteurs." In a Chinese-Sanskrit Vocabulary this word is given as the equivalent of the Sanskrit word *Sammata* in the sense of "held in esteem" or "honoured." It is also given as the rendering of the Sanskrit Amantrayitā and of the Turkish equivalent *Tasrifatyi*. But the word, which is also written *Ta-kan* (達干) is evidently, as has been conjectured, the Turkish word Tarkhan or Darghan. The *Ta-kuan* or Tarkhan were not necessarily officials of high degree, but they were men whom the Khan delighted to honour, who attended him on state occasions and introduced those summoned or invited to his presence. They had the right of entry to the Khan's presence, and they had also the privilege of sitting in his presence at an audience, banquet, or other state function.[2] When the pilgrim is leaving, the Khan, as we have seen, appoints a young retainer to be *Mo-to* (摩咄)-*ta-kuan* and accompany the pilgrim to Kapis. This word *Moto*, which we sometimes find used as if it were a personal name, is perhaps for the Turkish word *Mutarjinn* which means "an interpreter".

The words here rendered "spears and standards" are *sho-tu* (槊纛), but it seems to be possible that the writer used them in the sense of "raised standard". The word *tu* is the Turkish tūgh, a standard formed by a long pole surmounted by a receptacle containing a yak's tail. This

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[1] Cf. Ogilby's Persia p. 81.

[2] De Courteille Dict. Turk. or •. p. 318: Hirth, op. c. p. 55: Thomsen op. c. ps. 59, 185: Schlegel, Die Chin. Ins. ad. d. Uigur Denkmal, S. 9 et al.

standard was one of the insignia of relatives of the Khan and distinguished military officers.

The author of the Life tells us, we have seen, that the Khan had a fine bearing and presence "although he was a frontier ruler." In the original the words for "frontier ruler" are *K'ung-lü-chih-chün* (穹廬之君) which Julien translates—"un prince barbare, abrité sous une tente de feutre", which seems to be a double translation. *K'ung-lü* is a well-known literary term for *Pien-ti* or "border land" as contrasted with Shên-chou or China. But it is also used to denote "a felt tent," and then "an encampment," "camp-life."[1] As *K'ung* means "vast" or "lofty" and *lü* means a "hut" or "cottage" we may with some probability regard the compound in the sense of a "felt tent" as a foreign word. We find it also written *Kung-lü* (弓閭) and these two terms may perhaps represent the Turkish word *Külube* which means a "tent of felt." But in phrases like that of our text the term should perhaps be regarded as having the signification of "outlying," that is, "barbarous territory."

We come next to the words here loosely rendered by "the mingled music of various instruments." These are *K'in-mei-tou* (or *tu*)-*li* (㣜佅兜離) which Julien renders—"la musique des barbares du midi et du nord, de l'orient et de l'occident," but this is evidently not correct. We know that the old term for the music of the north barbarians was *k'in* (禁), for that of the East barbarians *mei* (韎 or 昧), for that of the southern barbarians *jen* (任), and for that of the west barbarians *chu-li* (侏 or 株離).[2] It will be seen that our passage has not the word *jen*, and that its characters are not those of the rest of the description here quoted. A glossary to the passage tells

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[1] Ku-shih-yuan (古詩原) *ch.* 6 and *ch.* 2: Ch'ien Han-shu *ch.* 96. Jih-chih-lu (日知錄) *ch.* 29. With the description of the Khan given in our text we may compare Master A. Jenkinson's account of Solyman the Great Turke in Hakluyt's Principall Voyages, &c. p. 81 (1st ed.).

[2] Ma T. L *ch.* 148. Kanghsi Dict. s. v. 株.

us that *k'in-mei* is the name of a barbarian music, and our *tu-li* is the recognized transcription of the Sanskrit word *turyā* meaning "music." This last word had been known to the Chinese for some centuries before Yuan-chuang's time. It is possible the *k'in*, *mei*, and *tu-li* of our passage may be the *k'in*, *mei*, and *chu-li* of other books and that the words are used here in a peculiar manner. Our four characters may thus mean simply "the music of the foreign instruments" or something similar.

It will be noticed that among the "pure food" of which the pilgrim partakes at the Khan's banquet was a preparation of milk. In taking this he was not acting in strict accordance with Mahāyānist discipline, and I-ching states positively that milk was not a lawful article of food to a bhikshu.[1]

When the feast was over the pilgrim, at the Khan's request, as we have seen, gave him an exposition of some of the leading features of Buddhism. The first in the list of subjects is the *shih-shan* (十 善) or "Ten Virtues" that is, the ten excellent precepts which the Mahāyānist undertook to observe. These were not to kill, not to steal, not to commit impurity, not to be false in language, not to be double-tongued, not to use bad language, not to use fine glosing speech, not to covet, not to be angry, not to take heretical views.[2]

The narrative in the Life with which we are now concerned gives us a very interesting picture of that strange people called by the Chinese *T'u-küe*, Turks. This people had a remarkable but short career the main incidents of which are well known. In the 5th century of our era the Turks were slaves in the iron mines and forges of another tribe, the *Juan-juan* or *Niu-yen*, on the south of the Gold mountain near the modern Barkul. They rebelled against their masters and were successful. Their dash and prowess soon made them a power, and they harried the surrounding

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[1] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 1.

[2] Fa-kie-tsŭ-ti-chu-mên, *ch.* 1 (No. 1572).

regions to the borders of China. Then we find a king in China sending an envoy to them in A.D. 545 and this is the first appearance of the Turks in Chinese history.[1] A few (24) years afterwards envoys from the rulers of Persia and the Roman Empire arrived at the seat of government of these Turks.[2] About this time also the Wei king in China received and entertained magnificently a Turkish ambassador with a large suite at Ch'ang-an-foo and gave a princess to the Khan in marriage. The splitting up of the great Turkish host occurred a few years afterwards, about the end of the sixth century, and the term "West Turks" began to be used from that time. The power of the Turks grew rapidly until it extended from Liao-tung to the West (Caspian) Sea, but within little more than two centuries it passed away.

The account of the Khan and his doings here reminds one of descriptions of Persian chiefs in other books, and this Khan seems to be in some respects rather Persian than Turkish. We see him, for example, like a satrap, a Persian "Prefectus Provinciæ," practising his soldiers in hunting; and the chase is with him apparently a military exercise. The "Thousand Springs" was a Paradeisos with plenty of water, thickly grown with trees and full of wild animals. The pretty story in the Records about the deer in this place going about free and secure, adorned with bells and rings, shews us that the Khan did not hunt merely for the game to be taken. But the story may be a misinterpretation of an old Persian custom to which the Khan adhered. Of this custom we find mention by Ogilby in the following passage—"In the beginning of the month *Ramadhan*, which is our Lent, the king goes *to Abicurong* in the mountains to take the fresh air, and to hunt, in which sport he spends several days, attended by some thousands of people. At the ears of those beasts which the king takes alive he hangs golden plates, on which are

[1] T'ung-chien-kang-mu, *ch* 32, p 62.
[2] Gibbon. Decline and Fall, *ch.* xlii.

engraven certain marks, and then setting them at liberty again, often he retakes them; nay some have been taken who have had the marks of king Thamas, Ismail Sefi, and other ancient princes."[1]

The Life represents the West Turks as fire-worshippers and as abstaining from the use of wooden seats on account of their reverence for the element of fire inherent in wood. But here there is evidently a mistake. The Persians were fire-worshippers, but we read of the Turks as worshipping the "blue heaven," their ancestors. and other objects, and as miners and blacksmiths they cannot have been fire-worshippers. But it is acknowledged that some at least of the Turks, perhaps under Persian influence, became worshippers of fire and a Turkish tribe, the Karakirghiz, although nominally Mahometan still adheres to rites of the old worship.[2] The Turks at the Su-she city sat cross-legged on mats or cushions because it was their custom. Out of consideration for the Chinese guest the Khan ordered a bench for him such as was used by Buddhist monks. In like manner the king of Hyrcan in 1566 shewed courtesy to M^r^ A. Jenkinson when the latter was presented to him. The king "kept his court at that time in the high mountains in tents"; he was "richly appareiled with long garments of silke and cloth of golde imbrodered with pearls and stone." M^r^ Jenkinson proceeds—"Thus the king with his nobilitie sitting in his pavilion with his legs acrosse, and perceiving that it was painefull for me so to sit, his highnesse caused a stoole to be brought in and did will me to sit thereupon after my fashion."[3]

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1 Ogilby's Persia p. 79.
2 Schuyler's Turkistan Vol. II. p. 137.
3 Hakluyt op. c. p. 367.

CHAPTER IV.

CHUAN I CONT[D]

TARAS TO KAPIS.

The account in the Records proceeds to relate that from Bing-ghyul or Thousand Springs the pilgrim continued his journey westward and after going 140 or 150 *li* he arrived at the city of *Ta-lo-ssŭ*. This city was eight or nine *li* in circuit: here traders and Tartars (or, trading Tartars) from other countries lived pell mell in natural products and climate the city much resembled *Su-she*.

The *Ta-lo-ssŭ* of this passage is undoubtedly the Taras or Talas of several old writers and travellers Dr Bretschneider, properly rejecting M. Saint-Martin's identification of Taras, is disposed to place the site of the city near that of the present Aulié-ata on the river Taras, and Dr Schuyler is of the same opinion.[1] This seems to be correct enough for practical purposes, but the old Taras (or Talas) was probably some miles to the south-east of the modern town Aulié-ata. It should be added that while the distance between *Su-she* and Taras in this passage is 540 *li* the distance between the *Sui-ye* city and Taras is given elsewhere as only 310 *li*.[2]

Our narrative proceeding tells us that above ten *li* to the south of Taras was a small isolated town inhabited by above 300 Chinese. These men had originally been taken captive by the Turks and carried off to this district: they had afterwards

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[1] Med Res Vol I. p. 18 note and p 228 note. See Schuyler's Turkistan Vol. II. p. 120.

[2] T'ang-Shu, *ch.* 43 and 221.

> banded together and had settled in and fortified this town: they had then changed their style of dress for that of the Turks but they had still retained their native speech and ways of life.

In connection with these statements it will be remembered that while Yuan-chuang was at Su-she a Chinese envoy arrived and had audience of the Khan. This may have been the envoy sent by the Emperor T'ai Tsung in A.D. 631 to obtain from the Turks the release of all their Chinese captives. In the time of the Sui dynasty the Turks had invaded China, penetrating far into the country and carrying off many myriads of Chinese prisoners. It was to ransom these that the great Emperor sent his ambassador to the Khan in the year mentioned. The historian tells us that the number of men, women, and children released from captivity among the Turks on this occasion was above 80000. Among those thus happily restored to their homes were probably the 300 Chinese of this little town near Taras.[1]

PAI-SHUI-CH'ÊNG

> Proceeding on his journey and going in a south-west direction for above 200 *li* from the little Chinese town the pilgrim reached the *Pai-shui-ch'êng* or "White water city." This was six or seven *li* in circuit, and the district excelled Taras in fertility of soil and in climate

As we learn from other sources this was a well-watered region with a rich fertile soil.[2] Long ago Rémusat identified this "White water city" with the "Isfidjab" or "Esfidjab" of Arabian writers, this name also meaning "White water."[3] M. St. Martin adopts this identification and it has been generally followed. Then this "Isfidjab" has been declared to be the *Sairam* which is now, Dr Bretschneider tells us, "a little town in Russian Turkestan, north-east of Tashkend and about 6½ (but in another

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[1] T'ung-chien-kang-mu, *ch.* 89 (T'ang-T'ai Tsung's 5th year)

[2] T'ang-shu *ch.* 221.

[3] Rech. Lang. Tart. p. 286.

place he says 13) English miles east of Chimkend."[1] It is perhaps better, however, to find the representative of the *Pai-shui-ch'êng* of Yuan-chuang in the modern Mankent. This town, which is also called Ak-su or "White water," is about 15 miles to the north-east of Chimkend. This last town is also regarded by some as being on or near the site of the "White water city."

KUNG-YÜ.

Continuing to travel south-west our pilgrim went on from "White water" city for more than 200 *li* and arrived at the city *Kung-yü* or *Kung-ya* (恭 御), which was five or six *li* in circuit. In this district the downs and marshes had a rich loamy soil and were densely covered with forests.

Of this city no one seems to know anything and even the name is not quite certain as instead of Kung-yü we find in one authority *Kung-ching* (恭 敬).[2] It is probable, however, that this latter form is only a freak of a copyist and that the former is the correct reading. As we find *Ch'uan-ch'êng* (泉 城) or "City of the spring (or springs)" given as the name of this city we are probably justified in regarding *Kung-yu* as standing for the Turkic word Küyu which denotes a *well* or *spring*, the native name of the city being Küyu-shahr. It is remarkable that the Fang-chih here does not mention the "White water city" and makes *Kung-yu* to be above 200 *li* to the south-west of Taras or half the distance given by the pilgrim.

NU-CHIH-KAN.

Our pilgrim next proceeds to relate that a journey of 40 or 50 *li* south from Kung-yü city brought him to the country of *Nu-chih-kin* or *kan* (笯 赤 建). This country was above 1000 *li* in circuit and it had a soil rich and fertile, a dense vegetation and fruits and flowers in great luxuriance: grapes were thought much of although plentiful. There were a hundred odd cities

[1] Med. Res. Vol. I. p 74 and II. p 94. See also Schuyler's Turkistan I. p 75 and 393.

[2] Ms T. l. ch. 336.

and towns each with its own governor: but although the towns and their districts were mutually independent and distinct political divisions yet the collective name for all was the "*Nu-chih-kan* Country."

Of a district in this region bearing the name Nu-chih-kan, perhaps pronounced like Nujikkend, little if anything seems to be known beyond what is recorded here by our author. M. Saint-Martin, however, writes of Nu-chih-kan thus—"Nous retrouvons indubitalement ce lieu dans la *Noudjkeh* (pour Noudjkend) mentionnée par le Mésalek-alabsar entre Taras et Khodjend, mais sans indication précise quant à l'emplacement."[1] This Nujkend, it has been suggested, may possibly represent the Turkic compound Nujabahkend, meaning "the territory of the nobles", a restoration which seems to suit our pilgrim's description.

CHE-SHIH (TASHKEND).

The pilgrim goes on to state that from Nu-chih-kan going west above 200 *li* he came to the *Che-shih* country. This was above 1000 *li* in circuit, reaching on the west to the *She* (or *Ye*) river, being greater in extent from north to south than from east to west: in natural products and climate it was like Nu-chih-kan: its cities and towns were some tens in number, each with its own chief magistrate and without any general chief, but all subject to the Turks.

The country here described has been long ago correctly identified with the modern Tashkend. Our pilgrim calls it *Che-shih* (赭時), as we are told to read the characters, or Chesh. This is evidently the *Che-she* (者舌)[2] of earlier writers with its capital *Che-chih* (赭支): the latter, Dr Hirth's "Tjadj," is also used to designate the country.[3] The name is also written *Che-chih* (柘支) and its capital *Che-che* (柘折), and some western writers call the capital "Seket." The river of this country is here called *She* or *Ye* (葉) short for *Ye-ye* or *Ye-she*, the Jaxartes. Another

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[1] Julien III p. 276.
[2] T'ung-chien-kang-mu, *ch.* 25: Ma T. l. *ch.* 338 and 339.
[3] Nachworte op. c. S. 70.

transcription is *Yao-sha* (樂殺), and the river is also known as the Sihon and the Syr-daria. On entering China, we read in one treatise, it is called *Chên-chu* (眞珠), but another account makes *Chên-chu* to be a river of Tashkend alone.[1]

A note to our text tells us that the Chinese for Chesh kuo was *Shih*(石)*-kuo.* The fact that the word Tash and its equivalent *Shih* mean *a stone* or *stone* has led to some rather fanciful writing about this country. Thus Alberuni, who makes the philosophic remark that names of countries "change rapidly, when, for instance, a foreign nation with a different language occupies a country," adds—"Their tongues frequently mangle the words, and thus transfer them into their own language, as is, *e. g.* the custom of the Greeks. Or they keep the original meaning of the names and try a sort of translation, but then they undergo certain changes. So the city of Shâsh, which has its name from the Turkish language, where it is called Tāsh-kand, i. e., *Stone-city*, is called *Stone-tower* in the book γεωγραφία."[2] The Geography here mentioned is that by Ptolemy (about A. D. 150) who tells of a "stone tower" on the road of the caravans between India and Serica: but other writers place the tower at the starting point of the caravans proceeding to the country of the Seres. M. St. Martin considers that this identification of Tashkend with Ptolemy's "Stone tower," the Turris lapidea of later geographers, is not "sans beaucoup de probabilité." But serious objections have been made to this identification and probably it is now abandoned. The Turris lapidea as it appears in old maps is far to the south or south-east of Tashkend. The district of Old Tashkend. Moreover, not to mention any more objections, Tashkend, as has been pointed out by others, is always a city or district, never a fort or tower.[3] M. St. Martin repeats the statement

[1] T'ang-shu, *ch.* 221.
[2] Vol. I. p. 298.
[3] See Paquier op. c. p. 24.

that Tashkend means "stone castle," while Dr Bretschneider says it means "stone city,"[1] and gives "stony country" as the translation of our Chesh. But there does not seem to be anything in the accounts of the city and district to justify the use of the epithets "stone" or "stony." The land was noted for its fertility and its grain crops made it the granary of the country: among its products are enumerated cotton, silk, woollen stuffs and articles of leather. In Old Tashkend the dwelling-houses are all made of mud, and the mosques and other stone buildings are built of what we may call second-hand stones.[2] The names given to the city and district have a different explanation, and represent a proper name. This was the personal name of one of the nine members of a powerful family of the *Gc-ti* or *Yue-chih* (月支) nation. The head of the family, the eldest brother, was chief of the clan the members of which were known by their territorial designation *Shao-wu* (昭武), that being the name of their original home north of the K'i-lien or Celestial Mountains. When conquered by the Hiung-nu (or, as some writers tell us, by the Turks), and driven away from their native region, they descended to the country between the Ts'ung-Ling and the river Oxus, occupying Kang-kü (Samarkand) and all the surrounding country. The head of the clan ruled in Samarkand and the other chiefs had principalities round about the metropolitan State, Shih or Chesh or Tash being the personal name of the brother who ruled over the district bearing this name. We even find Che-she described as Kang-kü or as a part of that country. In the 6th and 7th centuries also we find this district called the *An* (安) Country, An being the name of another of the Shao-wu brothers, but this did not supplant the other name. Thus Shih-kuo and Tashkend denote the *country* or *domain* of Shih or Tash.[3]

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[1] Julien III. p. 276: Med. Res. Vol. II. pag. 55 et al.

[2] Hellwald's Centralasien S. 341, 351, 397: Baber Intr. p. XL. See also Schuyler's Turkistan *ch.* 3.

[3] T'ang-shu l. c.. Sui-shu, *ch.* 83: Ma T. l. l. c. In the Sui-shu

BETWEEN TASHKEND AND SAMARKAND

We now come to a part of the pilgrim's narrative wl presents some serious difficulties. He relates that—

"From this (i. e. the Old Tashkend country) to the *Fei* country south-east is above 1000 *li*." This country, which above 4000 *li* in circuit, was surrounded by mountains o sides: it had a rich productive soil with flowers and frui great quantity, and it produced sheep and horses: it was w and cold and the people were stout-hearted: in speech differed from other countries, and they were ill-featured. some tens of years the county had been without a sover and the local chiefs struggled for superiority, their districts cities were determined by rivers (川) and natural defences.

The country which Yuan-chuang here calls *Fei-han* been identified with Ferghana, corresponding in s measure to the present Khanate of Khokand. Fergl became known to the Chinese in the second century I by the name Ta-yuan (大宛) its capital being *Kuei-s* (貴山), probably pronounced *Kusan*.[1] Another old n for the country was *Ku-so* (渠搜) but this is perl only the name of the capital slightly altered.[2] In l times we find the country called *Po-han* (撥汗) or (鏺 and *Pa-han-na* (拔汗那), and *P'o-lo-na* (破洛那), an A.D. 744 the Chinese imposed on it the designation *N yuan* (寧遠).[3] The modern Chinese name is *Huo-* (霍罕), in Cantonese *Fok-han*, which apparently repres the word Ferghana.[4]

Now the pilgrim does not expressly state that he actu visited Fei-han, but some readers of the Records h understood him as describing it from personal observat while others regard him as writing from hearsay. Th

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and the Wei-shu *ch* 102 the surname of the king of this cou s *Shi* or stone, but he does not belong to the Shao-wu clan.

[1] Shih-chi, *ch*. 123 In this work Kangkü is placed 2000 *li* no west from Ta-yuan. Ch'ien Han-shu *ch*. 96.

[2] Ma T. l. ch. 338.

[3] T'ang-shu, *ch*. 221: T'ang-chien-kang-mu *ch*. 20, 42, and 43

[4] Ta-ch'ing-i-t'ung-chih, *ch*. 351: Li-ko-yen-piao, *ch* 3.

are several circumstances in the narrative which seem to indicate that he did not visit the country called Ferghana. Thus he makes Fei-han to be 1000 *li* south-east from Tashkend, and this is double the distance, given in the T'ang-shu and other works, of Ferghana from Tashkend. Then he describes his Fei-han as having mountains on all sides, but Ferghana was free from mountains on the west side. Moreover he represents the country as having been for above a score of years in a state of anarchy, an active rivalry for chieftainship going on among the various cities. But we know from Chinese history that within a few years of the pilgrim's visit to this region there was a king of Ferghana, that the king was murdered by the West Turks, and that he was succeeded on the throne by his son.[1] The royal family belonged to the great Shao-wu clan. Thus we are apparently justified in regarding Yuan-chuang's account of the country as information derived from persons living outside of the district described.

The narrative proceeds—

> From this (i. e. Fei-han) going west above 1000 *li* one comes (or, the pilgrim came) to the *Su-tu-li-se-na* country. This he describes as being 1400 *li* in circuit with the *She* (Jaxartes) river on its east. The *She* river rises in the north end of the Ts'ung-Ling and flows north-west a great muddy rapid stream. In natural products and popular ways *Su tu-li-se-na* resembled Tashkend. there was a king but he was under the Turks.

The name of the country here transcribed Su-tu-li-se-na (窣堵利瑟那) was perhaps a Sanskrit word like Sutushan meaning "happy," "easily satisfied", or Sutrishna which means "dry," "thirsty." It is apparently the same name which is transcribed *Su-tu-shih-ni* (蘇都識匿), *Su-tui-sha-na*, and *Soh-tu-sha-na*. Another name for the district was *Ka-pu-tan-na* (劫布呾那), and it was called by the Chinese the "Tung Ts'ao (東曹) Country," Ts'ao being one of the Shao-wu brothers.[2] This is evidently the "Se-

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[1] T'ang-shu l. c.: Ma T. l. l. c.

[2] T'ang-shu, l c.: Ma T. l. l. c.

troushteh" of Ibn Haukal who says the country ha navigable river but has "running streams and fount and meadows and groves" with mines of gold, silver, peras, and sal-ammoniac. "It is a mountainous re bounded on the east by part of Ferghana; on the by the borders of Samarkand: on the north by C (i. e. Tashkend); on the south it lies near Kish."[1] St. Martin identifies the district with the Osrushna Satrushna of Musulman writers, the modern Uratup Uratépé, the Ura-Tube of our maps.[2] The identifica is evidently practically correct, and the distance direction of Ura-Tube agree with the pilgrim's acc But the Life, which does not mention Fei-han, m Yuan-chuang go from Tashkend direct to Sutrishan w it places 1000 *li* west from Tashkend. Here ther evidently a mistake due apparently to the accide omission of Fei-han. In some Chinese works Sutri is placed 500 *li*,[3] and in some 400 *li*[4] to the wes Ferghana and adjacent to Tashkend on the north.

The narrative in the Records proceeds—

> North-west from the Sutrishan country you enter a great d destitute of water and vegetation, a vast blank where onl following the mountains and observing the skeletons ca course be directed. Going above 500 *li* you reach the *Sa kan* country

The Life agrees with this account in representing pilgrim as going north-west from Sutrishan 500 *li* thro a great sandy desert to the Sa-mei(or mo)-kan cour This is, as has been shown long ago, the Samarkan history. Now it is quite true that there is a great sa desert to the north-west of the Ura-Tube country, but could not reach Samarkand going north-west from country. M. St. Martin does not help us here for carelessly makes the pilgrim put Samarkand to the s

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[1] Oriental Geography (tr. Ouseley) ps. 261. 263.
[2] Julien III. p. 278
[3] T'ung-chih-liao l c.
[4] Tang-shu, l. c.

of Sutrishan or Ura-Tube. His words on this subject are—"D'Auratépé ou Asrouchna à Samarkand la distance est d'environs 45 lieues au sud-sudouest: Hiouen-thsang marque 500 (37 lieues) de *Sou-tou-li-se-na* à *Sa-mo-kien* en marchant au sud."[1] In a note to the passage with which we are now engaged Julien apparently makes a mistake in stating that M. St. Martin would substitute *south-west* for the *north-west* of the text. Bretschneider quotes this note and declares the change to be unnecessary. He, however, gets over the difficulty of the text by cutting out the important but puzzling words "*going above 500 li you come to the Sa-mei-kan country.*" A traveller proceeding to Samarkand from Ura-Tube would perhaps go north-west as far as Jizak and then turn south-west, performing a journey of about 120 miles. The fact that Yuan-chuang does not seem to have known of the springs of bad brackish water in the northern part of the desert he describes might lead one to think that if he made the journey between the two places he skirted the southern side of the desert. This inference would be strengthened by the mention of mountains and of course by the direction mentioned, viz. north-west.

But taking all circumstances into consideration we must rather decide to regard the whole passage beginning with—"From this above 1000 *li* to Feihan," and ending with "going above 500 *li* you come to Sa-mei-kan" to be an account obtained from others, and not the result of a personal visit. We should, accordingly, perhaps regard the pilgrim as going direct from Tashkend to Samarkand. From this point of view our text must be regarded here as defective, and the last clause of our passage should read—'From Tashkend going above 500 *li* south-west he came to the Sa-mei-kan country.' The distance seems to be too short, but we find that it agrees with accounts given in other Chinese works.[2]

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[1] Julien III. p. 279.

[2] e. g. in the Tang-shu l. c.

SAMARKAND.

The country at which Yuan-chuang now arrive called by him *Sa-mo* (or *mei*)-*kin* (or *kan*) (颯秣建 name which has been taken to represent "Samark We may, however, regard the region indicated by term "Samokan country" to be identical with the Sa kand district without holding that the two names identical. According to popular accounts the name Sa kand was derived from an Arabian hero and was given to the city in this district until about A.D. In Chinese literature this name does not appear unt time of the Mongols. It was introduced by them a was explained as an Arabian word meaning *fan-hua* (繁 that is *bustling, full of life thronged*.[1]

A note to our text tells us that the Samokan co was called in Chinese *K'ang-kuo* (康國) which is K'ang and K'ang-ku Kuo of the Han and other hist This K'ang-ku territory had been at one time a large r embracing the districts since known as Ferghana, Koh Tashkend, Samarkand, and other States.[2] But it become split up among several members of the Sha clan, and in the beginning of the seventh century the K'ang country was, roughly speaking, that r bounded on the north by the Chash (or Tash) king on the east by Kohistan, on the south by Kesh, an the west by Bokhara.

Up to Yuan-chuang's time K'ang seems to have the only name by which this country was known to Chinese generally. Other names had been introduced

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[1] See the Ching-ting-yuan-shih-yu-chie (欽定元史語解) ch. see also ch. 6

[2] It was originally, however, a small state kept in restrai the Yue-chih (Getæ) on the south and by the Hiung-nu on the and its inhabitants were nomads. See Shih-chi, ch. 123. K was one of Asoka's outlying Provinces which he proposed to over to Kunāla

literature but they could not be said to have been generally adopted. One of these new names was Samokan (薩末鞬) the same with that used by Yuan-chuang, and another was *Si-wan* (or *man*)-*kin* (悉萬斤), neither of which seems to be explained.[1] After Yuan-chuang's time we find other names such as *Sin-ssŭ-kan* (尋思干), and *Sie-mi-ssŭ-kan* (薛迷思干), and these are said to stand for the Turkish Semez-kand meaning "Fat land."[2] *Siman* is another form of the word for *fat* and the Simankin mentioned above may also mean Fat-Land. But Sie-mi-ssŭ-kan is also interpreted as meaning Sun-Land from *Sams* one of the names for the Sun in Arabic. This last term is also given by some writers as a designation for Tashkend rather than for Samarkand. The interpretation already mentioned as given for the name Samarkand apparently takes the Sanskrit form Samara-kanda as the correct one. The word Samara means a *concourse*, a *flocking together*, and Yuan-chuang's Samokan may be for another Sanskrit word with a similar meaning viz. Samāgama.

An old name for the capital of this country is *Su-hie* (蘇薤), that is, Su-hak or Sugat, supposed by some to be for the Sogd of old writers.[3] It is at least doubtful, however, whether this was the city which afterwards became known as Samarkand. In other Chinese writers Suhak was only one of the royal cities of this country.[4] With these the capital has other names such as *Aluti* (阿祿迪) and Pi-t'an (畢闐) in the Ravani land (樂毗匿地).[5]

Our author describes the country of Samarkand as being 1600 or 1700 *li* in circuit, greater in extent from east to west

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[1] T'ang-shu, *ch.* 221: T'ung-chien-kang-mu *ch.* 39 (T'ang T'ai Tsung 5th y.) where the commentator gives *Si-fang*(方)-*kin* as the name for *Si-wan-kin*.

[2] See Med. Res. Vol I. p. 76 note, p. 77, 131 and Vol. II. p. 58, 256. See also Schuyler's Turkistan Vol. I. p. 236.

[3] Ch'in-Shu, *ch.* 97: Sui-shu, *ch.* 83. Hirth, Nachworte op. c. S. 85. *Su-hie* is also given as a city of the Tashkend country.

[4] Ma T. L *ch.* 338.

[5] Ch'ien Han-Shu *ch.* 96: *T'ung-chien-kang-mu*, *ch.* 4.

than from north to south. Its capital was above 20 *li* in circuit, exceedingly strong and with a large population. The country was a great commercial entrepôt, was very fertile, abounding in trees and flowers, and yielding many fine horses. Its inhabitants were skillful craftsmen, smart and energetic. All the Hu (胡) States regarded this country as their centre and made its social institutions their model. The king was a man of spirit and courage and was obeyed by the neighbouring states. He had a splendid army the most of his soldiers being *Chei-kie* (Chak or Tak 赭羯) men. These were men of ardent valour, who looked on death as a going back to their kindred, and against whom no foe could stand in combat.

The term *Che-ka* of this passage is evidently a foreign word and it is interpreted in other books as meaning *Chan-shi* (戰士), "soldier" or "warrior"[1] But another supposition is that it stands for Chalak, the name of a town to the north-west of the city of Samarkand. The district in which Chalak lay was at this time famed for its tall strong men who were much sought after as soldiers. The characters read *Che-ka*, however, seem rather to stand for a word like Ṭakka, the name of a country.

The Life represents the people of Samokan as being Fire-worshippers. Other accounts describe them as being Buddhists in the sixth and seventh centuries although they worshipped also the gods of other religions and their own ancestors. They probably were not all Fire-worshippers, but they were evidently haters and persecutors of Buddhism at the time of Yuan-chuang's visit. There were two monasteries in the capital and when the young Brethren of Yuan-chuang's party went to perform their religious services in one of these the people drove them out and burned the monastery. The king, however, punished the evil-doers and heard the pilgrim expound Buddhism and extol Buddha, and even allowed him to hold a religious public service for the ordination of Brethren to serve in the monasteries.

This king was the head of the Shao-wu clan and the name of the particular branch to which he belonged was

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[1] T'ang Shu, l. c. Here the word is written 柘羯.

Wên (溫).[1] The Western Turks had at this time gained the ascendancy in these regions and had become all-powerful. Policy and ambition made this king wed a daughter of the Turkish royal family and the result was that the Samokan (K'ang) country became a vassal to the West Turks. In the year A.D. 631 the king sent an embassy to China, praying to be received as a vassal, but the Chinese Emperor for wise and patriotic reasons declined to accede to the request.[2]

The words here rendered "looked on death as going back to their kindred" are *Shih-szŭ-ju-kuei* (視死如歸). The expression means that the *Che-ka* men regarded death as a natural event, as a return to the state from which they had come. It is a literary phrase and is sometimes varied by the addition of *chung* (終), "the end."

Before continuing the narrative of his journey towards India our pilgrim proceeds to give short accounts of several countries in the region around Samokan and connected with that country. His information about these districts was probably obtained from living authorities during his stay at the capital of Samokan (or Samarkand). Commencing with the first country in a southerly direction he tells us that

> "South-east from Samarkand you go to the *Mi-mo-ha* (弭秣賀) country." This country, which was situated in the mountains, was 400 or 500 *li* in circuit, long from north to south and narrow from east to west. In the products of the land and the ways of the people it resembled Samokan.

The Life does not mention this place and Yuan-chuang, it will be seen, does not tell us how far it was from Samokan. In other Chinese books its situation is described as being 100 *li* to the south or south-east of Samarkand, 500 *li* from Ura-Tube on the north-west (a mistake for north-east) and 200 *li* from Kesh on the south-west, or according to one authority 400 *li* from Kesh on the south.[3]

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[1] Wei-Shu, *ch.* 102.

[2] T'ung-chien-kang-mu, *ch.* 39: T'ang Shu l. c.

[3] T'ang-shu, l. c.: T'ung-chih-liao, l. c.: Ma T. l. l. c.

A note to our text tells us that the Chinese name for Mimoho was *Mi*(米)-*kuo*, Mi's country, Mi being another scion of the Shao-wu clan. Its foreign name also is given elsewhere as *Mi-mo* (彌末) and it probably was something like Maimak or Memagh. From other sources we learn that the capital, the name of which was *Po-si-tê* (鉢息德), was about two *li* in circuit and was on the west side of the Na-mi (那密) River. This country which was formerly a part of the great K'ang kingdom fell into the hands of the West Turks while Yuan-chuang was on his pilgrimage.[1]

M. Saint-Martin identifies Mimoho with Moughian or Maghin, "à 38 lieues de Samarkand vers l'est en inclinant au sud."[2] This town, the Maghian of our maps, is much too far from Samarkand if we accept the statement that Mimo was 100 *li* or about twenty miles from that place. Maghian is about sixty miles south-east from the site of old Samarkand which was a little to the north and north-west of the present city.

The narrative in the Records continues—

> From this [going] north you arrive at the *Kie* (*Ki* or *Ka*)-*pu tan-na* (劫布呾那) country.

A note to the text tells us that the Chinese name for this country was *Ts'ao*(曹)-*kuo*, kingdom of Ts'ao, who was another brother of the Shao-wu family. This information, however, is unsatisfactory as there were at this time in this region four Ts'ao kingdoms, known as East, Middle, West Ts'ao and Ts'ao simply. Of these the first corresponded to the Sutrishan or Ura-Tube district, which, as has been seen, was also called Kaputana. The Ts'ao of the note was apparently understood to include the Middle and West Ts'ao.

When the narrative states that "north from this" you go to Kaputana the word *this* is apparently to be taken as meaning Samokan. In the Fang-chih the direction is

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[1] Tung-chen-kang-mu *ch.* 40 (T'ang T'ai Tsung, 16th y.)
[2] Julien III. p. 280

given as North-west and this is perhaps right. M. Saint-Martin takes the words "from this" to refer to *Mi-mo* or Maghian, and supposes the Kaputana country to be a city "Kebond" about the situation of which nothing is known.[1] But it is better to understand our author as taking Samarkand as the point of departure; and the Kaputana country is then probably represented by the present Mitan and the surrounding district. The Ts'ao country, we are told, was to the north-west of Kang-kü and Middle Ts'ao to its north. Mitan is about thirty miles north-west from the modern Samarkand and in the district which includes Chalak once famous for its good soldiers.

Our author continues his account—

> Going west from this country for above 300 *li* you come to the *K'u-shuang-ni-ka* or *Ku-san-ni-ka* (屈霜你伽) country.

In other treatises we find this name written *Kuei-sang-ni* (貴霜匿) read Kusannik.[2] The Chinese name, we are told in a note to our text was *Ho*(何)-*kuo*, the kingdom of Ho, another scion of the Shao-wu clan. The great Buddhist monk named Sangha, who came to China in A.D. 660, declared himself to be a native of this country, and claimed to be a member of the Ho family.[3]

M. Saint Martin supposes the Kusannik of our author to be the "Koschanieh or Kochania" halfway between Samarkand and Bokhara. The Life, which has omitted all mention of Mimoha and Kaputana makes Kusannik to be above 300 *li* west from Samokan. This, I think, is also the meaning of the passage in our text; and about 60 miles west of Samokan, or north-west from Samarkand, would bring us to the neighbourhood of the modern Panjshamba district.

Our text proceeds—

> From this country, that is apparently, Kusannik it is above 200 *li* to the Hoh-han (喝捍) country

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[1] Julien III. p 281.

[2] Ma T. l. *ch.* 338. T'ang-shu, *ch.* 221.

[3] Sung-kao-sêng-chuan, *ch* 18.

We note to the text tells us that the Chinese name for the country was *Tung-An*(東 安)*-kuo* or "East-An kingdom." *An*, as we have seen, was the name of one of the Shao-wu brothers, and this chief evidently had a large principality. *Hoh-han* was only a part and was called the "Small country." It was south of the *Na-mi* river, and its capital had the same name also written *Hoh-han* (喝 汗) and probably pronounced like Khakan or Khagan.[1] M. Saint-Martin identifies this district with that of the modern Kermineh or Kerminah, and he is probably nearly correct.

West from Hoh-han 400 *li* was the *Pu-hoh* (捕 喝) country.

This country which, a note to our text tells us, was called by the Chinese the "Middle *An* kingdom," is placed by the T'ang-Shu 100 *li* to the south-west of Hoh-han. It is the country which is called *Nu-mi* (忸 蜜) in some books, and it is also called the An and the Great An kingdom. For the *Pu-hoh* of our text we find *Pu-huoh* (布 豁) and these two probably represent an original like Bōkh or Bokhar.[2] M. Saint-Martin and Dr Bretschneider identify the country with the modern Bokhara,[3] and they are doubtless right: but the Bōkh of our pilgrim was apparently to the north of the present city and district of Bokhara.

Our author continues—

From this country (i e Bōkh) west above 400 *li* is the Fah-ti (伐 地) country.

This is the reading of the A, B, and D texts, but instead of *Fa-ti* the C text has *Su*(戍)*-ti* in on place and *Wu* (or *Mu* 戊)*-ti* in another. Then the Life, which also reads *Fah-ti*, reduces the distance from Bōkh from 400 to 100 *li*. The usual note to the text tells us that the Chinese name for the country was "Hsi-an-kuo" or "West An kingdom." In the T'ang-Shu we find the above *Wu*

[1] Ma T l l. c. T'ang Shu, l. c
[2] Ma T. l. l. c · T'ang-Shu, l. c.
[3] Julien III p. 282; Med. Res. Vol. II. p. 62.

(or *Mu*)-*ti* given as the name of one of the nine Shao-wu chiefs; and it also mentions a *Su-ti* district in this region.[1] Taking *Fah-ti* as the reading we may regard this transcription as possibly representing a name like *Paptei*. St. Martin finds the modern representative of Fah-ti in Bětik, "lieu situé sur la droite de l'Oxus, à une trentaine de lieues au sud-ouest de Boukhara." But we should probably regard the *Fa-ti* of our text as having had a situation in the neighbourhood of the present Darganata district on the west side of the Oxus. This Fa-ti (or Su-ti) is perhaps the principality designated *Niao-na-ga* or *Wu-na-ga* (鳥 or 烏 那 遏) which was to the west of the Oxus about 400 *li* South-west from the *An* country.[2]

The narrative proceeds—

> From this, that is, Fah-ti it is over 500 *li* south-west to the *Huo-li-si-mi-ka* (貨 利 習 彌 伽) country. This lay along the banks of the Oxus being 20 or 30 *li* east to west and above 500 *li* north to south.

M. Saint Martin substitutes *north-west* for the south-west of this passage, and he is doubtless right.[3] All the texts, however, have *south-west* and the Life has *west*, but the T'ang-Shu places this country 600 *li* to the north-west of *Su-ti* (Fa-ti). In the B, C, and D texts there is a Chinese note to the text which contains only the words for "in Chinese," but A supplies the name which had dropped out. This is *Huo-sin*(火 尋)-*kuo*, this kingdom of *Huo-sin* (or *sün*), one of the princes of the Shao-wu family. The country here called *Huo-li-si-mi-ka* or Khorismika(?) has been identified with the modern Khanate of Khiva corresponding to the Kharesm or Khorazm of ancient authors.[4] In the T'ang-Shu *Huo-li-si-mi* and *Kuo-li* (過 利) are given as synonyms for *Huo-sin*, and the country is described as being south of the Oxus and as having bullock-waggons

[1] T'ang-Shu l. c.

[2] Ma T. l. l. c.: T'ung-chih-liao, l. c. In the Sui-Shu l. c. Wu na-ka (or-ga) is one of the Shao-wu princes.

[3] Julien III. p. 283.

[4] Med. Res. II. p. 91.

which were used by travelling merchants.[1] In some of the lists of the Shao-wu princes the name Huo-sin does not occur

KASANNA.

The pilgrim now resumes the narrative of his journey. He relates that

> from the Samokan country he went south-west above 300 *li* to the *Ka-shuang-na* or Kasanna (羯霜那) country. This was 1400 or 1500 *li* in circuit and it resembled Samarkand in its natural products and the ways and customs of the people.

All texts and the Fang-chih seem to agree in the reading "from Samokan," but the Life makes the pilgrim proceed from Kharesm. This, however, is undoubtedly wrong and quite impossible. In the Chinese note to our text we are told that the Chinese name for this country was *Shih*(史)-*kuo*, the kingdom of Shih, another of the nine Shao-wu chiefs. From other sources we learn that the country was called also *K'a-sha* (佉沙) and *K'ê-shih* (羯石)[2] which are perhaps only different forms of a name like Kesh. This is perpetuated in the modern name of the district, Kesh, derived directly perhaps from the name of the city *Ki-shih* (乞史) which was built in the 7th century. The capital, corresponding to the present Shahr-i-sebs or Shehr, lay about ten *li* south of the *Tu-mo* (獨莫) River.[3] This is probably the present Kashka-daria "on which the city is founded." Kesh was formerly a dependency of Kangkü which lay 240 *li* to the north of it.

THE IRON PASS.

Our pilgrim's narrative proceeds—

> From Kesh he proceeded south-west above 200 *li* and entered a range of mountains. Here his path was a narrow risky track; there were no inhabitants and little grass or water. Travelling

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[1] T'ang-Shu, l. c.
[2] T'ang-Shu, l. c.
[3] Med. Res. Vol. II. p. 273

among the hills in a south-east direction for above 300 *li* he entered the Iron Pass (lit. Iron Gate). Along this Iron Pass on either side is a very high precipitous mountain. Although there is a narrow path in it this is still more inaccessible. The rocks which rise up on both sides are of an iron colour; when the gates were set up they were also strengthened with iron, and numerous small iron bells were suspended on them. The name it bears was given to the Pass on account of its impregnable nature.

Yuan-chuang apparently went from Kesh to the neighbourhood of the place now called Ghuzar Fort, and then turning south-east followed the Ghuzar river until he reached the Iron Pass. But the Life does not make any mention of the change of direction from south-west to south-east. The words for "Although there is a narrow path" are in all my texts *Sui-yu-hsia-ching* (雖有狹徑), but Julien's text seems to have had instead of *sui* the word *li* (離). So his translation of the clause which seems to give better sense is—"Elles (i. e. the "deux montagnes parallèles") ne sont séparées que par un sentier qui est fort étroit, et, en outre, hérissé de précipices." But one does not see how there could be "précipices," and *sui* is the correct reading

In Dr Bretschneider's learned treatise, to which reference is so often made in these pages, the reader will find much information about the Iron Pass (or Gate).[1] It is the Buzgola-Khana or Goat-house of the Hindus and it is known by other names. According to some its width varies from 40 to 60 feet and it is about two miles in length: a stream flows through it and it contains a village. The Life represents the actual gate as being made of the raw iron of the mountains plated with iron and furnished with iron bells. and hence, according to it, came the name of the pass or rather Gate. But the pilgrim used *mên* in the sense of Pass or Passage and he understood this

[1] Op. c. I. p. 82 and II. p. 274. See also Reclus, Geog. T. VI. p. 502. Rémusat, Nouv. Mel. As. T. 1. p. 238, Sui-Shu *ch.* 83; T'ang-Shu l. c.; Hirth's Nachworte op. c. p. 84 ff.

to have the epithet Iron because it was strong and impregnable. Later travellers relate that the Pass was guarded by a barrier (or barriers) of the iron-stone of the place clamped or faced with iron. But no one after Yuan-chuang's time seems to have seen an actual gate hung with bells, and we read only of a tradition that there had once been a great gate. This Pass once checked the Tu-kue or Turks in their western advances, and kept them and Tokharans apart; and it became famous in the time of the Mongol conquests. In Chinese works of the T'ang and later periods it is often called the *T'ie-mên-kuan* or "Pass of the Iron Gate." It is thus described by a recent writer—"The famous ravine of the Iron Gate winds through a high mountain chain, about twelve versts to the west of Derbent. It is a narrow cleft, 5 to 36 paces wide and about two versts long. It is known now as Buzghala Khána (i.e. the house of Goats). Its eastern termination is 3540 feet above the sea; its western termination 3740 feet. A torrent, Buzghala Khána bulák flows, through it."[1]

TU-HUO-LO (TOKHARA).

Our narrative proceeds to describe that

going out of the Iron Pass you reach the *Tu-huo-lo* country. This was above 1000 *li* north to south and 3000 *li* east to west; it reached on the east to the Ts'ung-Ling, on the west to Persia, on the south to the Great Snow Mountains (the Hindu-Kush) and on the north to the Iron Pass; the river Oxus flowed through the middle of it from east to west, for several centuries the succession to the sovereignty had been interrupted and the country was divided into 27 States with separate chiefs and all subject to the Turks, "When the climate becomes warm there is much sickness, and at the end of winter and beginning of spring there is constant rain (in C. "a succession of hoarfrost and rain"), hence in all the countries south of this to *Lan-p'o* much heat-sickness is a natural characteristic; hence the Buddhist Brethren go into Retreat of the Rainy season on the 16th day of the 12th month and go out on the 15th day of the 3rd month; this is because there is much rain then, thus making their

[1] Tarikh-i-Rashid by Elias and Ross p. 20.

religious precepts conform to the seasons." The people were pusillanimous and ill-favoured, but they were in a manner reliable and were not given to deceitful ways. They had a peculiar spoken language and an alphabet of 25 letters, their writing was horizontal from left to right, and their records had gradually increased until they exceeded those of *Su-li* in number. They had for clothing more calico (*tieh*) than serge; their currency consisted of gold, silver, and other coins which were different from those of other countries.

The *Tu-huo-lo* (覩貨邏) of this passage is undoubtedly the Tokhara of old western geographers. In the Chinese note to the text we are told that an old and incorrect name was *T'u-huo-lo* (吐火羅), which is the transcription used in the Sui-Shu. There are also other transcriptions of the name such as the *T'u-hu-lo* (吐呼羅) of early writers, but the differences are not important. In certain Chinese translations of Buddhist treatises the name is given *T'u-ka-lê* (兜佉 (or 吐佉) 勒) or Tukhar.[1] The Sanskrit name is Tukhāra another form of which is Tushāra. This word has the meanings of *frost*, *snow*, and *mist* or *vapour*.

The extent and boundaries of the country named Tokhara found in other works differ considerably from those given by our pilgrim.[2] It was supposed to correspond partly to the great Ta-Hsia of early Chinese records,[3] and portions of the present Bokhara and Badakshan seem to have been once included under this name. Saint Martin and Yule[4] are positive in asserting that Yuan-chuang's Tokhara was the country of the Yetha, but this is against Chinese authority. In the Wei-Shu and Sui-Shu, for example, we have distinct accounts of Tokhara and of the Yetha, and the people of the former are referred to the Small Yue-ti, while the Yetha are said to have been of the original Yue-ti stock. The Yetha

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[1] Ta-chih-tu-lun, *ch.* 25 (No. 1169); Vibhāsha-lun, *ch.* 9 (No. 1279 tr. A.D. 383).

[2] Ma T. L *ch.* 339.

[3] T'ang-Shu, *ch.* 221; T'ung-chien-kang-mu, *ch.* 40 (T'ang T'ai Tsung 16th year).

[4] Julien III. p. 285; J. R. A. S. Vol. VI. p. 94.

and Tokharians lived together; but the former were nomads, while the latter were dwellers in towns.

The part of the passage within inverted commas reads in Julien's version thus—"La température étant constamment tiède, les épidémies y sont très fréquentes. A la fin de l'hiver et au commencement du printemps, il tombe des pluies continuelles. C'est pourquoi au sud de ce pays, et au nord de *Lan-po*, il règne beaucoup d'épidémies. De là vient que tous les religieux entrent dans les demeures fixes le seizième jour du douzième mois, et en sortent le quinzième jour du troisième. Cet usage est fondé sur l'abondance des pluies. Les instructions qu'on leur donne sont subordonnées aux saisons."[1] Now the text does not seem to assert that the temperature of this large region was *constamment tiède*, and that consequently epidemics were frequent. Such a statement, moreover, would be at variance with other passages in this *chuan* such as the descriptions of Kie-chih and Bamian. It is true, however, that Ma Tuan-lin, on the authority of others, represents the Tokhara country as having a hot climate; but that was evidently only in the summer, for the inhabitants were able to store ice for use during the hot weather. What our author apparently wanted his readers to understand was that the climate became warm or mild in early spring when the rainy season began: this change in the temperature produced much illness which was called "Heat (or Spring) sickness." In all my texts the reading here is *wên-chi* (溫疾), but Julien's text may have had *wên*(瘟)-*chi*, and this is rightly translated in his note "maladies épidémiques." Because the early spring was the rainy season of these countries the Buddhist Brethren in them made that their time of Retreat from the Rain.

[1] The text of the passage is—氣序既溫疾疫 (in B 吐) 亦衆冬末春初霖 (in C 霜) 雨相繼故此境已南濫波已北其國風土並多溫疾而諸僧徒以十二月十六日入安居三月十五日解安居斯乃據其多雨亦是設教隨時也.

In India the rainy season was in the summer, and this was the time of year in which Retreat was to be observed according to the Vinaya. By changing the time of Retreat these Brethren departed from the letter but conformed to the spirit of their regulations.

For a long time the name Tokhara seems to have practically gone out of use, and the country which once bore the name is now to some degree represented by Badakshan.[1] Even in our pilgrim's time it was properly not the name of a country but of a great tribe or people occupying a certain large territory.

Proceeding with his description of the region the pilgrim tells us that

> following the course of the Oxus down northwards you come to *Ta-mi* (Termed or Termez).[2] This country was above 600 *li* long (from east to west) and 400 *li* broad (from north to south), and its capital was above 20 *li* in circuit longer than broad. There were above ten monasteries with more than 1000 Brethren: its topes and images of Buddha were very remarkable and exhibited miracles.
>
> To the east of *Ta-mi* was the *Chih-ga-yen-na* country, above 400 *li* long by 500 *li* wide, its capital being above ten *li* in circuit. It had five monasteries but the Buddhist Brethren were very few.
>
> To the east of it was the *Hu-lu-mo* country, above 100 *li* long and 300 broad with a capital above ten *li* in circuit. Its king was a *Hi-su* Turk: it had two monasteries and above 100 Buddhist Brethren.
>
> To the east of it was *Su-man* which was above 400 *li* long by 100 *li* broad, its capital being 16 or 17 *li* in circuit; its king was a *Hi-su* Turk; there were two monasteries and very few Buddhist Brethren.
>
> To the south-west and on the Oxus was *Ku-ho-yen-na*. This country was above 200 *li* long and 300 *li* wide, its capital being above ten *li* in circuit. It had three monasteries and above 100 Buddhist Brethren.
>
> To the east was *Huo-sha*, a country above 300 *li* long by 500 *li* wide, its capital being 16 or 17 *li* in circuit.
>
> On its east was the *Ko-tu-lo* country above 1000 *li* long and

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[1] See Med. Res. Vol. II. p. 99.

[2] For the various States here mentioned and briefly described by the pilgrim see Yule in J. R. A. S. Vol. VI. Art. V

the same in width, its capital being 20 *li* in circuit. It reached on the east to the *Ku-mi-tê* country in the Ts'ung-Ling.

The *Ku-mi-tê* country was above 2000 *li* long and 200 *li* wide; it was in the Ts'ung-Ling mountains; its capital was above 20 *li* in circuit: on the south-east it was near the Oxus and on the south it adjoined the *Shih-k'i-ni* country.

To the south across the Oxus were the countries called *Ta-mo-si-t'ie-ti*, *Po-to-chuang-na*, *Yin-po-kan*, *Ku-lang-na*, *Hi-mo-ta-la*, *Po-li-ho*, *Ki-li-si-mò*, *Ko-lo-hu*, *A-li-ni*, *Mêng-kan*. South-east from the *Huo* (Kunduz) country were the *K'uo-si-to*, and *An-ta-lo-fo* countries, the circumstances about these being related in the account of the return journey.[1] South-west from *Huo* was the *Fo-ka-lang* country which was above 50 *li* long and 200 *li* broad, its capital being above ten *li* in circuit. South of it was the *Ki-lu-si-min-kan* country which was above 1000 *li* in circuit, its capital being 14 or 15 *li* in circuit. To the north-west of it was the *Hu-lin* country which was 800 *li* in circuit with its capital five or six in circuit. It had above ten monasteries with more than 500 Buddhist Brethren.

In the Life we are merely told that the pilgrim travelled some hundreds of *li* from Tokhara, crossed the Oxus and came to the *Huo* country (Kunduz). This was the residence of *Ta-tu* (呾度) the *Shê* (設) or General in command, the eldest son of the She-hu Khan and a brother-in-law of the king of Kao-ch'ang.[2] This king had given

[1] See *Chuan* XII: *ch.* XVIII

[2] The whole of this paragraph is taken from the Life, *ch.* II. Julien I. p 62f In this passage the word *Ta-tu* is apparently treated as a personal name but it was rather a generic name qualifying a title. It is found with a slight variation of transcription prefixed as here to She, and also to Khan. We must regard it as a foreign word, but we may hesitate to accept its identification with Tardush or Tardu This latter term is generally used to designate a Turkish tribe or horde, but it also occurs in an inscription as the name of a Kirghiz envoy. The Ta-tu of our passage cannot be regarded as having a tribal significance, and here as in other places it seems to qualify the title to which it is prefixed. See T'ung-chien-kang-mu, *ch.* 40 (T'ang T'ai Tsung 15th y.); Thomsen's Inscriptions de l'Orkhon pp. 63, 114, 148; Hirth Nachworte S. 130f.

The Shê of this passage is of frequent occurrence in Chinese history treating of the Turks. It is explained as meaning *soldier* or *General*, but the title is always applied to a very high military officer usually a near relative of the Khan. This *Shê* is regarded

a letter of introduction, but when Yuan-chuang arrived the Kao-ch'ang princess was dead and the General was ill, and hearing of the pilgrim's arrival with a letter he with his male and female retinue made uncontrollable lamentation. He invited the pilgrim to rest for a time, promising that if he recovered he would accompany the pilgrim to India. The General recovered by the help of the exorcisms of an Indian Buddhist monk, but he was poisoned by a young queen at the instigation of a stepson.[1] Then this stepson *T'ek'in*, the son by the Kao-ch'ang princess being a child, usurped the position of General and married his step-mother (the young wife whom he had induced to murder her husband and his father). On account of the funeral services for the General the pilgrim was detained here more than a month. In this time he made the acquaintance of a great Buddhist monk named Dharmasangha who had a very high reputation as a profound scholar in Buddhism. But Yuan-chuang found him to be only superficially acquainted with the Hīnayānist books, and he knew nothing of Mahāyānism. When the pilgrim was ready to continue his journey he asked the new General for escort and post accommodation[2] on the way southwards towards India. The General strongly recom-

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as a transcription of an old Turkish word Shad. Thomsen, Inscriptions, p. 146; Hirth, Nachworte S. 45.

[1] According to the text the Shê or Military governor after his marriage with the Kaochang princess had taken a new Khatun or queen. This young concubine urged on by the son of a senior queen poisoned her lord, and thereupon the young prince took his father's place to the concubine and people. He is here called *T'ê-kin* (特勤) as if this were his personal name. But *T'ê-kin* is said to be for the Turkish word Tagin (or Tegin) meaning *Prince*, and it is of frequent occurrence as a high title. See Schlegel's Stèle funeraire p. 6; Thomsen's Inscriptions p. 73.

[2] For "post accommodation" here the original is *Wu-lo* (鄔落). This is a word common to the Mongols and Turks and is known as *ula* or *ulak*. It denotes the contributions of service imposed on subjects by government, and includes the supply of men and horses and accommodation for officials when travelling on duty.

mended him to visit the *Fo-ho-lo* country, which belonged to his horde, and had interesting sacred sites. This advice was urged also by certain Brethren from that country who had come to *Huo* in connection with the change of administration, and Yuan-chuang acted on the advice, and joined these Brethren on their return

Most of the countries here described as lying between the Iron Pass and Bamian are mentioned again in the account of the return journey, and it is not necessary to refer to them further at present.

FO-HO (BALKH).

The narrative in the Records proceeds to relate that

West (i. e. from *Hu-lin*) you reach *Fo-ho*. This country was above 800 *li* from east to west and 400 *li* north to south, reaching on the north to the Oxus. The capital, which all called "Little Rajagriha city," was above twenty *li* in circuit, but though it was strong it was thinly peopled. In natural products the district was rich and the land and water flowers were too many to enumerate. There were above 100 Buddhist monasteries with more than 3000 Brethren all adherents of the "Small Vehicle' system.

Outside the capital on the south-west side was the *Na-fo* (Nava)-Sangharama or New Monastery built by a former king of the country. This was the only Buddhist establishment north of the Hindu-Kush in which there was a constant succession of Masters who were commentators on the canon. The image of the Buddha in this monastery was artistically made of (according to one reading, studded with) noted precious substances, and its halls were adorned with costly rarities, hence it was plundered for gain by the chiefs of the various states In the monastery was an image of Vaiśravana deva which had bona fide miracles and in mysterious ways protected the establishment. The pilgrim tells how not long before the time of his visit this deva had frustrated an armed attempt of the Turkish *She-hu* or governor name *Ssŭ*, the son of a governor, to invade and plunder the monastery

In the South Buddha-Hall of this establishment were Buddha's washing-basin about one *tou* in capacity: so bright and dazzling was the blending of colours in this basin that one could not well tell whether it was of stone or metal. There was also a tooth of the Buddha an inch long and 8/10ths of an inch broad,

and there was his broom made of *kāśa* grass above two feet long and about seven inches round, the handle being set with pearls. On the six festival days these relics were exhibited to the assembled lay and clerical worshippers. On such occasions the relics moved by the "thorough sincerity" of a worshipper may emit a brilliant light

To the north of the New Monastery was a tope above 200 feet high which was plastered with diamond-cement. This tope was also ornamented with various precious substances, and it contained relics which sometimes shone with supernatural light.

South-west from the New Monastery was a *ching-lü* (精 廬) or Buddhist temple. This had been built long ago, and had been the resort of Brethren of high spiritual attainments from all quarters. It had been found impossible to keep a record of those who here realized the Four Fruits (that is, became arhats) So topes were erected for those arhats who when about to die made a public exhibition of their miraculous powers, the bases of these topes were very close together and were some hundreds odd in number. But no memorial erection was made in the case of those Brethren, about 1000 in number, who although arhats had died without exhibiting miracles. In this establishment were above 100 Brethren, who were "day and night assiduous at their duties," and one could not tell which was common monk and which was arhat.

The *Fo-ho* (縛 喝) of this passage has been identified with the city and district of Balkh and the identification is probably quite correct. But we cannot properly regard the Chinese word as a transcription of the word Balkh, or of its variant Pahl, or of Vāhlīka the name in the Brihat-samhitā and supposed to be the original form.[1] In the Life the name is given as *Fo-ho-lo* and I-ching writes it *Fo-ko-lo*.[2] These transcriptions seem to require an original like Bokhar or Bokhara, the name of the country which included Balkh. The *Fo-ho* or Balkh of our pilgrim was evidently not very far west or north-west from *Huo* (Kunduz) and it was under the same Turkish governor with that State. The pilgrim, the Life tells us, beheld Balkh as a "Better Land", with its cities and their sur-

[1] Julien III. p. 289. Alberuni Vol. I. p. 300: Fleet Ind. Ant. Vol. XXII. p. 192.

[2] Hsi-yü-ch'iu, *ch.* 1 and Chavannes Mémoires p[s]. 28, 48.

roundings in bold relief, and its vales and country districts rich and fertile. The description which he gives of the capital and the surrounding district agrees with the accounts of later travellers.[1]

The *Nava-sanghārāma* or New Monastery of this passage is the Nava-vihāra and *Hsin-ssŭ* (with the same meaning) of I-ching, who also represents the establishment as being occupied by Brethren of the Hīnayāna system.[2] In the Life the Buddha's washing basin in this monastery is of a capacity of two *tou*, and another account makes it to have held only a *shêng*. The *tou* of the T'ang period was a little more than nine quarts, and the *shêng* was only about a pint. The basin and the tooth and the broom were exhibited to the worshippers on the sacred days. On these occasions the "thorough sincerity," the full-hearted earnestness of devotees sometimes had power to move the relics to shed a brilliant light. For "thorough sincerity" the term in the text is *Chih-ch'êng* (至誠) a classical expression derived from the "Chung-yung."[3] The Confucianist believed that this "thorough sincerity" enabled its possessor to have a subtle influence over external nature. But to the pilgrim, a Confucianist converted to Buddhism, its power in a believing worshipper extended to the mysterious powers associated with the sacred objects of his adopted religion. This New Monastery, Yuan-chuang tells us, was under the protection of Vaiśravana-deva who kept guard over the establishment. It was to this deva that India on the death of the Buddha entrusted the defence of Buddhism in the northern regions, and it was in this capacity that he had charge of the monastery. Here at the time of Yuan-chuang's visit was a very genial learned Brother from the *Che-ka* country from whom our pilgrim received much kindness and assistance in his

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1 Cf Q Curtius B. VII. ch. 18; Burnes' Travels into Bokhara ch. VIII.

2 Hsi-yu-ch'iu, l. c.

3 *Ch* 22.

studies. With this Brother, named Prajñākara, Yuan-chuang read certain Abhidharma treatises and also the Vibhāsha-śāstra. There were also in the monastery at the time two learned and esteemed Doctors in Buddhism who treated the Chinese pilgrim with great courtesy.

The term which the Records and the Life use for the Buddhist establishment to the south-west of the New Monastery is, it will be observed, *Ching-lü*. This phrase means "the cottage of the essential," and it is perhaps a synonym of *Ching-shê*, an old and common term with a similar meaning. Our pilgrim may have taken it over from a previous writer who used it in the sense of Vihāra, as Julien translates it here. It is to be observed that the Life does not know anything of the invidious distinction in the treatment given to the relics of the arhats of this temple who died after miraculous exhibitions, and that of the relics of those arhats who passed away without such exhibitions. The pilgrim, as we have seen, describes the 100 Brethren in the establishment at his time as "day and night assiduous at their duties." The words within inverted commas are a quotation with the alteration of one character from a wellknown passage in the Shih-ching and they are a stock literary phrase.[1] He adds that one cannot distinguish among them the ordinary Brother from the arhat. Instead of this last clause Julien has—"Il est difficile de scruter le cœur des hommes vulgaires et des saints," but this platitude cannot be forced out of the text. This simply tells us that all the Brethren were so zealous in the observances of their religion that one could not tell which was common monk and which was arhat.

At a distance of above 50 *li* north-west from the capital was *Ti-wei's* city and above 40 *li* to the north of that was *Po-li's* city. In each of these towns was a tope above thirty feet high. Now the story of these topes was this. As soon as Ju-lai long ago attained Buddhahood he went to the Bodhi Tree and thence to the Deer Park (near Benares). At this time two householders

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[1] The sentence in the original runs—今僧徒百餘人夙夜匪懈凡聖難測.

meeting him in his majestic glory gave him of their travelling provisions parched grain and honey. Bhagavat expounded to them what brings happiness to men and devas, and these two householders were the first to hear the Five Commandments and Ten Virtues. When they had received the religious teaching they requested something to worship, and Julai gave them of his hair and nail(-pairings). The two men being about to return to their native country begged to have rule and pattern for their service of worship. Julai thereupon making a square pile of his saṅghaṭī, or lower robe, laid it on the ground, and did the same with his uttarāsaṅga or outer robe and his Samkachchikam, the robe which goes under the arm-pits, in succession. On the top of these he placed his bowl inverted, and then set up his mendicant's staff, thus making a tope The two men, accepting the Julai's instructions, returned each to his city, and according to the pattern thus taught by the Buddha they proceeded to erect those two topes, the very first in the dispensation of Sākyamuni Buddha Above 70 *li* west of the capital was a tope which had been built in the time of Kaśyapa Buddha.

The *Ti-wei* (提謂) and *P'oli* (波利) of this very curious passage are the names of men not of cities. They stand for Trapusha (or Tapassu) and Bhallika (or Bhalluka) and are the transcriptions used by some of the early translators.[1] The former is sometimes translated as *Huang-kua* (黃瓜) "a gourd" or "melon" and in Tibetan as Ga-gong with similar meaning: Bhallika is translated *Ts'un-lo* (村落), "a village," but the Tibetan rendering means "good" or "fortunate" (Bhalluka).[2] These two men were travelling merchants or caravan-chiefs from a far land.[3] The story of their giving the Buddha his first food after he attained Buddhahood is told in many books with

[1] They are used in the Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching (No. 664. tr A.D. 197), in the Fo-shuo-t'ai-tzŭ-sui-ying-pên-ch'i-ching, *ch.* 1 (No. 665, tr cir. A D. 250).

The two merchants' names are also given as Bhadrasena and Bhadralik (Yin-kuo-ching, *ch* 3. No. 666 tr. cir. A.D. 450), and as Kua or "Melon" (Trapusha) and Upoli in the Ssŭ-fên Vinaya, *ch.* 31 where the men are brothers.

[2] Sar. Vin P'o-seng-shih, *ch.* 5 (No. 1123) · Rockhill Life p. 34

[3] The village of the great alms-giving is also located on the way between Bodhigaya and Benares and its name given as Tapussabhalik (多謂娑 for 婆跋利).

some variations. In a late Sinhalese text these pious merchants erected a tope over the precious hair- and nail-cuttings in Ceylon;[1] in a Burmese story the monument was erected in Burmah;[2] and in the account which Yuan-chuang gives in *Chüan* VIII a monument was erected at the place where the incident occurred.[3] Some versions represent the two traders as being men from the north, some represent them as brothers, and in some versions there is only one man. The ridiculous story told here of the Buddha's extemporized model of a tope does not seem to be found in any other account of the incident. It gives us, however, the plain outline of the original or early Buddhist tope or pagoda,—a square base surmounted by a cylinder on which was a dome topped by a spire. Julien evidently misunderstood the passage and he had a faulty text. He makes the pilgrim state that Julai took off his saṅghāṭi "formé de pièces de coton carrées". He had the Ming text reading *tieh* meaning "cotton" but the C and D texts have the *tieh* which means to *double, fold, pile*. The topes which these two merchants erected in their respective native places are not represented as the first structures of the kind, but only as the first in the Buddhadom of Sākyamuni. The very next sentence, as we have seen, tells of a Kāśyapa Buddha tope in the same district.

The narrative continues

> South-west from the capital [of Balkh] coming into a corner of the Snowy mountains you arrive at the *Yue-mei* (or *mo*)-*t'ê* country. This was 50 or 60 *li* long by 100 *li* wide, and its capital was above ten *li* in circuit

Julien who transliterates the Chinese characters for the name of this country by *Jui-mo-tho*, suggests Jumadha as the foreign word transcribed. But the first character (銳)

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[1] Hardy M. B. p. 186.

[2] Bigandet Legend vol. i. p. 100.

[3] The version in the Lalitavistara Ch. XXIV, and some other versions of the story do not make mention of the hair and nails relics and the topes.

was read *yue* and the name was probably something like Yumadha. Our author in this passage uses the mode of description which is supposed to indicate that he is giving a second-hand report not the result of a personal visit. But we know from the Life that the pilgrim did go to this country at the pressing invitation of its king who shewed him great kindness.

To the south-west [of *Yue-mei-t'ê*] was the *Hu-shih-kan* country. This was above 500 *li* long and above 1000 *li* broad, and its capital was above 20 *li* in circuit: it had many hills and vales and yielded good horses.

This country, according to the T'ang-Shu, extended on the south-east to Bamian. M. Saint Martin thinks that the *Hu-shih-kan* of this passage may be the district called by the Persians *Juskān* which was "entre Balkh et le district de Mérou-er-Roud". The pilgrim made a short visit to this country also, we learn from the Life.[1]

North-west [from *Hu-shih-kan*] was *Ta-la-kan*. This country was above 500 *li* long by 50 or 60 *li* wide, and its capital was more than ten *li* in circuit. on the west it adjoined *Po-la-ssŭ* (Persia).

M. Saint-Martin thinks that this name *Ta-la-kan* "nous conduit indubitalement à la *Talekān* du Ghardjistān, ville située à trois petites journées au-dessus de Mérou-er-Roud, dans la direction de Herat."[2] The name which he has here transcribed may have been Talakan or Tarkan, but it is not likely that the characters were used to represent a word like Talikan or Talekan.

The pilgrim now resumes his journey towards India.

From Balkh he went south more than 100 *li* to *Kie(Ka)-chih*. This country was above 500 *li* long and 300 *li* wide, and its capital was five or six *li* in circuit. It was a very stony, hilly country with few fruits and flowers but much pulse and wheat; the climate was very cold; the people's ways were hard and brusque. There were more than ten monasteries with 300 Brethren all attached to the Sarvāstivādin school of the "Small Vehicle" system.

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[1] Julien III. p. 290. Cf. Yule in J. R. A. S. Vol. vi, p. 102.
[2] Julien III. p. 289. Cf. Yule, l. c.; Med. Res. Vol. ii. p. 96.

The word here transcribed *Ka-chih* has been restored as Gachi and Gaz, and Yule took the country to be "the Darah or Valley of Gaz".[1]

BAMIAN.

Our narrative proceeds to relate that the pilgrim going south-east from *Ka-chih* country entered the Great Snowy Mountains. These mountains are lofty and their defiles deep, with peaks and precipices fraught with peril Wind and snow alternate incessantly, and at midsummer it is still cold. Piled up snow fills the valleys and the mountain tracks are hard to follow. There are gods of the mountains and impish sprites which in their anger send forth monstrous apparitions, and the mountains are infested by troops of robbers who make murder their occupation.

A journey of above 600 *li* brought the pilgrim out of the limits of the Tokhara country and into the *Fan-yen-na* country. This was above 2000 *li* from east to west and 300 *li* from north to south. It was in the midst of the Snowy Mountains, and its inhabitants taking advantage of the mountains and defiles had their towns in strong places. The capital, which was built at a steep bank and across a defile, had a high cliff on its north side and was six or seven *li* in length. The country was very cold; it yielded early wheat, had little fruit or flower, but had good pasture for sheep and horses. The people had harsh rude ways; they mostly wore furs and serges, which were of local origin. Their written language, their popular institutions, and their currency were like those of Tokhara, and they resembled the people of that country in appearance but differed from them in their spoken language. In honesty of disposition they were far above the neighbouring countries, and they made offerings and paid reverence with perfect sincerity to [all objects of worship] from the Three Precious ones of Buddhism down to all the gods. Traders coming and going on business, whether the gods shew favourable omens or exhibit sinister manifestations, pay worship (lit. seek religious merit).

The *Fan-yen-na* (梵衍那) of this is, as has been shewn by others, Bamian, and Yuan-chuang was apparently the first to use this transcription. Other transcriptions found in Chinese literature are *Fan-yen* (帆延), and *Wang* (i. e.

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[1] Yule l. c.

Bang)-yen (縛 衍), each representing a sound like Bam-yan. Our pilgrim represents the inhabitants as using the natural strongholds of the hills and defiles for their places of abode. The district, we learn from the T'ang-Shu, had several large towns, but the people lived chiefly in mountain caves.[1] Writing from reports of recent travellers Colonel Yule tells us: "The prominences of the cliffs which line the valley of Bámián are crowned by the remains of numerous massive towers, whilst their precipitous faces are for six or seven miles pierced by an infinity of anciently excavated caves, some of which are still occupied as dwellings. The actual site of the old city is marked by mounds and remains of walls, and on an isolated rock in the middle of the valley are the considerable ruins of what appear to have been the acropolis, now known as Ghúlghúla."[2] This Ghulghula probably represents part of our pilgrim's capital, the name of which in the 7th century was *Lo-lan* (羅 爛). Ibn Haukal tells us that "Bamian is a town about half as large as Balkh, situated on a hill. Before this hill runs a river, the stream of which flows into Guyestan. Bamian has not any gardens nor orchards, and it is the only town in this district situated on a hill."[3] The Life tells us that when Yuan-chuang arrived at the capital the king came out to meet him and then entertained him in the palace and that in this city the pilgrim met with two learned Brethren of the Mahāsaṅgika school who were very kind to him. The king was probably regarded by Yuan-chuang as a descendant of the Sākya exile from Kapilavastu who went to Bamian and became its king.

In Bamian there were some tens of Buddhist monasteries with several thousands of Brethren who were adherents of that Hīnayāna school which "declares that [Buddha] transcends the ordinary", that is, the Lokottaravādin School.

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[1] T'ang-shu, *ch.* 221.

[2] See "The Rock-cut Caves and Statues of Bamian" in J. R. A. S. Vol. xviii. Art. XIV

[3] Or. Geog. tr. Ouseley p. 225

For the words here placed within inverted commas the original is *Shuo ch'u-shih* (說 出 世). This expression, as has been shewn by others, is used to translate the Sanskrit Lokottaravādin. Julien interprets this and its Chinese equivalent as meaning those "dont les discours s'élèvent au dessus du monde".[1] Burnouf renders the term by "ceux qui se prétendent supérieures au monde".[2] Eitel translates it "Those who pretend to have done with the world".[3] But all these interpretations judged by the accounts of the school seem to be wrong and misleading. Wassiljew explains the term better as meaning "those who argue about emergence from the world, that is, argue that in the Buddhas there is nothing which belongs to the world".[4] So also Rockhill using Tibetan texts explains the term thus—"Those who say that the blessed Buddhas have passed beyond all worlds (i. e. existences), that the Tathāgata was not subject to worldly laws are called ["Those who say that the Tathagata] has passed beyond all world, or *Lokottaravādins*."[5] The school which bore this name is described as an offshoot from the Mahāsañgika or Church of the Great Congregation of Brethren which arose in the Madhyadeśa or "Mid-India" of Chinese writers. The name was given to the sect from the prominence which its founders gave to the doctrines that the Buddhas were not begotten and conceived as human beings, that there was nothing *worldly* in them, but that they were altogether *above this world*, world-transcending. In Chinese Lokottaravādin became *Shuo-ch'u-shih* (or *Ch'u-shih-shuo*) as in Yuan-chuang's translation, or *Ch'u-shih-chien-yen-yü* or *Ch'u-shih-chien-shuo*.[6] The former means

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[1] Mélanges p. 380, 388.

[2] Bur. Int. p. 452.

[3] Handbook Ch. Buddhism s. v. Lokottara-vādinah

[4] Wass. Bud. S. 250.

[5] Rockhill Life p. 185. I have taken some liberty with Mr Rockhill's text as there is apparently something omitted.

[6] See the Shih-pa-pu-lun (No. 1284) and I-pu-tsung-lun-lun (No. 1286)

"stating that [Buddha] transcends the world" and the latter means "talk [of Buddha] transcending what is in the world." In the "Mahāvastu" we have apparently a sort of text book of this sect, though the treatise represent itself to be portion of the Vinaya.[1] It teaches with iteration the doctrine of the unworldliness or super-worldliness of the Tathāgatas or Great Rishis, and consists mainly of legends of the past and present lives of the Buddha. As Vasumitra shews, the Lokottaravādins, like the other sects which branched off from the Mahāsaṅgika body, differed from the latter only in the accidentals not in the essentials of doctrine and precept. The peculiar doctrine about the Buddhas must be excepted. In the lists of the Buddhist schools given in the Dīpavamso the Lokottaravādin school is not mentioned.

The description in the text proceeds.

> On the declivity of a hill to the north-east of the capital was a standing image of Buddha made of stone, 140 or 150 feet high, of a brilliant golden colour and resplendent with ornamentation of precious substances. To the east of it was a Buddhist monastery built by a former king of the country. East of this was a standing image of Sākyamuni Buddha above 100 feet high, made of *t'u-shih*, the pieces of which had been cast separately and then welded together into one figure.

The large Buddha image of this passage is evidently the "big idol, male" which Captain Talbot measured with his theodolite and found to be 173 feet high. A picture of this image is given at p. 341 in Vol. xviii of the R. A. S. Journal in the Article already quoted from. Captain Talbot states that the image was "hewn out of the conglomerate rock, but the finishing, drapery, &c., was all added by putting on stucco". Our pilgrim's statement that the image was of a "brilliant golden colour" agrees with its name "Surkbut" or "Gold image", and this is said to be probably the meaning of another of its names the Red Idol.[2] The second image, we have seen, was made of

[1] Mahāvastu ed. Senart. T. I. Intn p. 2, p. 159.
[2] J. R. A. S. Vol. xix. p. 162, 164.

t'u-shi. This word written 鍮石 (or 鋀石) is here rendered by Julien *laiton,* but in some other passages he translates it by *cuivre jaune.* Native dictionaries and glossaries also give different and conflicting explanations of the two characters. These are sometimes treated by native scholars as two words, but they evidently stand for one word which is apparently a foreign one, perhaps the Turkish word *tūj* which denotes *bronze.* Chinese interpreters use *t'u-shi,* called also *t'u-ssŭ* (丨 似), to translate the Sanskrit *rīti,* "bell-metal", "bronze", and also as the equivalent of tāmrika from tāmra which means "copper". It is also described as a "stone like gold", and as a metal made from copper, being yellow when of good quality. It seems to be sometimes used in the sense of "copper ore", but in these Records we may generally render it by *bronze.* This bronze image has been identified with the "female figure 120 feet high" of Captain Talbot, who says this, like the other image, was hewn out of the conglomerate rock. It is also the White Idol of the Persian account which also makes it to have been cut in the rock and calls it a female figure. It is about 1/4 of a mile to the left of the larger image. We cannot explain away Yuan-chuang's statement that the image was made of metal by the hypo thesis that it was of stone covered with metal. If the Shah-mameh is the image east of the monastery then Yuan-chuang was misinformed as to its material.

The description continues.

> In a monastery 12 or 13 *li* to the east of the capital was a recumbent image of the Buddha in Nirvaṇa above 1000 feet long. Here the king held the Quinquennial Assembly at which he was wont to give away to the monks all his possessions from the queen down, his officials afterwards redeeming the valuables from the monks.

In the D text and in the Fang-chih the monastery of the Nirvāṇa Buddha is only two or three *li* east from the capital, and this is probably correct. In the Life the Nirvāṇa image is at the monastery near which was the tūj or bronze Buddha. The length of the Nirvāṇa image

is enormous, especially if we are to regard it as having been within the walls of a monastery. Perhaps, however, the figure was only carved in a rock which formed the back wall of the temple. In any case we probably do well to agree with Colonel Yule's suggestion that the Azdaha of the present inhabitants of this district is the Nirvāṇa Buddha of our traveller. The Azdaha, which is described as being on the flat summit of a nearly isolated rock, is "a recumbent figure bearing rude resemblance to a huge lizard, and near the neck of the reptile there is a red splash as of blood." We cannot, however, imagine that the pilgrim on seeing a figure like this would call it Buddha in Nirvāṇa.

In this monastery there was also Sāṇakavāsa's sanghāti in nine stripes, of a dark red colour, made of cloth woven from the fibre of the śanaka plant. This man, a disciple of Ānanda, in a former existence gave to a congregation of Brethren on the day of their leaving Retreat śanaka robes By the merit of this act in 500 subsequent births, intermediate and human, he always wore clothing of this material. In his last existence he was born in this a...re and his natal garment grew with his growth; when he was admitted into the Church by Ānanda the garment became a clerical robe, and when he received full ordination the garment became a nine-striped sanghāti When Sāṇakavāsa was about to pass away he went into the "Border-limit" samādhi and, by the force of his desire aiming at wisdom, he left this robe to last while Buddhism endures and undergo destruction when Buddhism comes to an end. At this time the robe had suffered some diminution, and this was proof to believers.

The Śāṇakavāsa of this passage is the Śanika, Śaṇavāsa, Soṇavāsi, and Śānavāsika or Śāṇavāsika of other works. According to the generally received account the bearer of this name was the son of a merchant of Rājagaha. He also in early life became a merchant and amassed a large fortune with which he was very generous to the Buddhist fraternity. Ānanda persuaded him to enter the Order and after ordination he devoted himself to his new career with great zeal and earnestness. He mastered all the Canon, and taught and guided a large number of disciples, his chief place of residence being at the monastery he

established near Mathura. The greatest of his disciples was Upagupta whom he made his successor as Master of the Vinaya. After this Śaṇakavasa went to Kipin, a northern region including Kashmir, or to Champā, but returned to Mathura. There he died and his remains were cremated and a tope erected over them.[1] In order to account for his name and career a story is told about him in a former life. He was then the chief of a caravan of 500 merchants and on his journey he fell in with a Pratyeka Buddha dying in lonely helplessness. The caravan-chief devoted himself to the suffering saint, and nursed him with great kindness. This Pratyeka Buddha had an old worn garment of śāṇa, a kind of cloth made from the śaṇ hemp, and the caravan-chief wished him to change it for a new cotton robe. But the saint declined the offer, not wishing to part with the old robe which was associated for him with all his spiritual progress. The caravan-chief expressed his strong desire that when he next was born in this world he should be in all respects like this Pratyeka Buddha. By the merit of his kindness to the Pratyeka Buddha and his prayer. he was led to join the Buddhist Order and to wear all his life the linen robe in which he was ordained, and hence he had the name Śāṇakavāsin or "Wearer of linen". The legends about him having been six years in his mother's womb, and having been born in a linen shirt, are only in some of the accounts. This arhat, who lived within 100 years after the Buddha, figures in the Divyāvadāna and in the Buddhist books of Nepāl, Tibet, and China,[2] but he seems to be unknown to the Pali scriptures. We can scarcely regard him as identical with Sonika, the thera of Rājagaha, mentioned in the Mahāvaṃsa and other works, although in some circumstances there is a resemblance.[3] The word *shê-na-*

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[1] Fu-fa-tsang-yin-yuan-ching (or chuan), *ch.* 2 (No. 1340 tr. A.D. 472); A-yü-wang-chuan (No. 1459 tr. A.D. 300).

[2] Divyāv. p. 349: Bud. Lit. Nep. p. 67; Rockhill Life p. 161.

[3] Mah. *ch.* IV.: Dip. V. 24.

ka in the arhat's name is also explained as meaning *tzu-jan-fu* (自然服) or "natural",—"self-existing clothing", as if for sanaka from sanā which means "eternal", "self-existent".

The words here rendered "in 500 existences intermediate and human" are peculiar and merit attention. In all the texts and in the Life the original is *yu-wu-pai-shên-chung-yin-shêng-yin* (於五百身中陰生陰), and Julien translates this by "pendant cinq cents existences successives". But this is not all that the author states, and the sense in which I understand the words is evidently something like what the construction requires. It is also apparently the sense in which the author of the Fang-chih understood the passage, for he transcribes it *wu-pai-chung-yin-shên-shêng* or "500 intermediate states and human births". The *Chung-yin*, called also *chung-yu* (中有), is the *antarā-bhava* or intermediate state, the life elsewhere which intervenes between two existences on this world. Human death or *ssŭ-yin* (死陰) is the dissolution of the skandha (*yin*) which form the living body; and this is followed in due time by a new human birth, the *shêng-yin*, in which the skandha are recombined. In the period which elapses between these two events that which was, and is to be again, the human being, lives on in some other sphere or spheres of existence, and this unknown life is the *chung-yin*. This in the language of the Buddhists is the road which lies between but connects the two villages of Death and Re-birth. The term will be further explained when we come to *Chuan* VII.

KA-PI-SHIH (KAPIS).

The narrative proceeds to relate that the pilgrim going east from this entered the Snow Mountains, crossed a black range and reached *Ka-pi-shih*. This country was above 4000 *li* in circuit with the Snowy Mountains on its north and having black ranges on its other sides; the capital was above ten *li* in circuit. It yielded various cereals, and fruit and timber, and excellent horses and saffron; many rare commodities from other regions were collected in this country; its climate was

cold and windy; the people were of a rude violent disposition, used a coarse vulgar language, and married in a miscellaneous manner. The written language was very like that of Tokhara; but the colloquial idiom and the social institutions of the people were different. For inner clothing they wore woollen cloth (*mao-tieh*), and for their outer garments skins and serge. Their gold, silver, and small copper coins differed in style and appearance from those of other countries. The king, who was of the Kshatriya caste, was an intelligent courageous man, and his power extended over more than ten of the neighbouring lands, he was a benevolent ruler and an adherent of Buddhism. He made every year a silver image of Buddha 18 feet high, and at the Moksha-parishad he gave liberally to the needy and to widows and widowers. There were above 100 Monasteries with more than 6000 Brethren who were chiefly Mahāyānists; the topes and monasteries were lofty and spacious and were kept in good order. Of Deva-Temples there were some tens; and above 1000 professed Sectarians, Digambaras, and Pāmśupatas, and those who wear wreaths of skulls as head-ornaments.

The words "from this" at the beginning of the above passage apparently mean from the monastery with the sacred relics. The Life tells us that the journey from the capital of Bamian to the confines of the country occupied about 15 days. Two days' journey outside the Bamian boundary the pilgrim lost his way in the snow and after being set right he crossed a black range into *Ka-pi-shih* or Kapis. This is all the information we have about the distance of the latter country from Bamian. By the words "black range" in this passage we are apparently to understand those mountains of the Snowy range which were not covered with perpetual snow. It will be noticed that although the pilgrim travelled east through the Snowy Mountains into Kapis it was a "black range" that was to the west of that country.

The country here designated *Ka-pi-shih* (迦畢試) does not seem to have been known to the Chinese generally by that name. We find the *Ka-pi-shih* of our author, however, in some later books used to denote a country said to be Kipin.[1] In some older books the country is called

[1] K'ai-yuan-lu, *ch.* 1 (No. 1485).

Ka-pi-shih (迦臂施),[1] and is described as a great rendezvous for traders. The Sanskrit name is given as Karpisaya and this is transcribed in Chinese by *Ka-pi-shê-ye* (劫比舍也). As Kanishka is Kanerka so Kapis may be Kafir a name which is preserved in the modern Kafiristan. As to the area of the country Cunningham tells us that if Yuan-chuang's "measurement be even approximately correct, the district must have included the whole of Kafiristan, as well as the two large valleys of Ghorband and Panjshir, as these last are together not more than 300 miles in circuit".[2]

Among the products of the country here enumerated is one called *Yü-chin*, that is, "saffron" The translators, however, give "Curcuma" as the meaning of the word and it is so rendered by others in various books. As we have to meet with the word again the reasons for translating it by "saffron" are to be given hereafter.

Our narrative proceeds.

About three or four *li* east of the capital under the north mountain was a large monastery with above 300 Brethren all Hīnayanists. Its history the pilgrim learned was this. When Kanishka reigned in Gandhāra his power reached the neighbouring States and his influence extended to distant regions. As he kept order by military rule over a wide territory reaching to the east of the Ts'ung-Ling a tributary state of China to the west of the Yellow River through fear of the king's power sent him [princes as] hostages On the arrival of the hostages Kanishka treated them with great courtesy and provided them with different residences according to the seasons. The winter was spent in India, the summer in Kapis, and the spring and autumn in Gandhāra At each residence a monastery was erected, this one being at the summer residence. Hence the walls of the chambers had paintings of the hostages who in appearance and dress were somewhat like the Chinese. When the hostages returned to their homes they fondly remembered their residence here, and continued to send it religious offerings. So the Brethren of this monastery with grateful feelings had kept up religious services on behalf the hostages every year at the beginning and end of the Rain-season Retreat. To the south of the east door

[1] Su-kao-sêng-chuan, *ch.* 2 (No. 1493); K'ai-yuan-lu, *ch.* 7.
[2] Anc. Geog. Ind. p. 17.

of the Buddha's-Hall of the Monastery, under the right foot of the image of the Lord over the Gods, was a pit containing a buried treasure deposited there by the hostages. There was an inscription which stated that when the monastery fell into disrepair the treasure was to be used for its repairs. In late times a frontier king had coveted the treasure and tried to steal it, but the figure of a parrot in the God's crown by flapping his wings and screaming frightened the king and his soldiers; the earth also quaked and the king and his soldiers fell down stiff; when they recovered they confessed their guilt and went away home.

The Life tells us that the Hīnayāna monastery of this passage was called *Sha-lo ka* (沙落迦), a word of which no explanation is given. It was in this monastery that our pilgrim was lodged and entertained during a portion of his stay at the capital. In the Life also there is only one hostage and he is a son of a Chinese emperor and it was by him the monastery was built. The story in the Records evidently supposes the reader to understand that the hostages were the sons of a ruler of a feudal dependency of China or of rulers of several such states. Here also I think there is properly only one hostage-prince and the use of the plural in the latter part of the passage is perhaps a slip. The monastery may be the establishment called in some works the *T'ien-ssŭ* and the *Wang-ssŭ*, or Royal Vihāra. Its name *Sha-lo-ka* is apparently not to be taken as a word qualifying *vihāra*, but as the designation of the whole establishment comprising the hostage's residence, the sacred buildings and the monks' quarters. It is possible that the Chinese transcription may represent the Indian word *śālāka* or "small mansion" used in the sense of a "temporary royal residence."

The Life also gives the story of the buried treasure and tells of the attempts to make use of it by the Brethren. At the time of the pilgrim's visit money was wanted to repair the tope and Yuan-chuang was requested to lay the case before the Lord; he did so and with such success that the required amount was taken without trouble.

The narrative next tells us of caves in the mountains to the north of the Hostage's Monastery. Here the hostages practised samādhi, and in the caves were hidden treasures guarded by a

yaksha. On a mountain two or three *li* west of the cav an image of Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa; to devotees of perfect earn the P'usa would come forth from the image and comfor with the sight of his beautiful body Above 30 *li* sou from the capital was the Rāhula monastery with its n working tope, built by a statesman named Rāhula.

Above forty *li* south from the capital was the city *Si-p'i-to-fa-la-tzŭ* (霫蔽多伐剌祠) When the rest region was visited by earthquakes and landslips this city round it were quite undisturbed

For the name of the city here transcribed Julien transliterates the last character *sse*, suggests Sphīt as the possible Sanskrit original, and Saint Marti poses Svetavāras. But the last character *sse* or one of those which the Chinese do not like to transcriptions and it is probably a Chinese word i sense of *temple*. The other characters may star Svetavat, one of the epithets of Indra, the god whc a white (sveta) elephant. Thus the name of the city be Svetavat-ālaya, the Abode or Shrine of Indra.

To the south of this city and at a distance of abo from it was the *A-lu-no* Mountain, steep and lofty, with cliffs and gorges. Every [New] year the summit incre height several hundreds of feet appearing to look towa *Shu-na-si-lo* Mountain in *Tsao-ku-t'a*, and then it su collapsed. The explanation given to the pilgrim by the was this Once the god *Shu-na* arriving from afar wa stop on this mountain, but the god of the mountain be alarmed made a convulsion. *Shu-na* deva then said to 'You make this commotion because you do not want me t with you, if you had granted me a little hospitality I have filled you with riches, now I go to the Tsao-ku-t'a to the Shu-na-si-lo mountain, and every [New-]year whe receiving the worship and offerings of the king and sta you are to be a subordinate spectator'. Hence the mountain increases its height and then suddenly collapse

For the "New-year" of this rendering the origi simply *sui* (歲) "year", but it was evidently at a part time of the year that the mountain prolonged its sumn native scholar was of the opinion that the word *sui* passage meant *harvest*, the time when thank-offering made to the god for the good crops. But it is perhaps

to take the word in the sense of *New-year*, Mount Aruna having to do homage openly to Shu-na deva when the latter was receiving the New-year's worship of the king and grandees of Tsao-ku-t'a. The *A-lu-no* of this passage is evidently, as has been conjectured, for Aruṇa which means "red, the colour of the dawn". In Alberuni we read of the Aruna mountain to the west of Kailāsa and described as covered with perpetual snow and inaccessible.[1] *Shu-na*, also pronounced *Ch'u-na*, may be for Śuna, and *Shu-na-si-lo* may be for Śunasīrau, a pair of ancient gods associated with farming. But *si-lo* is perhaps for śilā, "a rock", the name of the mountain being Shuna's rock. This Shuna or Ch'una was the chief god among the people of Tsao-ku-t'a, but he was feared and worshipped beyond the limits of that country. A deity with a name like this is still worshipped in some of the hill districts beyond India, I believe. He was perhaps originally a sun-god, as Aruṇa was the dawn, and the name Shun still survives in Manchoo as the word for Sun.

Returning to the Records we read that

> above 200 *li* north-west from the capital was a great Snowy Mountain on the top of which was a lake, and prayers made at it for rain or fine weather were answered. The pilgrim then narrates the legend about this lake and its Dragon-kings. In the time of Kanishka the Dragon-king was a fierce malicious creature who in his previous existence had been the novice attending an arhat of Gandhāra. As such in an access of passion and envy he had prayed to become a Nāga-king in his next birth, and accordingly on his death he came into the world as the Dragon-king of this lake. Keeping up his old bad feelings he killed the old Dragon-king; and sent rain and storm to destroy the trees and the Buddhist monastery at the foot of the mountain. Kanishka enraged at the persistent malice of the creature proceeded to fill up his lake. On this the Dragon-king became alarmed and assuming the form of an old brahmin he remonstrated earnestly with the king. In the end the king and the Dragon made a covenant by which Kanishka was to rebuild the monastery and erect a tope; the latter was to serve as a lookout, and when the watchman on this observed dark clouds rising on

[1] Vol. ii, p. 148.

the mountain the gong was to be at once sounded, whereupon the bad temper of the Dragon would cease. The tope still continued to be used for the purpose for which it was erected. It was reported to contain flesh-and-bone relics of the Ju-lai about a pint in quantity, and from these proceeded countless miracles.

In Julien's translation of the passage from which the above has been condensed there occurs a sentence in which the original does not seem to have been properly understood. The words here rendered "assuming the form of an old brahmin he remonstrated earnestly with the king" are in Julien's translation "prit la forme d'un vieux Brahmane, *se prosterna devant l'éléphant du roi et addressa à Kanichka des représentations*". For the words which I have put in italics the Chinese is *K'ou-wang-hsiang-êrh-chien* (叩王象而諫) literally "striking the king's elephant he remonstrated". But the meaning is simply "he sternly reproved" or "earnestly remonstrated with". The expression corresponds to the common Chinese phrase *K'ou-ma-chien* literally "striking his horse reprove". But there is no *striking* of either horse or elephant, the expression being figurative. To make the brahmin kotow to the elephant is neither Chinese nor Indian and it spoils the story. The phrase *K'ou-hsiang* occurs again, in *Chuan* VI. and Julien again make the same curious mistake. His translation (p. 326) is there even less appropriate than it is here.

To the north-west of the capital on the south bank of a large river was an Old King's Monastery which had a milk-tooth one inch long of Sakya Pu'a. South-east from this was another monastery also called "Old King's", and in this was a slice of Julai's ushnisha above an inch wide of a yellow-white colour with the hair pores distinct. It had also a hair of Julai's head of a dark violet colour above a foot long but curled up to about half an inch. The ushnisha was worshipped by the king and great officials on the six fast days. To the south-west of this monastery was the Old Queen's monastery in which was a gilt copper tope above 100 feet high said to contain relics of Buddha.

It is curious to find our pilgrim here telling of a slice of Buddha's ushnisha as existing in Kapis. I-ching also writes of the Julai's *ting-ku* or ushnisha as being in this

ntry.[1] Our pilgrim, we shall see presently, agreeing h Fa-hsien makes the city Hilo in another country sess the ushnīsha apparently in a perfect state. As o was a dependency of Kapis we may regard I-ching's grims as paying reverence to the ushnīsha of Hilo and ting their fortunes from it. But we cannot understand a monastery in Kapis had a piece of the ushnīsha the same time that the whole of it was in Hilo. Then entury or so after our pilgrim's time Wu-k'ung found ushnīsha relic of Sakya Ju-lai in the *Yen-t'i-li* vihāra Kanishka in Gandhāra. It was near the capital of ndhāra also that Wu-k'ung saw the Dragon-king monastery which Yuan-chuang places 200 *li* north-west from capital of Kapis.[2]

To the south-west of the capital was the *Pi-lo-sho-lo* Mountain. This name was given to the mountain from its presiding genius who had the form of an *elephant* and was therefore called *Pi-lo-sho-lo.* While the Julai was on earth this god once invited him and the 1200 great arhats to his mountain, and here on a large flat rock he gave the Julai worship and entertainment. On this rock king Asoka afterwards built a tope above 100 feet high. This tope, which was supposed to contain about a pint of the Buddha's relics, was known to the people at the time of Yuan-chuang's visit as the *Pi-lo-sho-lo* tope.

To the north of this tope and at the base of a cliff was a Dragon Spring. In it the Buddha and the 1200 arhats cleansed their mouths, and chewed their tooth-sticks, after eating the food supplied to them by the god; their tooth-sticks being planted took root, and became the dense wood existing at the time of the pilgrim's visit. People who lived after the Buddha's time erected at the place a monastery to which they gave the name *Ping* (or *Pi*)-*to-ka* (鞞鐸佉).

he *Pi-lo-sho* (or *so*) *lo* of this passage, translated by Chinese as "Elephant-solid", has been restored by en as *Pilusāra*. This was the name of the tutelary of the mountain and of the mountain itself, and it the name given to the Asoka tope erected on one of rocks of the mountain.

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[1] Hsi-yü-ch'iu, *ch.* 1, 2, and Chavannes Mémoires p. 24, 105.

[2] Shih-li-ching; Chavannes in J. A. T. VI. p. 357.

A note added to the Chinese text here tells us that *Ping* (or *P'i*)-*to-ka* is in Chinese *Chio-yang-chih* (嚼楊枝) literally "chew willow twig". This is the term used to describe the Buddha and his arhats chewing their tooth-sticks in the operation of cleansing their mouths, and it is the common phrase in Chinese Buddhist works to denote this operation. One of the Chinese names for the tooth-stick which the bhikshu was ordered to use daily was *Yang-chih* or "willow-twig", but in India at least the tooth-stick was not made of willow. We are not obliged to accept the native annotator's translation of the foreign word here, and it is apparently not correct. It will be noticed that the name *Ping-to-ka*, according to our pilgrim, was given to the monastery built here by people who lived after the time of the Buddha and his arhats, and apparently at a period when there was a thick clump of trees at the place. The transcription in the text may possibly represent the word Piṇḍaka used in the sense of a *clump of trees*, the monastery being called the Piṇḍaka-vihāra.

CHAPTER V

CHUAN II.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF INDIA.

Its names.

The pilgrim having now arrived at the frontiers of the great country which he calls *Yin-tu* (India) gives his readers a "Pisgah-sight" of the land before taking them through its various kingdoms. And first he tells them of its name and its meaning and probable origin. His statements about the name may be roughly rendered as follows—

> We find that different counsels have confused the designations of *T'ien-chu* (India); the old names were *Shên-tu* and *Sien* (or *Hien*)-*tou*; now we must conform to the correct pronunciation and call it *Yin-tu* The people of Yin-tu use local appellations for their respective countries, th various districts having different customs, adopting a general esignation, and one which the people like, we call the country *Yin-tu* which means the "Moon".

This rendering differs in some respects from that given by Julien which is neither very clear nor correct. Here, however, as in several other passages of the Records, it is not easy to make out the precise meaning of the author's statements. It is plain, however, that he is not dealing with names given to India generally but only with those used in Chinese books. Then his words would seem to indicate that he regarded T'ien-chu, Shên-tu, and Sien-tou as only dialectical varieties or mistaken transcriptions of Yin-tu, which was the standard pronunciation. Further his language does not seem to intimate, as Julien under-

stood it to intimate, that Yin-tu was the name for all India used by the inhabitants of the country. In some other works we find it stated that Yin-tu was the native name for the whole country, and Indu-deśa given as the original Sanskrit term. Our author may have had this opinion but this does not seem to be the meaning of his statements here. On the contrary he apparently wishes us to understand that the natives of India had only designations of their own States, such as Magadha and Kausambhi, and that they were without a general name under which these could be included. It was the peoples beyond, as for example the Turks, who gave the name Yin-tu, and the Hu who gave Sin-tu, to a great territory of uncertain limits. Then the Buddhist writers of Kashmir, Gandhâra, and other countries beyond India proper, seem also to have sometimes used the name Yin-tu. But, as I-ching tells us, although this word may mean "moon" yet it was not the current name for India. In Buddhist literature India is called Jambudvipa, and portions of it Âryadeśa and Madhyadeśa.[1] One of the other names for India to be found in Buddhist literature is Indravardhana. But in the Chinese accounts of letters or missions sent by Indian rajahs to the court of China the rajahs are only represented as styling themselves kings of special countries in India. Thus the great Śilāditya, who treated our pilgrim with great honour, is made in Chinese history to call himself king of Magadha.

Let us now examine in detail Yuan-chuang's statements about the terms he quotes as used in China to denote India and the history of these terms. The old name, as he tells us, is that which he, following precedent, writes *Shên-tu* (身毒) as the characters are now pronounced. This word emerges in Chinese history in the account which the famous envoy Chang Ch'ien (Kien) gives of his experiences in the Ta-hsia country (Bactria). In that we

[1] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 25; Hunter's Ind. Emp. p. 88.

read that when Chang returned from his mission to the West he reported to Han Wu Ti (apparently about B. C. 123) that when in Ta-hsia he had seen bamboo poles and cloth from a district which is now comprised in the Province of Ssŭchuan. He had been told, he relates, that these commodities had been obtained at Shên-tu, as the name of the place is given in the ordinary texts of his report to the Emperor. Now Chinese writers tell us, and Western scholars have adopted and repeated the statements, that the Shên-tu of this story was India, and that all the other designations for that country in Chinese books such as Hsien-tou, Hsien-tu, Kan-tu, Küan (or Yuan)-tu, T'ien-chu, T'ien-tu, and Yin-tu are only phonetic corruptions of Shên-tu. These opinions seem to have been lightly formed and heedlessly followed, and it may be useful for us to enquire whether they have a good basis.

In the first place then we find that there is doubt as to what was the precise form of the name of the country in Chang's statement. So instead of the character for *Shên* in Shên-tu given above we meet with several various readings. Such are 訖 and 訖 which probably represent one sound, something like *Get* or *K'at*. Now a foreign name like *K'atu* or *Gachu* as a name for India seems to have been in use. Then a third various reading for the Shên of Shên-tu is K'ien or Kan (乾) which may have been originally a copyist's slip for one of the characters read *K'at*.[1] We find also a fourth various reading for the syllable Shên of Shên-tu, viz—Küan or Yun (捐).[2] But the country described in Chinese literature under the name Yun-tu was evidently one to the east or north-east of all that has been called India.[3] Then accepting the character now read Shên as the genuine text of Chang's

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1 Shih-chi (史 記), *ch.* 123, Commentary. In the T'ung-chien-kang-mu, *ch.* 4, Yuan-shou (元 狩) 1st y., this passage of the Shih-chi is quoted with the reading *Kan-tu* (乾 篤) instead of *Shên-tu*. See also Kanghsi Dict. s. v. 身.

2 Han-Shu, *ch.* 96.

3 T'ung-chih-liao, the Tu-yi-liao, *ch.* I; Han-Shu, l. c.

report we are told that in this name it is to be pronou[illegible] like *in* or *yin*. This does not seem very improbable. an etymological authority tells us that the characte[illegible] question has, in this name, the sound *T'ien*.[1] There [illegible] be some truth in this statement. But it is not suppo[illegible] by authority, and seems rather fanciful.

The district or region which the envoy Chang repo[illegible] as named, let us continue to say, Shên-tu, is br[illegible] described by him and others of the Han period. It [illegible] several thousand *li* south-east from Bactria, near a r[illegible] (or sea); its inhabitants used elephants in fighting. S[illegible] writers describe them as Buddhists; and they were in m[illegible] respects like the people of Bactria, or like the ([illegible] (Yue-ti) according to another account. Their country [illegible] about 2000 *li* south-west from what is now the Ch'ên[illegible] and Ning-yuan districts in Ssŭchuan, and it had a reg[illegible] trade with the merchants of the Ch'êng-tu district, s[illegible] of whom seem to have settled in it. Further, this cou[illegible] was not far from the western border of the Chinese em[illegible] in the Han time, and it was on the way from Chin[illegible] Bactria. So though the name Shên-tu came to be af[illegible] wards given to India yet in its first use it appare[illegible] denoted a small region in what is now Yunnan [illegible] Burmah.[2]

The name Hsien-tou was apparently applied to a reg[illegible] different from that designated Shen-tu.[3] Like Hsie[illegible] (縣 [illegible]), of which term it is perhaps only a variety. name was probably used first by the Chinese for the In[illegible]

[1] Wên ch'i-tien-chu (問奇典註), *ch.* 2 p 22. The chang[illegible] Shên-tu into T'ien-tu may point to a Burmese pronunciation of S[illegible] as Thindu.

[2] Han-Shu, *ch* 95; Hou Han-Shu, *ch.* 88, Ma T. l. *ch.* 338 g[illegible] much information about India compiled not very carefully f[illegible] previous authorities, his account is translated in Julien's Mélu[illegible] p 147.

[3] But Hsien (Hien)-tou (賢 豆) came to be used as a name [illegible] India, and [illegible] it described as a native designation for the wh[illegible] country properly called Indravardhana. Su-kao-sêng-chuan, *ch* [illegible] See also [illegible] *ch* 1

called Sindhu in Sanskrit. The name was afterwards extended by them to a mountainous region, perhaps Ladak, through which the Indus flows. We find the Hsien-tu country mentioned in the same passages of the Han History with Shên-tu.

We next come to T'ien-chu (天竺) and T'ien-tu (篤) said to represent only one name pronounced something like Tendu or Tintok. We are told by one Chinese writer that the name T'ien-chu was first applied to India in the Han Ho-Ti period (A.D. 89 to 106) but the authority for the statement is not given. Another account makes Mêng K'an (about A.D. 230) the first to identify T'ien-chu with Shên-tu, but this likewise is unsupported by authority. We are also told that the *chu* (竺) of T'ien-chu is a short way of writing *tu* (篤), a statement which is open to very serious doubt.[1] This word *tu* occurs in the ancient classical literature, and native students declare that it represents an earlier *chu*. This is specially noted with reference to the occurrence of *tu* in a wellknown passage of the "Lun-Yü". Then as to the first part of the name there seems to have been an old and perhaps dialectical pronunciation of the character as *Hien* or *Hin*. This pronunciation is found at present in the dialect of Shao-wu foo in the Province of Fuhkeen in which 天竺 is read *Hien-tu*.[2]

But what was the sound originally represented by the character now read *Chu* in the compound T'ien-chu? It seems that no satisfactory and decisive answer can be given at present to this question. We find that in the Han period the character represented several sounds which cannot be said to be very like each other. The upper part *chu* meaning *bamboo* is not significant here, we are told, but only phonetic; and the lower part is significant, and refers the word to the category *earth*. The character might then be read something like *du*. but this account

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[1] Shih-chi, l. c.

[2] The Chinese Recorder for September 1891, p. 406.

of the syllable may be doubted, as we learn also that the character was read like *tek*, an old and still current pronunciation of the word for *bamboo*. Then this same character was also read as *chah*, *tuh*, *kat*, and *kc* or *gou*.[1] Something like the last was perhaps the earliest pronunciation of the character, and this is probably a corruption or abbreviation of a form like *kao* (篙) or *kung* (笁). This last form, unknown to the dictionaries apparently, occurs often in Japanese texts of Buddhist books instead of the character for *chu*. Now in the fact that *ko* or *gou* was an old sound of this character we have an explanation of a proper name found in the Tibetan version of the Buddhist "Sūtra in Forty-two Sections". One of the two Indian monks who came to China in the time of Han Ming Ti, and translated or drew up the above scripture, is styled in Chinese text *Chu Fa-lan*. These words apparently represented an Indian name like Dharma-pushpa, that is, Flower of Buddhism. Now the Tibetans transcribing the sounds of the characters for Chu Falan according to their own language wrote apparently *Go-ba-ran* and this became in the modern transcription *Gobharaṇa*. This last word is neither Sanscrit nor Tibetan, but it has been adopted by Feer who has been followed by Beal and Eitel. That Chu in such expressions as Chu-Fa-lan (竺法蘭) is not part of the name, but means "India" or "Indian" we know from its occurrence in other expressions of a similar kind. We may also infer it, in this case, from the fact that it does not occur in some old editions of the above-mentioned scripture, which have only Fa-lan as the name of the Indian monk. So also in another Tibetan work we find him described as "Bhárana Paṇḍita".[2] There is also another word in which we may perhaps

[1] Shuo-wên, ed. Kuei Fu-hsio, s. v. 竺. In the Fo-kuo-chi this character must be pronounced like *Tuh* or *Tak* as it forms the first syllable of the name Takshasila.

[2] Foer's *Le Sūtra en 42 Articlos* p. 47; Saŭ-shih-êrh-chang-ching, and Bun. No. 678 and Appx II. col. I; Journal Bengal A. S. No. LI. p. 89, Huth, Geschichte d. Bud. in d Mongolei, tr. from Tibetan, S. 101.

recognize the *ko* pronunciation of our character *chu*. This word is the old "Tangut", more correctly Tan-ku, which was the Turkish-Persian designation for the country now called Tibet.[1] It is not improbable that, as some have supposed, this Tan-ku is simply the *T'ien-chu* of Chinese writers. And so this last may have been originally a Turkish term, used to denote a country immediately to the west of China, and between that country and Bactria.

T'ien-tu, on the other hand was the name of a place in the Eastern Sea mentioned in the "Shan-hai-ching" along with *Chao-hsien* or Korea. This place was afterwards identified wrongly with the *T'ien-chu* of writers on India and Buddhism.[2] But we find mention also of another *T'ien-tu* (written in the same way), a small country to the west of China, which has been supposed by some to be the Shên-tu of Chang Ch'ien.

Whatever the name *T'ien-chu* may have signified originally, however, it came to be given by the Chinese in their literature to the great extent of territory between the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea, and reaching from the Kapis country in the north to Ceylon in the south. Thus used it supplanted the old Shên-tu, and all other names for India among the Chinese; and it continued to be the general literary designation for that country down to the T'ang period when the new name *Yin-tu* was brought into fashion. We even find the term T'ien-chu used with a wider application, and it is employed as a synonym for "Buddhist countries", for example, in a title given to the "Fo-kuo-chi" of Fa-hsien. Nor has the term been quite put out of use by Yuan-chuang's correct name Yintu, and Yuan-chuang himself continues to use it occasionally. We find also each of its component parts

[1] Georgi's Alph. Tib. p. 10. In the Hai-kuo-t'u-chih it is expressly stated that T'ien-chu has been identified with the modern Hsi-Tsang or Tibet.

[2] Shan-hai-ching, *ch.* 18.

sometimes made to do duty for the whole. This (
T'ien and *Hsi-T'ien* are respectively Middle and
India. while *Chu* in the Han and Ch'in periods an(
was commonly used for India or Indian, a way in
Hsi-T'ien is also used.

Leaving T'ien-chu to continue as a Chinese na
India, Yuan-chuang puts aside what he considers
the corruptions of the term Yin-tu, and proceeds
that form as the correct designation of the countr
goes on to suggest a reason for this word, meaning "
having come to be so employed. His explanation
parently as follows—

> The unceasing revolutions of mortals' existences are
> long night; were there not a warden of the dawn the
> be like the night with its lights which succeeds the se
> the sun, although the night have the light of the star
> not to be compared to the light of the clear moon.
> probably India was likened to the moon as [since the su
> Buddha set] it has had a succession of holy and wise
> teach the people and exercise rule as the moon sheds it
> influences,—on this account the country has been called

The comparison and explanation of our author, i
be admitted, are sorry things; and they are not im
in any of the translations. But the passage has pr
some copyist's mistakes, and we must at least su
clause which apparently has dropt out of the text.
clause is the important phrase *Fo-jih-chi-yin* (佛 日
which means "when the sun of the Buddha set".
restored these words within square brackets in th
of the pilgrim's explanation, but it is probable th
occurred at the head of it also. The "long night"
text is the interminable succession of renewed exi
to non-Buddhists, and to the Buddhists the period b
the death of one Buddha and the advent of a
but it is rather a state of affairs than a tract o
It denotes a condition of spiritual darkness to ma
an endless repetition of mortal life in many varieties
life ignorant of the one before, and without any l
the one to follow. There is no Buddha in the worl

so there is no one to end the night, and bring in the dawn of Nirvāna. The Buddha is the *Ssŭ-ch'ên* (司 晨) or Warden of the Dawn, the officer in charge of daybreak who ushers in the light of intelligence and the perfect way.

Now on earth, when the "lights of night" succeed the setting of the sun, there are stars, and there is the moon. The stars, however, have only a shining, the brightness of a glow. But the moon has a light which illuminates and influences the world, and which transcends in brightness all other lights of the night. So other lands have had sporadic sages who made a glory for themselves revolving each in his own peculiar eccentric orbit. But India had a regular succession of great Sages who 'followed the great wheel' of ancient authority, each successor only expounding, renewing, or developing the wise teachings of his divine or human predecessors; thus keeping the light of primitive revelation shining among mortals. In Buddhist writings the Buddha is often compared to the moon, while the stars are sometimes the rival teachers of his time, and occasionally his own great disciples.

A later Chinese writer, apparently under the impression that he had the authority of Yuan-chuang for the statement, tells us that *T'ien-chu* means *moon*. But he, like several other authors, explains the giving of this name to India in a different way from that described by the pilgrim. He says that the country was called T'ien-chu or Moon because it was as great and distinguished above the other countries of the world, as the moon is great among the stars of night—"velut inter ignes Luna minores". Other writers, like I-ching for example, are more discreetly wise, and refrain from proposing any explanation of the names for India. Admitting, they say, *Yin-tu* to be a Sanskrit term denoting the *moon*, yet it was not for that reason that the Chinese gave it as a name to the country, nor is the name the universal one. *Yin-tu* is the Chinese name for India as *Chi-na* and *Chen-tan* are terms used in that country to denote China, and apart from such use these names

have no signification.[1] This is going too far, a word India at least has a satisfactory explanation. our pilgrim enquired about the size and form country, he was told that it was shaped like a c or, as it is in the text, a half-moon. The term us apparently Indu-kalā, transcribed *Yin-t'ê-ka-lo* (印羅).[2] This word means a *digit of the moon* or a c but it is rendered in Chinese simply by *yueh* o It was perhaps this fact which led to the absur parison and explanation of our text

Our author in this passage mentions another name for India, viz—Country of the brahmins *mên-kuo*).

> Among the various castes and clans of the country t mins, he says, were purest and in most esteem. So fr excellent reputation the name "Brāhmaṇā-country" had be a popular one for India

Now this is also a fore designation, and one t the Chinese especially. It does not seem to hav ever known, or at least current, in India. In literature we find it employed during the Sui perio 589 to 618) but it is rather a literary than a designation. In the shortened form Fan kuo however, the name has long been in common use kinds of Chinese literature.

The territory which Yuan chuang calls *Yin*-mapped off by him, as by others, into five great d called respectively North, East, West, Central, and Yin-tu. The whole territory, he tells us,

> was above 90 000 *li* in circuit, with the Snowy Mounta Hindu Kush) on the north and the sea on its three oth It was politically divided into above seventy kingdoms; of summer was very great, and the land was to a larg marshy. The northern region was hilly with a brack

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[1] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei l. c.

[2] Supplement to I-ch'ie-ching-yin-yi, *ch.* 3. This of cours the origin of the name for India, but it may account for the use of Yin-tu as a designation for the country.

the east was a rich fertile plain; the southern division had a luxuriant vegetation; and the west had a soil coarse and gravelly.

Indian Measures of Space.

Our author now proceeds to give the names of measures of space and time which were in use among the people of India or were taught in their standard books of learning and religion.

He begins at the top of the gradation with the Yojana which, he says, had always represented a day's journey for a royal army. The old Chinese equivalent for it, he says, was 40 *li*, the people of India counted it as thirty *li*, while the Buddhist books treated it as equal to only sixteen *li*.

We are not told, however, that in India the Yojana varied in different places and at different times.

Then the Yojana, he states, was divided into eight Krośa, the Krośa into 500 Bows, the Bow into four Cubits, and the Cubit into twenty-four Fingers. Forgetting, apparently, to mention the division of the Finger into three Joints Yuan-chuang proceeds to state the division of the Finger-joint into seven Wheat (properly Barley)-grains. Thence the subdivision by sevens is carried on through the Louse, the Nit, Crevice-dust, Ox-hair [Dust], Sheep-wool [Dust], Hare-hair [Dust], Copper [Dust], Water [Dust], and Fine Dust to Extremely Fine Dust. This last is the ultimate monad of matter and is indivisible.

This enumeration of Indian measures of space was apparently written down from memory, and it does not quite agree with any of the other accounts we have. In the Abhidharmamahāvibhāsha-lun,[1] compiled by the 500 Arhats and translated by Yuan-chuang, we find a similar enumeration, leaving it undecided, however, whether "seven copper-dusts" made one "Water-dust", or seven of the latter made one of the former. In this, and in the other books in which we find the measures of space given, the word for *dust* is added to each of the terms Ox-hair, Sheep-wool, Hare's-hair, Copper, and Water, and I have accordingly inserted it in the version here given of Yuan-chuang's account. Instead of *t'ung*, *copper*, the D text has *chin*, *gold*, perhaps

[1] Abhidharma-ta-vibhāsa-lun, *ch* 136 (Bun. No. 1263).

used in the sense of *metal*, and this is the reading of Yuan-chuang's "Abhidharma-tsang-hsien-tsung-lun". Then the "Abhidharma-kośa-lun", which also has *chin* instead of *t'ung*, makes seven "metal-dusts" equivalent to one "water-dust" thus reversing Yuan-chuang's arrangement.[1] The word *dust* here should perhaps be replaced by *atom* or *particle*.

Another enumeration of Indian measures of space is given in the Lalitavistara and its translations Tibetan and Chinese, and another in the Avadāna XXXIII of the Divyāvadāna of Mess[rs] Cowell and Neil.[2] The latter is represented in the Chinese collection of Buddhist books by four treatises. In none of all these works is there anything corresponding to the words "copper" and "water" of our author's list. Moreover each of them makes the Window-Dust or Sunbeam-mote—the "Crevice-Dust" of our author—to be one seventh of a Hare (or Moon)-Dust and equal to seven particles of Fine Dust. Julien took the "copper water" of our text to be one term and translated it by "l'eau de cuivre (Tamrāpa?)", but this is undoubtedly wrong.[3] In this gradation of measures the "Extremely Fine Dust" is a monad of thought, a logical necessity, and has no separate existence in matter. The lowest actual unit of matter is the *anu* of the Divyāvadana, which is the "Fine Dust" of our author. This too, however, though visible to the deva-sight, is invisible to the human sight and impalpable to the other human senses. But it is a material substance, the most minute of all material

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[1] Abhidharma-tsang-hsien tsung-lun, *ch.* 17 (No. 1266); Abhidharma-kośa-lun, *ch* 12 (No 1267)

[2] Lalitavistara *ch.* 12 Foucaux's Rgya-cher-rol-pa, p. 142 and note; Fang-kuang-ta-chuang-yen-ching, *ch.* 4 (No. 159); Divyāv. p. 644. Matanga-sūtra, *ch.* 2 (No. 645).

[3] See also the Tsa-abhidharma-hsien-lun, *ch.* 2 (No. 1288); Alberuni, *ch.* XXXIV and XXXVII; Abhidharma-shun-chêng-li-lun, *ch.* 32. In this treatise we have all the measures of space given by Yuan-chuang but the "Metal-dust" is one-seventh of the "Water-dust". It gives also the division of the Finger into three Finger-joints.

sizes and quantities, and the ultimate atom into which dust or metal or water can be analysed. It takes seven of these, according to some, to equal one Atom (truṭi or tuṭi), and seven of these to make one Sunbeam-mote. If we omit the two words "Copper" and "Water" from our text, and remove the term "Crevice-Dust" to its place, we have an enumeration of measures which agrees substantially with that of the Divyāvadāna up to the Kroṣa. Some of the Chinese texts represent the Kroṣa, translated by *shêng* (聲) a *sound*. to be 2000 Bows, and in some the Barley-grain is subdivided, not as by Yuan-chuang, but into seven Mustard-seeds.

MEASURES OF TIME.

Our author next goes on to describe the measures of time in India, beginning with the divisions of the Day-night period. Here also he mainly follows Sanghabhadra's treatise[1], and differs from most other writers, Buddhist and orthodox.

> He calls the *Kshaṇa* the shortest space of time and makes 120 of it equal to one *Tatkshaṇa*. Then 60 *Tatkshaṇas* make one *Lava*, 30 *Lavas* make one *Muhurta*, five of these make one "time" (時), and six 'times' make one Day-night. The six 'times' of this last are, we are told, distributed equally between the day and the night. But the non-Buddhist people of India, Yuan-chuang tells us, divided the day and night each into four "times".

It will be seen that Yuan-chuang here puts the Kshaṇa below the Tatkshaṇa, in this agreeing with the Abhidharma treatises of Sanghabhadra and Dharmatara. The Divyāvadāna, on the other hand makes 120 Tatkshaṇas equal to one Kshaṇa, and 60 Kshaṇas equal to one Lava. In some Chinese versions of the sacred books the tatkshaṇa is not mentioned. The kshaṇa is defined as the time occupied by a woman in spinning one *hsun* (尋) of thread, but the word is generally used by Buddhist writers in

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[1] Abhidharma-shun-chêng-li-lun, l. c. For the measures of Time generally see the references in the above note 3 on p. 142.

the sense of *an instant*, the *twinkling of an eye, the very shortest measurable space of time*.

The word kshaṇa is commonly transcribed in Chinese books as in our text, and it is rarely translated. The *lava* is sometimes rendered by *shih* (時), *time*, and sometimes by *fên* (分), a *division*. So also Muhurta is sometimes translated by *shih, time*, but more frequently by *hsu-yü* (須臾), an *instant* or *moment*, such being also the original meaning of muhurta. But *hsu-yu* when used as a translation of this word does not denote an *instant* but a period of 48 minutes, the thirtieth part of a Day-night. The day is divided into three "times", viz. forenoon, noon, and afternoon, and hence it is called Trisandhya In like manner the night is divided into three "times" or watches and hence it is called Triyāmā.

Our author next goes on to enumerate the divisions, natural and artificial, of the month and the year in India. He distinguishes between the common four-fold division of the seasons, and the three-fold one used by Buddhists. The latter division was into a hot season (Grīshma) followed by a rainy season (Varsha), and then a cold season (Hemanta). We have next the names of the months of the year in their order beginning with Chaitra. Then comes an interesting passage which, as it appears in our texts, presents some difficulty. The meaning seems to be something like this—

"Hence the professed Buddhists of India, complying with the sacred instructions of the Buddha, observe (lit. sit) two periods of Retreat, either the early or the later three months. The former period begins on our 16th day of the 5th month, and the latter on the 16th of the 6th month. Previous translators of the Sūtras and Vinaya use "Observe the summer" or "Observe the end of the winter". These mistranslations are due to the people of outlying lands not understanding the standard language, or to the non-harmonizing of provincialisms".

The first sentence of this passage evidently means that the Buddhist monks of India could make either the former or the later three months of summer their period of Retreat. My interpretation of the passage differs a little

from that of Julien who substitutes *yü* (雨) *rain*, for the *liang* (兩) *two*, of the text, supporting his change of reading by a quotation of the present passage in a Buddhist Cyclopedia. But one of two copies of this Cyclopedia in my possession gives *liang* and the other has *huo* (或). Moreover all texts of the "Hsi-yü-chi" seem to agree in having *liang* here: and we read in other books of two and even three periods of Retreat. For the monks of India, however, these were all included within the Rain-season, the four months which began with the 16th of their fourth month and ended on the 15th of the 8th month. The full period of Retreat was three months; and Buddha ordained that this period might be counted either from the middle of the fourth or the middle of the fifth month. The conjecture may be hazarded that Yuan-chuang originally wrote *liang-yü*(兩 雨)*-an-chü* that is "two Rain-Retreats" and that a copyist thinking there was a mistake left out the second character. This restoration does not make good style but something of the kind is apparently needed as Yuan-chuang's expression for the Retreat was *yu-an-chü*.

The Sanskrit term for the Retreat is Varshā (in Pali Vassa) which means simply *rains*, the *rainy season*, from *varsha* which denotes, along with other things, *rain* and *a year*. The usual expression for "keeping Retreat" is *varshām vas* (in Pali, vassam vasati) or *varshām sthā*, meaning respectively to reside, and to rest, during the rainy season. For these terms the Chinese give various equivalents such as the *Tso-hsia* and *Tso-la* of some, and the *Tso-an-chü* or *Tso-yü-an-chu* of Yuan-chuang and others. For the Buddhists of India as for the other people of that country the "rainy season" began on the 16th of the month Ashādha (the fourth of their year), and continued for four months. This was chiefly for religious purposes, but to the non-Buddhists of India three months of this period formed also their summer. This may help to explain the use of the phrase Tso-hsia which is a short form for the full expression *Tso-hsia-yü-an-chü* meaning "to observe the Summer Rain Retreat". Then Tso-hsia

and Tso-la mean also to pass a year as an ordained monk, the precedence of a brother being settled by his "years in religion". The phrase *Tso-la* or *Tso-la-an-chü* is used specially of the strict anchorite who observed two Retreats, one in the summer and one in the winter. It might be also applied to brethren in strange lands, Tokhara for example whose Rainy season occurred at the end of the winter. Yuan-chuang seems to think that the terms Tso-Hsia and Tso-La are not correct renderings from the Sanskrit and they certainly are not literal translations. He supposes the mistakes to have arisen either from the translators having been natives of countries remote from Mid-India, and so ignorant of the correct term and its proper pronunciation, or from the use of an expression which had only local application and currency But the "non harmonizing of provincialisms" denotes not only the misuse of local terms, but also ignorance of the idioms in one language which should be used to represent the corresponding idioms of another Thus a Chinese or Indian scholar translating a Sanskrit book into Chinese without a thorough knowledge of the Sanskrit and Chinese idioms would not harmonize the countries' languages. Julien takes "Mid-kingdom" here to mean China but it certainly denotes Mid-India In that region people called the Rainy season Varsha, but in other places the word was pronounced vasso, or *barh*, or *barkh*, or *barsh*. So translators, Yuan-chuang thinks, may have in some cases mistaken the word, or they may have misunderstood either the original, or the Chinese term they were using in translation. Thus the important fact that the Retreat was ordained on account of the Rains is put out of view by the renderings Tso-Hsia and Tso-La. There was not, however, any ignorance of Sanskrit or Chinese in the use of these terms, and good scholars in the two languages such as Fa-hsien and I-ching use Tso-hsia and An-chü indifferently. In countries in which there was no long regular Rainy season the Retreat became of importance as a time for spiritual improvement by study of the sacred

books and prolonged meditation, and as giving a year's seniority to the brother among his brethren.

Cities and Houses.

We have next a short description of the general characters of the cities and buildings of India. The passage is an interesting one and the meaning may be given somewhat as follows—

"As to their inhabited towns and cities the quadrangular walls of the cities (or according to one text, of the various regions) are broad and high, while the thoroughfares are narrow tortuous passages. The shops are on the highways and booths (or, inns) line the roads. Butchers, fishermen, public performers, executioners, and scavengers have their habitations marked by a distinguishing sign. They are forced to live outside the city and they sneak along on the left when going about in the hamlets. As to the construction of houses and enclosing walls, the country being low and moist, most of the city-walls are built of bricks, while walls of houses and inclosures are wattled bamboo or wood. Their halls and terraced belvederes have wooden flat-roofed rooms, and are coated with chunam, and covered with tiles burnt or unburnt. They are of extraordinary height, and in style like those of China. The [houses] thatched with coarse or common grass are of bricks or boards, their walls are ornamented with chunam, the floor is purified with cow-dung, and strewn with flowers of the season, in these matters they differ from us. But the Buddhist monasteries are of most remarkable architecture They have a tower at each of the four corners of the quadrangle and three high halls in a tier. The rafters and roofbeams are carved with strange figures, and the doors, windows, and walls are painted in various colours. The houses of the laity are sumptuous inside and economical outside. The inner rooms and the central hall vary in their dimensions, and there is no rule for form or construction for the tiers of the terraces or the rows of high rooms Their doors open to the east, and the throne faces east

For seats all use corded benches. The royal family, the grandees, officials and gentry adorn their benches in different ways, but all have the same style (or form) of seat. The sovereign's dais is exceedingly wide and high, and it is dotted with small pearls. What is called the "Lion's Seat" (that is, the actual throne) is covered with fine cloth, and is mounted by a jewelled footstool. The ordinary officials according to their

fancy carve the frames of their seats in different ways, and them with precious substances.

Dress and Personal Characteristics.

The inner clothing and outward attire of the people h tailoring, as to colour a fresh white is esteemed and m of no account. The men wind a strip of cloth round th and up to the armpits and leave the right shoulder bar women wear a long robe which covers both shoulders a down loose. The hair on the crown of the head is ma a coil, all the rest of the hair hanging down. Some ch mustaches or have other fantastic fashions. Garlands ar on the head and necklaces on the body.

The names for their clothing materials are *Kiao-shê-y* sheya) and muslin (*tieh*) and calico (*pu*). Kausheya bei from a wild silk-worm; *Ch'u* (or *Ch'u-mo*) (Kshauma), a l linen; *Han* (or *Kan*) *po-lo* (Kambala) a texture of fin sheep's wool or goat's hair; and *Ho-la-li* (Ral?) a textur from the wool of a wild animal—this wool being fine a and easily spun and woven is prized as a material for cl in North India where the climate is very cold closely jackets are worn somewhat like those of the Tartars (Hu

The garbs of the non-Buddhists religieux, are varied and ordinary. Some wear peacocks' tails, some adorn themselves necklace of skulls, some are quite naked, some cover the bo grass or boards, some pull out their hair and clip their mous some mat their side-hair and make a top-knot coil. Their ing is not fixed and the colour varies.

In this passage, it will be noticed, the clothing mat used by the lay people of India are arranged in groups. The first is called by the pilgrim "Kau clothing and muslin and cloth" (憍奢耶衣及氎 Now kausheya (or kauseya) is *silk* made from the c of the Bombyx Mori, and *tieh-pu* is *cotton-cloth* or and *cotton cloth*. It is perhaps better to regard *tie pu* as names of two materials, and in another treati find Kausheya, *tieh*, and *ts'ui* (毳) grouped together.[1] *ts'ui* was apparently a kind of coarse cotton cloth, we find a *ts'ui-ka-pei* or "rough cotton" used to cushions. The term kausheya was applied not on

[1] Ta-fang-teng-ta-chi ching, *ch.* 11 (No. 61 tr. cir. A.D. 400

silk stuffs but also to mixtures of silk and linen or cotton.[1] Our pilgrim evidently makes one group of "silk clothing" and cottons. This is not to be much wondered at when we reflect that he, like the other Chinese of his time and district, knew nothing of the cotton plant and the cloths derived from it. Moreover we should probably regard this description of the dress of the natives of India as derived from an earlier account.

The second kind of clothing material here mentioned is the Kshauma or Linen. This term also is to be regarded as denoting a class. It comprehends, we must suppose, the fabrics made from the Kshumā or flax, the śanā or jute, and the bhangā or hemp. These three plants are mentioned in Chinese translations from the Sanskrit as yielding stuffs from which clothes were made. This word kshauma denotes not only linen but also silk textures.

The third group is the kambala. This word, which denotes "woollen cloth" and "a blanket", is here evidently used in the sense of fine woollen cloth for making clothing. Like the kausheya and the kshauma the kambala clothing was allowed to the Buddhist Brethren.

The fourth kind of stuff mentioned as used for clothing material is called by Yuan-chuang *Ho-la-li* (褐剌䙰). There does not seem to be any known Sanskrit word with which this can be identified. As Yuan-chuang spells foreign words the three characters may stand for Ral, a Tibetan word meaning "goat's hair", from Ra, a goat. This *Ho-la-li* or Ral is also probably the *Lo-i* (羅衣) or "Lo (Ra) clothes" of other Buddhist texts. In Sanskrit also we find *rallaka* which denotes a wild animal and a stuff made from its hair, and *rallaka-kambala* which is a fine woollen cloth.

Our pilgrim's description proceeds—

The clerical costume of the Sha-mên (Śramaṇas) is only the three robes and the Sêng-kio-ki and Ni-p'o-so-na. As to the three robes the Schools adhere to different styles having broad or

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[1] Sar. Vin. vibhāsha, *ch.* o (No. 1135): Sêng-chi-lü, *ch.* 9.

narrow fringes and small or large folds. The sêng-kio-ki goes over the left shoulder covers the armpits, joined on the right and opening on the left side and in length reaching to below the waist As to the Ni-p'o-so-na, since no belt is worn when it is put on, it is gathered into plaits and secured by one of these, the size and colour of the plaits vary in the different schools

For the first part of this passage Julien has the following—"Les *Cha-men* (Çramanas) n'ont que trois sortes de vêtements, savoir le *Sêng-kia-tchi* (Sañghâti) le Seng-kio-ki (Sañkakchikâ), et le *Ni-po-sie-na* (Nivâsana). La coupe et la façon de ces trois vêtements varient suivant les écoles. Les uns ont une bordure large ou étroite, les autres ont des pans petits ou grands". Here the translator spoils the description by interpolating the words "savoir le *Sêng-kia-tchi* (Sañghâṭi)", leaving out the word for "and", and inserting "ces" in the clause "La coupe et la façon de *ces* trois vêtements". The "Three robes" of the Buddhist monk are quite distinct from the two articles of his dress here mentioned by name. The "three robes" are always given as the Antaravāsaka. the Samghāṭi, and the Uttarāsañga. Of these we have already met with the second and third in our traveller's account of Balkh, and there we met also with the article of clothing called *Seng-kio-ki.* This last word is apparently for the original which is Samkachchika in Pali and Julien's Sanskrit Sañkakshikā. This is translated in a Chinese note to our text by "covering armpits". Professor Rhys Davids translates the Pali word by "vest", but the description given seems to suit a rude shirt or jacket with one sleeve which was buttoned or looped on the left shoulder. One name for the vestment as worn by monks in China is *P'ien-shan* (偏衫) or "one-sided jacket".[1] The other article of monk's costume mentioned by name here is the Ni-p'o-so-na or Nivāsana. This is rendered in Chinese by *chün* (裙) an old native term denoting a "skirt" on the lower part of

[1] Shih-shih-yao-lan (释氏要覽), *ch.* 1; Vinaya Vol. ii, p. 278 and Vinaya Texts Vol. iii, p. 351; Sêng-chi-lü l. c.

a robe of ceremony. Nivāsana is a common term for an under-robe or lower garment, but it is here used in its restricted sense as designating the particular kind of skirt or under-robe worn by Buddhist monks. This was, according to regulation, four ells long by one and a half in width, and it reached from the waist to about three finger-breadths above the ankle. As Yuan-chuang here tells us the Schools were distinguished by differences in the wearing of the Nivāsana.[1] Thus, as I-ching tells us, the Sarvāstivādins wore the skirt with a pair of plaits turned out on both sides of it, and the Mahāsanghikas crossed the end of the right side to the top of the left side, tucking it in to keep the skirt in its place. This skirt or Nivāsa had no string or girdle and it was evidently something like the Malay Sarong which, as Colonel Yule tells us, is an old Indian form of dress. This garment also is self-securing, and is not in need of a belt or girdle. The two articles of dress here mentioned and described, viz. the Sankakshika and the Nivāsana were in addition to the Three Robes which formed originally the full clerical costume of the bhikshu. They are often mentioned in the canonical books, having been allowed apparently as soon as Buddhism began to spread. The mode of wearing the Nivāsana and its colour and fashion caused much discussion and unpleasant feeling in the early church.

The pilgrim's description continues—

> The Kshatriyas and Brahmins are clean-handed and unostentatious, pure and simple in life and very frugal. The dress and ornaments of the kings and grandees are very extraordinary. Garlands and tiaras with precious stones are their head-adornments; and their bodies are adorned with rings, bracelets, and necklaces. Wealthy mercantile people have only bracelets. Most of the people go barefoot and shoes are rare. They stain their teeth red or black, wear their hair cut even, bore their ears, have long noses and large eyes; such are they in outward appearance.

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[1] Saŭ-fên-lü, *ch.* 19; Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 10, 11 and Takakusu; P'i-ni-mu-ching, *ch.* 8.

They are pure of themselves and not from compulsion. B every meal they must have a wash; the fragments and rei are not served up again; the food utensils are not passe those utensils which are of pottery or wood must be th away after use, and those which are of gold, silver, copp iron get another polishing. As soon as a meal is over chew the tooth-stick and make themselves clean; before have finished ablutions they do not come into contact with other; they always wash after urinating; they smear their b with scented unguents such as sandal and saffron. Whe king goes to his bath there is the music of drums and stri instruments and song; worship is performed and there are ing and washing.

The last sentence of this passage is, in Julien's versi "Quand le roi se dispose à sortir, des musiciens bat le tambour et chantent aux sons de la guitare. A d'offrir un sacrifice, ou d'adresser des prières (aux di ils se lavent et se baignent". Here Julien evidently for the first clause the B reading *chün-wang-chiang-* meaning "when the king is about to go out". But in A, C. and D texts the reading instead of *ts'u* is *yü*, m ing "to bathe", and this is evidently the correct read Then Julien seems to change the author's meaning making the second clause a new sentence and introdu the word "avant". The author's meaning seems to that when the king took his bath there was the formance of certain acts of worship.[1]

WRITTEN AND SPOKEN LANGUAGE &c.

The description next proceeds to tell of the writing learning of the Hindus.

Their system of writing was invented, as is known, by the Brahmā who at the beginning instituted as patterns forty s [written] words. These were combined and applied as ob arose and circumstances occurred; ramifying like streams spread far and wide becoming modified a little by place people. In language speaking generally, they have not v from the original source, but the people of "Mid India'

[1] The text is—君王將浴 or 趨鼓奏弦歌祭祀拜沐浴盥洗.

preeminently explicit and correct in speech, their expressions being harmonious and elegant, like those of the devas, and their intonation clear and distinct, serving as rule and pattern for others. The people of neighbouring territories and foreign countries repeating errors until these became the norm, and emulous for vulgarities, have lost the pure style.

The statement here made to the effect that the Sanskrit alphabet was invented by the god Brahmā is repeated in several other books by Buddhist writers. Some tell us that Brahmā was once a rājah on earth, and that he then invented an alphabet of 72 letters called the "Kharu writing" (佉樓書). Disgusted with the bad treatment given to these letters he proceeded to swallow them all; but two, *a* and *au* escaped from his mouth and remained among men.[1] But we are also told that Brahmā invented the Brahma writing first, and that afterwards Kharoshtha produced the script which bears his name.[2] Another account represents the Brahman writing (or Devanagari) to have been the invention of a wise (kovida) Brahmin, and the Kharu writing to have been the work of a stupid (kharu) rishi. This Kharu writing is that mentioned in the Lalitavistara and other books under the name Kharoshtha (or Kharosta). This word is translated by "Ass-ear" and is the name of an ancient rishi who was a great astronomer and astrologist. In some Buddhist treatises we find the invention of letters ascribed to the Buddha, and in some Siva, as in Indian tradition, is credited with the first teaching of spelling and writing.[3] The "forty seven words" of our passage are the twelve symbols which represent the ten vowels, and anusvāra and visarga, and the thirty-five consonants; and so constitute the alphabet. The letters admit of endless combinations to make words as objects require names and circumstances need expression. Some authors give the number of the letters in the

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[1] Pai-lun-su (百論疏).

[2] Liu-shu-liao (六書略), *ch.* 5.

[3] See Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching, *ch.* 8 (No. 118); Si-t'an-san-mi-ch'ao (悉曇三密鈔), *ch.* 1; Si-t'an-tsang, *ch.* 1; Si-t'an-tzŭ-chi (字記).

Sanskrit alphabet as less, and others as more, than the number here given; but this is generally regarded as the correct number. With the statements here made by Yuan-chuang about the Sanskrit alphabet and language we may compare the more detailed account given in the third *chuan* of the Life.[1]

It is evident that Yuan-chuang, like other non-Indian Buddhists, had been taught to regard the spoken and written language of "Mid-India" as at once the parent and the standard of all the dialects of "North-India". These latter had departed a little from the correct form in their writing, some of them, as in Gandhāra, having written alphabets so unlike the parent one that they had special names. In oral speech the border lands and outlying regions generally had come to differ much from the people of "Mid-India". They had lost the rich purity of the standard language, and had persisted in erroneous forms of expression until these had come to be taught as the rule.

The description continues—

> As to their archives and records there are separate custodians of these. The official annals and state-papers are called collectivelly *ni-lo-pi t'u* (or *ch'a*); in these good and bad are recorded, and instances of public calamity and good fortune are set forth in detail.

The *Ni-lo-pi-t'a* of this passage has been rightly restored by Julien as Nīlapita, and the Chinese annotator tells us the word means "Dark-blue store". We find the word Nīlapiṭa in our Sanskrit dictionaries, but the P. W. gives only one illustration of its use, and that is the passage before us.

Proceeding to the education and learning of the people of India our author writes—

> In beginning the education of their children and winning them on to progress they follow the "Twelve Chapters". When the children are seven years of age the great treatises of the Five

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[1] Julien I, p. 165; cf. Alberuni Vol. i, p. 170; Bühler's Ind. Palæographie p[s]. 1 and 19 to 30.

Sciences are gradually communicated to them. The first science is Grammar which teaches and explains words, and classifies their distinctions. The second is that of the skilled professions [concerned with] the principles of the mechanical arts, the dual processes, and astrology. The third is the science of medicine [embracing] exorcising charms, medicine, the use of the stone, the needle, moxa. The fourth is the science of reasoning, by which the orthodox and heterodox are ascertained, and the true and false are thoroughly sought out. The fifth is the science of the Internal which investigates and teaches the five degrees of religious attainments (lit. the "five vehicles") and the subtle doctrine of karma.

The "Twelve Chapters" of this passage is in the original *Shi-êrh-chang* (十二章) and Julien translates this by "un livre en douze sections". In a note to this rendering he translates a short passage from a well-known Buddhist Dictionary about a book called the "Siddham-chang". This is doubtless the sort of work to which the pilgrim refers as the first book which the children of India learned. The name is made up of Siddham which means, we are told, "Perfection" or "May good fortune be attained", and *chang* the Chinese word for a "section" or "chapter". But Julien makes the whole stand for a Sanskrit compound *Siddhavastu*, a term apparently known only from his use of it. From a passage in I-ching's "Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei" and from other works we learn that the Siddham-chang was the name of a child's primer ABC., the first chapter of which was headed by the word *siddham.*[1] This word forms an "auspicious invocation", and the Buddhists used it alone or with "Namo Sarvajnāya Praise to the omniscient [Buddha]" prefixed, at the beginning of their primers. They used it in a similar way to head such documents as deeds of gift to religious establishments. In these places Bühler took the word to mean "Success", i. e. may there be success, an interpretation which agrees with the accepted Chinese rendering. But Fleet thinks that *siddham* in these places is to be understood as meaning "Perfection has been attained by Buddha", an inter-

[1] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 34; Si-t'an-san-mi-ch'ao, l. c.

pretation which does not seem to be so good.[1] Instead of siddham the non-Buddhist teachers in India placed "siddhir-astu" meaning "May there be success (or accomplishment)" at the head of their ABCs. Thus these books came to be called Siddham or Siddhir-astu, the former being the name by which they became known to the Chinese. There are many varieties of them and the number of chapters or sections ranges from nine to eighteen, the latter being the number in the work which may be regarded as the standard one in China. This is the *Si-t'an-tzŭ-chi* (悉曇字記) by the monk Chih-kuang (智廣) of the T'ang period taken from the Siddham of Prajnābodhi of South India. A Siddham gives the Sanskrit alphabet, beginning with the vowels and proceeding in the order in which the letters are given in our Sanskrit grammars, then the combinations made by single consonants and vowels, and then those made by two or more consonants with a vowel.' In some of the Siddhams made for Chinese use we are told that this word denotes "the alphabet", while in others we are told that it is a designation for the twelve so-called vowels, but the statements are not borne out by any authority, and are evidently not correct. It may be interesting, however, in connection with subject to quote a statement from Alberuni. He relates—"The most generally known alphabet is called Siddha-mātrikā, which is by some considered as originating from Kashmir, for the people of Kashmir use it. But it is also used in Varānasi. This town and Kashmir are the high schools of Hindu science. The same writing is used in Madhyadeśa, i. e. the middle country, the country all around Kanauj, which is also called Aryāvarta".[2] According to I-ching a child began his primer when he was six years of age and learned it within six months.

After mastering the Siddham the Indian child, accord-

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[1] Buhler in Ind. Ant. Vol. x, p. 273; Fleet in Corp. Insc. Ind. Vol. iii, p. 25

[2] Alberuni Vol. i, p. 173.

ing to Yuan-chuang, was introduced to the "great śāstras of the Five Sciences (*Wu-ming-ta-lun* 五明大論). The word *ming* of this phrase is often used to translate the Sanskrit word *vidyā*, but a five-fold classification of vidyā does not seem to be known to Indian literature. We find, however, our pilgrim's list in certain Chinese translations of Buddhist books and the "sciences" are there acquired by aspiring Bodhisattvas.[1] They are called the "Five Science places" or the "Five Science śastras". In his translation of the present passage Julien has treated the name of each *ming* as the name of a treatise. This is evidently a mistake, and the context shews that *ming* here denotes a *department of knowledge*, and that the *Wu-ming* named are the literatures of five categories of learning and speculation. Yuan-chuang properly places at the head the *Shêng-ming* or "Science of Sounds", i. e. Grammar. Julien agrees with I-ching in giving Śabdavidyā as the original for this term. But Śabdavidyā was apparently the Buddhist name for Grammar which by the people of India generally was called Vyākarana. It is this latter word also which Yuan-chuang elsewhere uses as the original for *Shêng-ming*. The next group is called *Chiao-* or in some texts *Kung-chiao*(工巧)*-ming*, the "Science of the Arts and Crafts". Julien retranslates the Chinese name by Śilpasthānavidyā, which seems to be rather the original for the "Arts-place Science" of the sūtra. The third group is the *I-fang-ming*, "Healing-prescriptions Science", that is Medical science in all its branches. Julien gives as the Sanskrit original for the Chinese name Chikitsāvidyā or Science of Medicine, but this seems to be only a conjecture. The fourth group in our passage is the *Yin*(因)*-ming* or the Science of Reasoning. Julien restores the Sanskrit equivalent as Hetuvidyā which, like *Yin-ming*, means literally "Science of causation". But *Yin-ming* is the technical term used to translate the

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[1] Fan-wang-ching, *ch.* 2, Glossary; Yoga-shih-ti-lun, *ch.* 38 (No. 1170); P'u-sa-ti-chih-ching, *ch.* 3 (No. 1086 tr. cir. A.D. 415).

Nyāya or Logic of Indian writers, and Julien learned afterwards that it was Nyāya which was the original for *Yin-ming*. The fifth is the *Nei*(内)-*ming* or "Internal Science"; Julien translates "la science des choses intérieures" and gives as the Sanskrit original Adhyātma-vidya. This word adhyātma means (1) *the highest spirit* and (2) *belonging to oneself*. In Kapila's system ādhyāt-mika means *self-caused* (in Chinese *i-nei* 依内), and it is opposed to that which is due to external influences. But in the present passage, as the context shews, and as we learn from other authorities, the *nei-ming* or Inner science is Buddhism. The son of Buddhist parents went through a course of secular instruction like other boys, and he also studied the books of his religion including the metaphysical and argumentative treatises of the great Doctors of Abhidharma. In these he learned all about the Five degrees or "Five Vehicles, the fivefold gradation of moral beings. These "vehicles" or progressive stages are given as lay believer (or "inferior degree"), ordained disciple, Pratyeka Buddha, Bodhisattva, Buddha. They are also said to be Men, Devas, ordained disciples, Pratyeka Buddhas, and Bodhisattvas, and there is further difference of opinion as to the classes of beings which form the successive groups.[1] In the Buddhist śāstras moreover the student found the doctrine of karma stated, defended, and illustrated with a subtlety of intellect and boldness of imagination almost matchless. All the five groups of learning here enumerated were apparently comprised in the training of an Indian Buddhist; and no one could be a leader in the church, or an authority on dogma, who did not shew himself a proficient in these departments of learning. We are told of Kumārajīva that he studied the śāstras of the Five sciences, and of Guṇabhadra it is recorded that in his youth he learned all the śāstras of the Five sciences, astronomy, arithmetic, medicine, exor-

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[1] Shih-miao-fa-shu. ch. 1; Ta-ming-san-tsang-fa-shu, ch. 22 (No. 1621).

cisms. The religious training in the Tripitaka was according to some authorities a separate affair, while others treat it as a part of the "Inner Science".

Our author's description proceeds.

> The Brahmins learn the four Veda treatises. The first called *Shou* (壽), "Longevity" (the Āyur-Veda) tells of nourishing life and keeping the constitution in order; the second called *Tsŭ* (祠), "Worship" (the Yajur Veda) tells of the making of offerings and supplications; the third called *P'ing* (平) "Making even" (the Sāma Veda) describes ceremonial etiquette, divination, and military tactics; the fourth called *Shu* (術) or "Arts" (the Atharva Veda) tells us of the various skilled arts, exorcisms, medicine. The teacher must have a wide, thorough, and minute knowledge of these, with an exhaustive comprehension of all that is abstruse in them.

The words here rendered "the four Veda treatises" are in the original "*ssŭ-fei-t'ê-lun* (四吠陀論). Julien translates them simply by "les quatres Vêdas", and Beal by "the four Vēda Sāstras". Neither of the translators attempts to explain why the first Veda is here not the Rig but the Āyur. The latter term denotes *life* or *longevity*, as Yuan-chuang translates, and there is an Āyur-Veda. But this is only a supplement or appendix to the Atharva-Veda, and denotes rather the *science* of *medicine* than any particular treatise. It is reckoned as Veda, we learn, because its teachings have been found by experience to be wise and beneficial. Yuan-chuang knew that the Rig was the first, the original Veda, yet he does not even mention it here. His descriptions of the other Vedas also are not good, and it is plain that he knew very little about them and the great literature to which they had given rise. The Sāma Veda, for example, with its Brāhmanas and Sūtras, has nothing to do with the subjects which Yuan-chuang assigns to it, and it is concerned only with the worship of Indra, and Agni, and the Soma. When writing this passage Yuan-chuang may have had in view only those Vedic works which were in writing, and were known to or owned by the Brethren in "North India". Some of these Buddhists were converted Brahmins, and

it was perhaps by some of them, as has been suggested, that the Vedas were first reduced to writing. The Rig-veda itself still existed only in the memories of the Brahmins, and it was taught entirely by oral communication, but there were commentaries and other Vedic treatises in writing. Moreover we are probably justified in treating the word "Veda" in our text as denoting a group or collection of treatises, each Veda being a title under which several departments of learning were classed. The translators into Chinese sometimes render Veda like vidyā by *ming* (明) which simply means *knowledge, science, intelligence* as with the Brahmins the Trayi-vidyā or "threefold Science" denotes the Rig, Yajur, and Sāma Vedas. The reader also will observe that Yuan-chuang here does not use the words *books, treatises* with the terms for Ayur, Yajur, Sāma, Atharva.

Our author proceeds to sketch the Brahmin teacher's way of educating his disciples.

> These teachers explain the general meaning [to their disciples] and teach them the minutiæ; they rouse them to activity and skilfully win them to progress; they instruct the inert and sharpen the dull. When disciples, intelligent and acute, are addicted to idle shirking, the teachers doggedly persevere repeating instruction[1] until their training is finished. When the disciples are thirty years old, their minds being settled and their education finished, they go into office; and the first thing they do then is to reward the kindness of their teachers

We have next some account of a kind of men peculiar to India and long famous in the world. Our author writes—

> There are men who, far seen in antique lore and fond of the refinements of learning, "are content in seclusion", leading lives of continence. These come and go (lit. sink and float) outside of the world, and promenade through life away from human affairs. Though they are not moved by honour or reproach,

[1] The original for "doggedly persevere repeating instruction is 拘絷反關. This is the reading of the D text but instead of *fan-k'ai* the Ming edition has 反關 and Julien translates the four words "ils les attachent et les tiennent enfermés"

their fame is far spread. The rulers treating them with ceremony and respect cannot make them come to court. Now as the State holds men of learning and genius in esteem, and the people respect those who have high intelligence, the honours and praises of such men are conspicuously abundant, and the attentions private and official paid to them are very considerable. Hence men can force themselves to a thorough acquisition of knowledge. Forgetting fatigue they "expatiate in the arts and sciences"; seeking for wisdom while "relying on perfect virtue" they "count not 1000 *li* a long journey". Though their family be in affluent circumstances, such men make up their minds to be like the vagrants, and get their food by begging as they go about. With them there is honour in knowing truth (in having wisdom), and there is no disgrace in being destitute. As to those who lead dissipated idle lives, luxurious in food and extravagant in dress, as such men have no moral excellences and are without accomplishments, shame and disgrace come on them and their ill repute is spread abroad.[1]

Buddhism.

Our author passes on to make a few general observations about the internal condition of Buddhism as he heard about it and found it in India. His statements on the subject are meagre and condensed to a fault, and the precise meaning in some cases has perhaps not yet been ascertained. The whole passage should be regarded as forming a separate section, and should not be divided as it has been by the translators. For the present the in-

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[1] The 'content in seclusion' of this passage is in the Chinese *fei-t'un* (肥遁) which is the *fei-t'un* (肥遯) of the commentary to the 33rd Diagram of the Yih-Ching. The phrase means "to be comfortable and happy in a life of retirement", to be content and cheerful in a voluntary seclusion, in a life of final withdrawal from the contact of bad men in the hurly-burly of an official career.

For the words 'seeking for wisdom while relying on perfect virtue' the original is *fang-tao-yi-jen* (訪道依仁). The phrase *yi-jen*, "depending on (or following) benevolence" is a quotation from the Lun-yü; so also is the expression for "expatiate in the arts and sciences; then "count not 1000 *li* a long journey" is from the first chapter of Mencius; and 'acquired accomplishments' is for the *shih-hsi* (時習) or "constant practise" of the first chapter of the Lun-yü.

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format'on which it gives may be roughly interpreted to the following effect.—

> As the religious system of Julai is apprehended by people according to their kind, and as it is long since the time of the Holy One, Buddhism now is pure or diluted according to the spiritual insight and mental capacity of its adherents. The tenets of the Schools keep these isolated, and controversy runs high; heresies on special doctrines lead many ways to the same end. Each of the Eighteen Schools claims to have intellectual superiority, and the tenets (or practises) of the Great and the Small Systems (lit. Vehicles) differ widely. They have sitting in silent reverie, the walking to and fro, and the standing still. Samādhi and Prajñā are far apart, and many are the noisy discussions. Wherever there is a community of Brethren it makes [its own] rules of gradation. The Brother who expounds orally one treatise (or class of scripture) in the Buddhist Canon, whether Vinaya, Abhidharma, or Sūtra, is exempted from serving under the Prior; he who expounds two is invested with the outfit of a Superior, he who expounds three has Brethren deputed to assist him, he who expounds four has lay servants assigned to him, he who expounds five rides an elephant, he who expounds six rides an elephant and has a surrounding retinue. Where the spiritual attainments are high, the distinctions conferred are extraordinary.
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> The Brethren are often assembled for discussion to test intellectual capacity and bring moral character into prominent distinction, to reject the worthless and advance the intelligent. Those who bring [illegible] according to some texts [illegible] fine points [illegible] and give subtle principles their proper place, who [illegible] diction and [illegible] refined distinctions, ride [illegible] caparisoned elephants preceded and followed by a host of [illegible]. But as for those to whom religious teaching has been offered in vain, who have been defeated in discussion, who are deficient in [illegible] and redundant in speech, perverting the sense while keeping the language, the faces of such are [illegible] daubed with red and white [illegible], their bodies are covered with dirt, and they are driven out to the wilds or thrown into the ditches. As the moral are marked off from the immoral so the eminent (the wise) and the stupid have outward signs of distinction. A man [illegible] to delight in wisdom, at home diligently intent on [illegible] may be monk or layman as he pleases.
>
> For offences against the Vinaya the Community of brethren has a gradation of penalties. If the offence is slight a reprimand is ordered. For an offence next above this in gravity there is

added a cessation of oral intercourse with the Brethren. When the offence is serious the punishment is that the community will not live with the offender, and this involves expulsion and excommunication. Expelled from a Community, the monk has no home; he then becomes a miserable vagrant, or he returns to his first estate.

This passage contains several phrases and expressions which may seem to require some comment or explanation. Thus in the first sentence we are told that Buddha's "religious system is apprehended by people according to their kind (如來理教隨類得解)", that is, every one understands Buddha's teaching according to his individual nature and capacity. The statement is derived from the canonical Scriptures in which we are told that the Buddha preached in one language, but that all kinds of creatures understood him in their own ways. He spoke, we are told, the "Aryan language" but Chinese, and Yavans, and the peoples of Bactria and Bokhara, heard him as speaking in their own tongues. Moeover each man in a congregation which the Buddha addressed heard his own besetting sin reproved, and the same words called the unchaste to chastity and the avaricious to liberality.[1] This may have been right, and attended with only good consequences while the Buddha was bodily present among men, teaching and preaching and giving rules and precepts. But at Yuan-chuang's time a long period had elapsed since the decease of the Buddha. His teachings had been collected, committed to writing, transmitted and preserved with very unequal faithfulness. Great differences of opinion also had arisen as to whether certain doctrines were or were not the Buddha's teaching. Hence in Yuan-chuang's time the orthodox religion as professed in India was genuine or adulterated according to the moral and intellectual characters of its professed adherents. Some held to what they were taught to believe was the original Canon settled by the first Council. Others doubted and

[1] Abhi-ta-vibh-lun, *ch.* 79; Hua-yen-yi-shêng-chiao &c., *ch.* 1 (No. 1591).

argued, wrested Scripture from its proper meaning to suit their personal views, and lightly admitted spurious texts to have authority.

We next have mention of the Eighteen *Pu* or Schools which had arisen in Buddhism and of their rivalry. These Schools were famous in the history of Buddhism, and various accounts are given of their origin and growth. We know that the first split in the Church after the Buddha's death led to the formation of the two great Schools of the Sthaviras and Mahāsanghikas. The former in the course of time yielded eleven, and the latter seven Schools; and so there were actually Twenty Schools, but the total number is generally given in the books as Eighteen. Each of these Schools became famous for the propagation and defence of some peculiar doctrine. In Professor Rhys Davids's articles on the Buddhist sects[1] there is an excellent summary of what we know of these Eighteen Schools, with references to other authorities.

Then we have mention of another famous division in the Buddhist Church, viz. the Great and Small Vehicles. Yuan-chuang tells us that "the tenets (or practises) of the Great and the Small Vehicles differ widely". Ta-hsiao-êrh-shêng-chü-chih-ch'ü-pie (大小二乘居 or 舉止區別). Julien translates—"Les partisans du *grand* et du *petit Vehicle* forment deux classes à part", but this does not seem to give the author's meaning. The term *chü-chih* lit. *resting* or *sojourning* denotes here *tenets*, or *outward observances* or *practises*, and *ch'ü-pie* means *very unlike* or *generically different*. Yuan-chuang does not state that the adherents of the two systems formed two classes apart: he knew that in some places they even lived together in one monastery. But he tells us that the tenets of the two Systems, their ways of belief and conduct were far apart. It is a pity that the word Vehicle has come to be generally used as the rendering for the Sanskrit Yāna in the words Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. We should often

[1] Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc. 1891 and 1892.

substitute for it some term like Creed or System, and Hīnayāna should be the Primitive and Mahāyāna the Developed System. As is well known, it was the adherents of the latter who gave the name "Small Vehicle" to the creed from which their own grew. Their doctrines and religious observances came to differ very widely from those of the early system. The Mahāyānists had a more expansive Creed, a different standard of religious perfection, and a more elaborate cult than the Hīnayānists. As to particular tenets, they differed very much from the early Buddhists in such matters as opinions about arhats and Bodhisattvas, their views of the relation of the Buddha to mankind, of the efficacy of prayer and worship, and of the elasticity of the Canon. Our author illustrates his statement as to differences in the Great and Little Systems by one or two examples, at least such is the general opinion as to the passage which follows. In the rendering here given its reads—'They have sitting in silent reverie, the walking to and fro, and the standing still: Samādhi and Prajñā are far apart, and many are the noisy discussions'. Julien's translation, which seems to be the result of a serious misconstruction of the passage is—"Les uns méditent en silence, et, soit en marchant, soit en repos, tiennent leur esprit immobile et font abstraction du monde; les autres diffèrent tout à fait de ceux-ci par leurs disputes orageuses".[1] The text, given below, plainly does not admit of this rendering which does great violence to meaning and construction. In this passage *ting*, or "absorbed meditation" (Samādhi), seems to be declared to be far apart from prajñā, *hui* or "transcendental wisdom. But samādhi, although known to early Buddhism, is characteristic of Mahāyānism, and is often found, as here, with *hui*, which is strictly Mahāyānist. We read of a great controversy which was carried on between two Hīnayāna Schools as to the relative merits of samādhi

[1] The text is—有實默思惟經行住立定慧悠隔諠諍良殊.

and prajnā. But we should perhaps understand our author here as stating that the Hīnayānist practices of quiet thought; walking up and down, and standing still were far removed from the Samādhi and Prajñā of the Mahayānists.

For the sentence—'Wherever there is a community of Brethren it makes rules of gradation' the original is 隨其衆居各制科防, and Julien translates—"Suivant le lieu qu'ils habitent, on leur a fait un code de règlements et de défenses d'une nature spéciale." This is not in accordance with Buddhism, and it is not a fair rendering of the author's words. These mean that each community of Brethren had its own hierarchy promoted according to a recognized system. The system of promotion, Yuan-chuang explains, was briefly this—the Brethren in any establishment were advanced according to their ability to expound and teach the canonical treatises of the Vinaya, Abhidharma, or Sūtras. In the D text the original is "without distinguishing Vinaya, Ábhidharma, Sūtra, in Buddha's canon—(無云律論經是佛經), but the B text has the words *chi-fan* (紀凡) after *Fo-ching*, and C adds the word *kua* (詿) after *fan*. Julien having the reading of the B text translates—"Les règles de la discipline (Vinaya), les Traités philosophiques (Śāstras), les textes sacrés (Sūtras), les Prédictions (Vyākaranas), &c. sont tous également des livres du Buddha". He tells us in a note how he gets "les Prédictions", viz. by altering the 紀 of the text to 記. This emendation is quite untenable and unnecessary, as is also the insertion of "&c." by the translator. There is no classification of the Buddhist Scriptures which contains the four heads of division given in Julien's translation. All the canon is contained in the Three Baskets (or Stores), Vinaya, Sutra, and Abhidharma, and the *Chi* (記) or "les Prédictions" constitute one of the subdivisions of the sūtra.[1] In the passage under consideration the words

[1] But in the passage quoted by Julien and in other places *ching* or sūtra is given as one of the classes of Scripture along with the *Shou-chi* or Predictions; the *ching* is the first of the twelve classes of scriptures the *Chi* (or *Shou-chi*) being also one of the twelve.

Chi-jan are not wanted; they were probably inserted to satisfy the demands of style.

The first step in promotion, Yuan-chuang relates, was that a Brother who could teach one treatise (or class of writings) in the Canon "was exempted from serving under the Prior". For the words within inverted commas the original is—*Nai-mien-sêng-chih-shih* (乃免僧知事), and Julien translates—"est dispensé des devoirs de religieux et dirige les affaires du couvent". This faulty interpretation, it will be seen, puts the disciple of one talent above the disciples of two or more talents. The *Sêng-chih-shih* or Karmadāna in a Buddhist monastery had control of its secular affairs, and the common monks were under his orders for all kinds of menial work. When a Brother proved himself well versed in one subject or department of the canon, and skilled in eloquent exposition of the same, he was, as a first step in advancement, exempted from performing the ordinary work of the establishment. This exemption was granted also in monasteries to which the learned Brother went as a guest. There is an Abhidharma treatise in which we find an illustration of our text. A stranger monk arrives in a monastery and is treated as a guest at first. Afterwards the Prior tells him that according to his seniority he is to take part in the daily routine of the establishment. But the guest said—No, I am not to work; I am a Ph. D., a Lun-shih, and his claim to be exempted was allowed.[1]

For the words here rendered by 'But as for those to whom religious teaching has been offered in vain' the original is 至乃義門虛闢. Julien wrongly connecting these words with what precedes translates "A son arrivée, il passe sous des portes triomphales". It will be readily admitted that *yi-mên* cannot be translated "triumphal gates" and that *hsü-p'i* cannot possibly be rendered by "il passe sous". The term *yi-mên*, lit. "door of meaning" is used in the senses of *article of creed, essential doctrine,*

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[1] Sar. Vin. Mu-tê-ka, *ch.* 6 (No. 1134); Abhi-ta-vib-lun. *ch.* 118.

course of instruction. In ordinary Chinese literature the term is not unknown and it is an honourable epithet or distinction. A *yi-mên* is an *unselfish* or *public-spiritual clan*, as a family which keeps together for a long time, five or six generations, living and messing on the ame premises. But here *yi-mên* has a Buddhistic use and means "cause of religious instruction". Then *hsü-p'i* is "vainly open", and the clause means "as for those to whom religious teaching has been offered to no purpose". It introduces the words which follow, telling the dreadful fate of the man who does not learn, and yet pretends to be wise.

THE CASTES OF INDIA.

Our author passes on to give a few particulars about the division of the people of India into castes. His statements may be loosely rendered as follows—

> There are four orders of hereditary clan distinctions. The first is that of the Brāhmins or "purely living"; these keep their principles and live continently, strictly observing ceremonial purity. The second order is that of the Kshatriyas, the race of kings; this order has held sovereignty for many generations, and its aims are benevolence and mercy. The third order is that of the Vaiśyas or class of traders, who barter commodities and pursue gain far and near. The fourth class is that of the Sūdras or agriculturists; these toil at cultivating the soil and are industrious at sowing and reaping. These four castes form classes of various degrees of ceremonial purity. The members of a caste marry within the caste, the great and the obscure keeping apart. Relations whether by the father's or the mother's side do not intermarry, and a woman never contracts a second marriage. There are also the mixed castes; numerous clans formed by groups of people according to their kinds, and these cannot be described.

It will be seen from this passage that Yuan-chuang, like other Chinese writers on India, understood the term *Brāhman* as meaning those who had *brahman* in the sense of a *chaste continent habit of life*. The Kshatriyas were the hereditary rulers, and as such their minds were to be bent on benevolence and mercy. This is in accordance

with Manu who lays it down that the king should be a protector to his people.[1] Yuan-chuang here puts the castes in the order given in brahmin books, but in the Buddhist scriptures the Kshatriyas are usually placed above the Brāhmins. The phrase which he applies to the Vaiśyas, whom he calls the trading caste, viz. "they barter what they have not" is one of some interest. The words are *mao-ch'ien-yu-wu* (貿遷有無), and they are to be found in the Shu-ching with the substitution of 貿 for 懋, the two characters having the same sound but very different meanings.[2] Our pilgrim, it will be noticed, makes the Śūdras to be farmers. But in Manu, and in some Buddhist works, the Vaiśyas are farmers, and the business of the Śūdras is to serve the three castes above them.[3]

The sentence here rendered "The members of a caste marry within the caste, the great and the obscure keeping apart" is in the original *hun-chü-t'ung-ch'in-fei-fu-yi-lu* (婚娶通親飛伏異路), lit. "marriages go through the kindred, flying and prostrate different ways". Julien translates the words—"Quand les hommes ou les femmes se marient, ils prennent un rang élevé ou restent dans une condition obscure, suivant la différence de leur origine." This rendering seems to be absurd and it does violence to the text leaving out the two words *t'ung-ch'in* and mistranslating *yi-lu*. What our author states seems to be clear and simple. Marriages take place within a caste, and a Vaiśya man, for example, may marry any Vaiśya maid. And he will marry no other. To Yuan-chuang a caste was a *gens* or a clan denoted by one surname (姓) and all who belonged to the *gens* were kindred, they were of one *jāti*. So members of the caste might intermarry provided they were not already related by marriage. But though a man might espouse any maid of his caste, the rich and great married among themselves, and the poor

[1] *Ch.* 1. 89 et al.
[2] L. C. C. Vol. iii, p. 78, Shu-Ching, *ch.* 2.
[3] Ch'êng-shih-lun, *ch.* 7 (No. 1274); Manu 1. 91

and obscure kept to themselves in their marriages. The words *fei*, "flying" and *fu* "prostrate", used for *prosperous* and *obscure* have a reference to the first chapter of the Yih-ching. With what Yuan-chuang tells us here we may compare Manu who lays down the law that "a father ought to give his daughter in marriage to a distinguished young man of an agreeable exterior and of the same class", and of the lady he says—"let her choose a husband of the same rank as herself."[1]

The "mixed castes (*tsa-hsing* 雜姓)" are properly not "castes", but guilds and groups of low craftsmen and workmen. These include weavers, shoemakers, hunters, fishermen, and also water-carriers and scavengers. Alberuni's account of these and his description of the four castes may be used as a commentary to the short account given by our pilgrim.[2]

The Army.

We have next a short notice of the army of India beginning with its head, the Sovereign. Of the latter Yuan-chuang states according to Julien's rendering—"La série des rois ne se compose que de Kchattriyas, *qui, dans l'origine, se sont élevés au pouvoir par* l'usurpation du trône et le meurtre du souverain. *Quoiqu'ils sont issus de* familles étrangères, leur nom est prononcé avec respect". The italics are mine and they indicate interpolations, unnecessary and unwarranted, made by the translator, who seems to have forgotten the passage he had just translated. What our author states is to this effect—

> The sovereignty for many successive generations has been exercised only by Kshatriyas · rebellion and regicide have occasionally arisen, other castes assuming the distinction

that is, calling themselves kings. The sovereign *de jure* Yuan-chuang thought, was always of the Kshatriya caste, and it was that caste alone which could lawfully produce

[1] Manu IX, 88.

[2] Alberuni, *ch.* IX.

a king, but there were instances of men of other castes, Śūdras for example, raising themselves to the throne.

Our author proceeds.

The National Guard (lit. warriors) are heroes of choice valour, and, as the profession is hereditary, they become adepts in military tactics. In peace they guard the sovereign's residence, and in war they become the intrepid vanguard.

The army is composed of Foot, Horse, Chariot, and Elephant soldiers. The war-elephant is covered with coat-of-mail, and his tusks are provided with sharp barbs. On him rides the Commander-in-chief, who has a soldier on each side to manage the elephant. The chariot in which an officer sits is drawn by four horses, whilst infantry guard it on both sides. The infantry go lightly into action and are choice men of valour; they bear a large shield and carry a long spear; some are armed with a sword or sabre and dash to the front of the advancing line of battle. They are perfect experts with all the implements of war such as spear, shield, bow and arrow, sword, sabre &c. having been drilled in them for generations.[1]

Social and Legal Matters.

Our pilgrim next sums up the character of the Indian people.

They are of hasty and irresolute temperaments, but of pure moral principles. They will not take anything wrongfully, and they yield more than fairness requires. They fear the retribution for sins in other lives, and make light of what conduct produces in this life. They do not practise deceit and they keep their sworn obligations.

He then describes the judicial processes and modes of punishment

As the government is honestly administered and the people live together on good terms the criminal class is small. The statute law is sometimes violated and plots made against the sovereign;

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[1] For 'They are perfect experts with all the implements of war' the original is 凡諸戎器莫不鋒銳, and Julien translates "Toutes leurs armes de guerre sont piquantes ou tranchantes". But this is manifestly wrong and a little reflection should have shewn Julien that shields and slings, two of the *armes de guerre*, are not *piquantes* or *tranchantes*. On p. 77 of this volume of the Mémoires Julien translates *fêng-jui* by "la supériorité"

when the crime is brought to light the offender is imprisoned for life; he does not suffer any corporal punishment, but alive and dead he is not treated as member of the community (lit. as a man). For offences against social morality, and disloyal and unfilial conduct, the punishment is to cut off the nose, or an ear, or a hand, or a foot, or to banish the offender to another country or into the wilderness. Other offences can be atoned for by a money payment

The narrative proceeds to describe the four ordeals by which the innocence or guilt of an accused person is determined.

These are by water, by fire, by weighing, and by poison. In the water ordeal the accused is put in one sack and a stone in another, then the two sacks are connected and thrown into a deep stream; if the sack containing the stone floats, and the other sinks, the man's guilt is proven. The fire ordeal requires the accused to kneel and tread on hot iron, to take it in his hand and lick it; if he is innocent he is not hurt, but he is burnt if he is guilty. In the weighing ordeal the accused is weighed against a stone, and if the latter is the lighter the charge is false, if otherwise it is true. The poison ordeal requires that the right hind leg of a ram be cut off, and according to the portion assigned to the accused to eat, poisons are put into the leg, and if the man is innocent he survives, and if not the poison takes effect.

Julien takes a very different meaning out of the text for the last sentence. He understood the author to state that the poison ordeal consisted in placing in the incised thigh of a ram "une portion des aliments que mange le prévenu", poisons having been previously spread over the "portion", and if the ram then died the accused was guilty, and if the poison did not work he was innocent. But this cannot be regarded as the meaning of the text (which is not, however, very clearly expressed). Our author's account of these trials by ordeal in India differs both as to the actual ordeals, and the mode of procedure with them, from the descriptions to be found in other works. Manu, for example, does not give either the weighing or the poison ordeal, but these are mentioned by other authorities.[1]

[1] Manu VIII, 114; Alberuni Vol. ii, p. 159.

ACTS OF SALUTATION AND REVERENCE.

ur author next tells us about the ways of shewing ect and doing homage among the people of India. relates—

There are nine degrees in the etiquette of shewing respect. These are (1) greeting with a kind enquiry, (2) reverently bowng the head, (3) raising the hands to the head with an inclinaion of the body, (4) bowing with the hands folded on the breast, 5) bending a knee, (6) kneeling with both knees (lit. kneeling ong), (7) going down on the ground on hands and knees, (8) owing down with knees, elbows, and forehead to the ground, 9) prostrating oneself on the earth. The performance of all these nine from the lowest to the highest is only one act of reverence. To kneel and praise the excellences [of the object] is said to be the perfection of reverence. If [the person doing homage] is at a distance he bows to the ground with folded hands, if near he kisses (lit. licks) the foot and rubs the ankle (say, of the king). All who are delivering messages or receiving orders tuck up their clothes and kneel down. The exalted person of distinction who receives the reverence is sure to have a kind answer, and he strokes the head or pats the back [of the person paying respect], giving him good words of advice to shew the sincerity of his affection. Buddhist monks receiving the courtesies of respect only bestow a good wish. Kneeling is not the only way of doing worship. Many circumambulate any object of reverential service, making one circuit or three circuits, or as many as they wish if they have a special request in mind.

ur author's statement here that the nine degrees of ving respect enumerated by him made one act of ship or reverence does not appear in Julien's transn. The original is *fan-ssŭ-chiu-têng-chi-wei-yi-pai* (凡九等極惟一拜), and Julien connecting this with the ds which follow renders the whole thus—"La plus nde de ces démonstrations de respect consiste à s'ageiller devant quelqu'un après l'avoir salué une fois et à lter ses vertues" This sentence cannot possibly be rded as a translation of the text which Julien evidently not understand. According to Yuan-chuang's statet there were nine degrees of showing respect but to through all these constituted only one service of worship

or reverence. Perhaps no one of the nine was ever performed alone as an act of respect, and we often find in Buddhist literature four or five actions performed to make one service of reverence.[1] But we may doubt whether the whole nine acts were often gone through as one act of worship. The Buddhist Brother, however, spoke of performing the *chiu-pai* or "nine reverences" to his abbott or other senior in religion. This phrase is found in popular literature, e. g. in the Shui-hu-chuan, and it is apparently sometimes used like our "your obedient humble servant". Although Yuan-chuang does not state so expressly, yet his language seems to indicate that the reference in this passage is to the reverence or worship paid to kings, great Brahmins, and the Buddha. It will be noticed that he does not make any mention of the signs of respect to a superior shewn by taking off one's shoes, or by uncovering the right shoulder

Sickness and Death.

We have next a few particulars as to the ways in which the people of India treat their sick and dead. Our author tells us—

> Every one who is attacked by sickness has his food cut off for seven days. In this interval the patient often recovers, but if he cannot regain his health he takes medicine. Their medicines are of various kinds, each kind having a specific name. Their doctors differ in medical skill and in prognostication
>
> At the obsequies for a departed one [the relatives] wail and weep, rending their clothes and tearing out their hair, striking their brows and beating their breasts. There is no distinction in the styles of mourning costume, and no fixed period of mourning For disposing of the dead and performing the last rites there are three recognized customs. The first of these is cremation, a pyre being made on which the body is consumed. The second is water-burial, the corpse being put into a stream to float and dissolve. The third is burial in the wilds, the body being cast away in the woods to feed wild animals.

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[1] Pi-ni-mu-ching, *ch.* 4 (No. 1138); Life *ch.* III and Julien I, p. 144.

> When the sovereign dies the first thing is to place his successor on the throne in order that he may preside at the religious services of the funeral and determine precedence. Meritorious appellations are conferred on the living; the dead have no honorary designations. No one goes to take food in a family afflicted by death, but after the funeral matters are again as usual and no one avoids [the family]. Those who attend a funeral are regarded as unclean, they all wash outside the city walls before entering [the city].
>
> As to those who have become very old, and whose time of death is approaching, who are afflicted by incurable disease and fear that their goal of life has been reached, such persons are content to separate from this world. and desire to cast off humanity, contemptuous of mortal existence and desirous to be away from the ways of the world. So their relatives and friends give them a farewell entertainment with music, put them in a boat and row them to the middle of the Ganges that they may drown themselves in it, saying that they will be born in Heaven; one out of ten will not carry out his contemptuous views.
>
> The Buddhist Brethren are forbidden to wail aloud (i. e. over a departed one); on the death of a parent they read a service of gratitude; their "following the departed" and "being earnest about his death" are securing his bliss in the other world.

The clause "one out of ten will not carry out his contemptuous views" is a literal rendering of the original *Shih-yu-ch'i-yi-wei-chin-pi-chien* (十有其一未盡鄙見). Julien, connecting the first part of this with what precedes and the latter part with what follows, translates—"*On en compte* un sur dix. *Il y en a d'autres qui,* n'ayant *pas encore* complètement renoncé *aux erreurs du siècle,* sortent de la famille et adoptent la vie des religieux". The words which I have placed in italics are the translator's interpolations, and the last clause is for the words *Ch'u-chia-sêng-chung* which belong to the next sentence. This treatment of the text quite destroys its meaning. What the author states is that out of ten old men who declare that they are sick of life, and want to leave it, only one is found acting inconsistently at the critical moment, saying that he is sick of life, and yet shrinking from suicide by drowning in the Ganges.

The Buddhist Brother, we are told. may not lament

over the death of a parent, but he shews his grateful remembrance by a religious service, and his filial piety by obtaining for a deceased parent a happy hereafter. The expressions "following the departed" and "being earnest about his death" are taken from the first *chuan* of the Lun-yü. There Tseng-tzŭ says that "if there be earnestness about the death [of a parent] and a following of the departed one (i. e. parent) the moral character of the people will return to a state of thorough goodness". By "earnestness about the death of a parent" the Confucianist meant being careful to have all the funeral rites duly observed; and by "following the departed parent" he meant keeping up the solemn services of worship to the deceased. These were services in which a man shewed his perfect filial piety, but the professed Buddhist carried out his views of filial piety and a future state in securing to his parents happiness in other spheres of existence.[1] To the Confucianist the death of a relative was the "end" of the relative, but to the Buddhist death was only a passing to another life.

Revenue and Taxation

Our author next gives us a few particulars about the fiscal matters of Government in India.

> As the Government is generous official requirements are few Families are not registered, and individuals are not subject to forced labour contributions. Of the royal land there is a fourfold division: one part is for the expenses of government and state worship, one for the endowment of great public servants, one to reward high intellectual eminence. and one for acquiring religious merit by gifts to the various sects. Taxation being light, and forced service being sparingly used, every one keeps to his hereditary occupation and attends to his patrimony. The king's tenants pay one sixth of the produce as rent. Tradesmen go to and fro bartering their merchandise after paying light duties at ferries and barrier stations. Those who are employed in the government service are paid according to their work. They go abroad on military service or they guard the palace;

[1] Lun-Yü, *ch.* 1

the summonses are issued according to circumstances and after proclamation of the reward the enrolment is awaited. Ministers of state and common officials all have their portion of land, and are maintained by the cities assigned to them.

In this passage the words for "every one attends to his patrimony" are in the original *chu-t'ien-k'ou-fên* (俱佃口分), and Julien translates "tous cultivent la terre pour se nourrir". This is not a correct rendering of the words and is at variance with what follows about the traders The *k'ou-fên* in China was originally the farm of 100 *mou* given out of government lands to a married couple to maintain the family and keep up the ancestral worship. This farm was called *k'ou-fên-shih-ye-chih-t'ien* (口分世業之田) or "the arable land which is hereditary property for the maintenance of the family". Then *t'ien* (佃) which means "to cultivate", means also "to administer" or "manage", and *t'ien-k'ou-fên* is "to look after the family property", *k'ou-fên* being used in a general sense.

As to one sixth of the crop being paid by the king's tenants as rent we find mention of this in Manu and other authorities.[1]

GENERAL PRODUCTS OF INDIA

Our author now proceeds to tell us something of the commodities which India produces and first of its vegetable products. He writes—

As the districts vary in their natural qualities they differ also in their natural products. There are flowers and herbs, fruits and trees of different kinds and with various names. There are, for example, of fruits the âmra or mango, the âmla or tamarind, the Madhuka (Bassia latifolia), the badara or Jujube, the kapittha or wood-apple, the âmala or myrobalan, the tinduka or Diospyros, the udumbara or Ficus glomerata, the mocha or plantain, the nârikela or Cocoa-nut, and the panasa or Jack-fruit. It is impossible to enumerate all the kinds of fruit and one can only mention in a summary way those which are held in esteem among the inhabitants. [Chinese] jujubes, chestnuts, green and red persimmons are not known in India. From Kashmir on. pears,

[1] Manu VII. 130, 131, VIII. 308.

plums, peaches, apricots, grapes are planted here and there; pomegranates and sweet oranges are grown in all the countries.

As to agricultural operations, reaping the crops, preparing the soil (lit. ploughing and weeding), sowing and planting go on in their seasons according to the industry or laziness of the people. There is much rice and wheat, and ginger, mustard, melons, pumpkins, kunda (properly the olibanum tree) are also cultivated. Onions and garlic are little used and people who eat them are ostracised.

Milk, ghee, granulated sugar, sugar-candy, cakes and parched grain with mustard-seed oil are the common food; and fish, mutton, venison are occasional dainties (lit. are occasionally served in joints or slices). The flesh of oxen, asses, elephants, horses, pigs, dogs, foxes, wolves, lions, monkeys, apes is forbidden, and those who eat such food become pariahs.

There are distinctions in the use of their wines and other beverages. The wines from the vine and the sugar-cane are the drink of the Kshatriyas; the Vaiśyas drink a strong distilled spirit; the Buddhist monks and the Brahmins drink syrup of grapes and of sugar-cane, the low mixed castes are without any distinguishing drink.

As to household necessaries there is generally a good supply of these of various qualities. But although they have different kinds of cooking implements they do not know the steaming boiler (i. e. they have not large boilers such as are used in large households in China). Their household utensils are mostly earthenware, few being of brass. They eat from one vessel in which the ingredients are mixed up; they take their food with their fingers. Generally speaking spoons and chop-sticks are not used, except in cases of sickness when copper spoons are used.

Gold, silver, *tu-shih* (bronze?), white jade, and crystal lenses are products of the country which are very abundant. Rare precious substances of various kinds from the sea-ports (lit. sea bays) are bartered for merchandize. But in the commerce of the country gold and silver coins, cowries, and small pearls are the media of exchange.

The words "From Kashmir on" in the first paragraph of the above passage seem to mean "from Kashmir on towards China". But Julien understood the words in a very different sense and translated the passage containing them as follows[1]—"Depuis que les deux especes de poiriers

[1] The words are 梨柰桃杏蒲萄等果迦溼彌羅國已來往往間植石榴甘橘諸國皆樹.

li et *nai*, le pêcher, l'amandier, la vigne et autres arbres à fruits ont été apportés du royaume de Cachemire, on les voit croître de tous côtés. Les grenadiers et les orangers à fruits doux se cultivent dans tous les royaumes de l'Inde." In this, not to notice other faults, we have the words "ont été apportés" interpolated to the serious detriment of the author's meaning. Yuan-chuang knew better than to state that pears, and plums, and the other fruits mentioned had been brought from Kashmir into India and there cultivated everywhere. Throughout the Records there is only, I believe, a single mention of any of these fruit-trees in India. This one instance is to be found in the account of *Chi-na-po-ti* in *Chuan* IV (Julien II, p. 200), and there the peach and pear are represented as having been first introduced into India from China. In no account of India, so far as I know, down to the present time are the above trees enumerated among those grown commonly throughout the country. Ibn Batuta does not mention them and they are not given in Sir. W. Hunter's account of India. But they are grown in many countries between Kashmir and China, and in *Chuan* XII of the Records we find several instances mentioned. On the other hand pomegranates, which are said to grow wild in the Himalayan region, and sweet oranges have been extensively cultivated in India for many centuries.

CHAPTER VI.

CHUAN II CONT^D.

LAMPA TO GANDHĀRA.

OUR pilgrim has now reached the territory which he, like others before and after him, calls India. But it is important to remember that the countries which he describes from Lan-p'o to Rajpur both inclusive were not regarded by the people of India proper as forming part of their territory. It was only by foreigners that these districts were included under the general name *India*. To the inhabitants of India proper the countries in question were "border lands" inhabited by barbarians. This was a fact known to Yuan-chuang, but he named and described these States mainly from information obtained as he travelled. The information was apparently acquired chiefly from the Buddhist Brethren and believing laymen resident in these countries. To these Buddhists Jambudvīpa was India and the miracles and ministrations of the Buddha extended over all the great region vaguely called Jambudvīpa. Moreover the great foreign kings who had invaded India from the north had included these States in their Indian empire and the memory of these kings survived in the Buddhist religious establishments.

LAN-P'O (LAMPA).

From Kapis the pilgrim continued his journey going east above 600 *li* through a very mountainous region; then crossing a black range he entered the north of India and arrived in the *Lan-p'o* country.

Yuan-chuang writes this name 濫波, and this apparently is for him the name both of the country and its capital. Some other authors write 嵐婆,[1] and the local pronunciation was perhaps something like Lampa or Lumba. The word is supposed to represent the old Sanskrit *Lampāka*, and the *Lambatai* of Ptolemy,[2] and the district has been identified with the modern Laghman (or Lughman), the Lamghanat of Baber. This emperor mentions the curious tradition which derives the name Lamghanat from Lam, father of Noah, whose tomb was supposed to be in the country.[3] But no probable explanation of the name Lampa (or Lumba) seems to have been given, and the word is probably foreign, that is, non-Indian

Lampa is described by the pilgrims as being above 1000 *li* in circuit, having on the north the Snow mountains and on the other sides black ranges.

Another writer of the T'ang period represents this country as of much greater dimensions than those here given and as extending on the north to Kunduz and lying west of the *Wu-je-chih* or Anavatapta Lake.[4] So also in Baber's time Lamghanat was a large region of much greater extent than Yuan-chuang's Lampa or the modern Lughman

The capital, Yuan-chuang tells us, was above ten *li* in circuit. For several centuries the native dynasty had ceased to exist, great families fought for preeminence, and the state had recently become a dependency of Kapis. The country produced upland rice and sugar-cane, and it had much wood but little fruit; the climate was mild with little frost and no snow; the inhabitants were very musical but they were pusillanimous and deceitful, ugly and ill-mannered; their clothing was chiefly of cotton (*pai-tieh*) and they dressed well. There were above ten Buddhist monasteries and a few Brethren the most of whom were Mahāyānists. The non-Buddhists had a score or two of temples and they were very numerous.

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[1] See e. g. Sung-Shih, *ch.* 490.

[2] A. G. I. p. 42: Mc Crindle's India from Ptolemy p.p. 104, 106.

[3] Baber p. 141—148.

[4] Fang-chih, *ch.* I.

In the common texts here the author is made to that the non-Buddhists were *very few*, but the old rea is found in the A text, viz. *to*, "many" and it is evid the right one. This reading moreover is confirmec the Fang-chih which quoting from our pilgrim's acc of this country tells us that in it "the non-Buddhists remarkably numerous".

This country does not seem to have ever been r known to the Chinese generally; and it is rarely menti even in the translations of the Buddhist books, or in accounts of the travels and in the biographies of emi worthies of the Buddhist religion. There was, how at least one distinguished Buddhist scholar who is c a Brahmin from the Lampa country and who is reco as having visited China. This pious and learned Bro we are informed, in the year A.D. 700 assisted in translation from Sanskrit into Chinese of a celebr treatise of magical invocations.[1] Lampa was evident district of some importance and it may have been kı by some native or local name.

NAGAR.

The pilgrim, according to the narrative in the Records, ceeded from Lampa south-east above 100 *li*, crossing a mountain and a large river and reached the *Na-kie(ka)*- country.

The Life here represents Yuan-chuang as going s from Lampa and crossing a small range on which a to commemorate the spot at which the Buddha ha travelled on foot from the south rested on arriving these regions. Then the Life makes the pilgrim cont his journey from this range still going southward for al

[1] The title of this treatise is "Pu-k'ung-chüan-so-t'o-lo-ni-ch (Bun. No. 314). The translator's name is given as Li-wu-t'ao an is called a brahmin of Lan-p'o in "North India". It is doub however, whether the Chinese text of No. 314 was actually the of this man; see the note appended to the work. See also Su ...ain-yi-ching-t'u-chi (No. 1488)

twenty *li*, descending the hills and crossing a river into the *Na-ka-lo-ho* country.

This country, which we may suppose to have been called by a name like Nagar, is one of considerable interest; and as the account given of it in the Records and the Life is peculiar, and rather puzzling, it may be useful to examine the account at some length.

In the Records Yuan-chuang describes Nagar as being above 600 *li* (about 120 miles) from east to west and 250 or 260 *li* (about 50 miles) from north to south. The country was surrounded on all sides by high mountains steep and difficult of passage. Its capital was above 20 *li* in circuit, but there was no king and the State was a province of Kapis. Grain and fruits were produced in abundance, the climate was mild, the people were of good character, courageous, slighting wealth and esteeming learning, reverencing Buddha and having little faith in other religious systems. But although there were many Buddhist establishments the Brethren were very few. There were five Deva-Temples and above 100 professed non-Buddhists.

About two *li* to the east (in the Life, south-east) of the capital stood a great stone tope above 300 feet high which had marvellous sculptures. Close to this tope on the west side was a vihāra and adjoining the vihāra on the south was a small tope. The former of these two topes was said to have been built by king Asoka at the place where Sakya P'usa, having spread in the mud his deer-skin mantle and his hair for Dīpankara Buddha, received from the latter the prediction of Buddhahood. At the periodic annihilations and restorations of the world the traces of this incident are not effaced, and on fast days showers of flowers descend on the spot, which is regarded with great reverence. The small tope was at the spot where the mantle and hair were spread on the mud, [the other tope] having been erected by king Asoka in a retired place off the highway.

Yuan-chuang next takes us into "the city" and tells us of the foundations which still remained of the grand tope which, he was informed, had once contained a tooth-relic of the Buddha. Close to these was a remarkable small tope of unknown origin, and popularly supposed to have come down out of space. The narrative in our text next takes us to a tope above ten *li* south-west of "the city". This tope marked the spot at which the Buddha alighted from his aerial voyage from Mid-India to this country. Near the tope of the Descent on the east side was another tope to commemorate the spot at which, on the

occasion of the meeting, the P'usa bought five lotus flowers for an offering to Dīpankara Buddha.

Continuing in a south-western direction from "the city", and at a distance of above twenty *li* from it, the pilgrim takes us to a small range of rocky hills containing a stone monastery with lofty halls and tiers of chambers all silent and unoccupied. Within the grounds of this establishment was a tope 200 feet high built by king Asoka.

Going on again south-west from this monastery we come to a ravine with a torrent the banks of which were steep rocks. In the east bank was the cave inhabited by the Gopāla dragon, very dark and with a narrow entrance, and with water trickling from the rock to the path. In this cave the Buddha had left his shadow or rather a luminous image of himself in the rock, once a clear and perfect resemblance, but at the period of our pilgrim's visit to the district the wonderful likeness was only dimly visible and only at certain times and to certain persons. Outside the Shadow Cave were two square stones on one of which was a light-emitting impress of the Buddha's foot. On either side of the Shadow Cave were other caves which had been used by the Buddha's great disciples as places for ecstatic meditation (samādhi). In the immediate neighbourhood of the Shadow Cave also the pilgrim found various topes and other objects associated with the Buddha's personal visit to this district.

Following the narrative in the Records we have now to return to "the city". Starting again from it and going in a south-east direction for above thirty *li* we come to a city called *Hi-lo* (or *He-lo*). This city, which was four or five *li* in circuit had a strong elevated situation with charming gardens and ponds. Within it was a two-storeyed building in which were carefully preserved the Ushnīsha-bone of the Buddha, his skull, one of his eyes, his mendicant's staff, and one of his clerical robes. To the north of this Relic-house was a wonder-working tope which could be shaken by a touch of the finger.

There are one or two discrepancies between the account here given and that in the Life. Thus in the Records the Buddha comes to Nagar country through the air and alights at a spot ten *li* south-west from "the city", but in the Life he arrives on foot at a place north of Nagar. Then as to Hilo, the Life differs from the Records in placing this city at about 12 *li* distance south-east from the Flowers Tope.

The Nagar of our text, it is agreed, is represented by the region in modern times called Nungnehar, that is, Nine Rivers. In Baber's time Nungnihar, "in many histories written Nekerhar", was a tuman of Lamghan (Lampa).[1] The Nagar country thus included the present district of Jelalabad, the valley of the Cabul River from Darunta on the west to Mirza Kheyl on the east and, according to Mr Simpson, it "might reach from about Jugduluck to the Khyber".[2] Our text makes Yuan-chuang visit two cities of this country, the capital and Hilo the former capital. As to the latter all investigators seem to be agreed that the Hilo of Yuan-chuang and the other pilgrims is represented by the modern Hiḍḍa (or Heida or Hada), a place situated about five miles south of Jelalabad.

As to the site of the city called Nagar supposed to have been the capital of the country "in the Buddhist period" there is some diversity of opinion. The Na-kie (ka)-lo-ho of Yuan-chuang is evidently the Na-kie(ka) of Fa-hsien who uses the name for city and country. It is also the Na-kie city and the Na-ka-lo-ho of the Sung-yun narrative in the "Ka-lan-chi", and also the Na-kie of a Vinaya treatise translated in A.D. 378.[3]

Julien makes Na-ka-lo-ho stand for Nagarahāra, and in a note he tells us that in the Sung annals we find Nang-go-lo-ho-lo which answers exactly to the Indian orthography furnished by the inscription discovered by Captain Kittoe. Julien is of course followed, and his identification accepted, by subsequent writers; and on his and Lassen's authority the P. W. gives Nagarahāra as the name of a kingdom. But this word cannot be made out of Yuan-chuang's four characters which apparently give the full name. Then as to Nang-go-lo-ho-lo the writer in the

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[1] Baber p. 141.

[2] J. R. A. S. Vol. xiii. Art. VII.

[3] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 13; Ka-lan-chi, *ch.* 5; Pi-ni-ye-ching (the "Chie-yin-yuan-ching". Bun. No. 1130).

"Sung Shi" quotes a Buddhist monk who evidently wrote without knowledge. The passage referred to by Julien puts Udyāna, which was immediately to the north of Gandhāra, twelve days' journey to the east of that country. Then it places Gandhāra at a distance of twenty days' journey eastward from Nang-go-lo-ho-lo and it makes the latter to be ten days' journey to the east of Lampa.[1] But Yuan-chuang's Nagar was only five or six days' journey north-west from Gandhāra and about twenty miles south or south-east from Lampa. Thus Nang-go-lo-ho-lo does not agree with Nagar either in distances or directions and its situation is imaginary and impossible. Then the Nagarahāra of Kittoe's Sanskrit inscription of about the 8th or 9th century is evidently not the Nagar of Yuan-chuang and the other Chinese pilgrims. The inscription represents Vīradeva, son of Indra Gupta a Brahman of Bengal, as becoming a Buddhist and going to the "holy convent called Kanishka" (Śrīmat Kanishkam upagamya mahā-vihāram) in Nagarahāra.[2] Now there is no mention by any of the pilgrims of a great Kanishka monastery in Nagar, city or country. But there was a celebrated one in Gandhāra near Purushapur and the Nagarahāra of the Kittoe inscription is evidently the Gandhāra country.

Cunningham places the capital of Yuan-chuang's Nagar "at Begrām, about two miles to the west of Jalalabad".[3] Saint Martin supposes it to have been a little to the west of this Begrām. Mr Simpson, who writes after careful inspection and study of the locality, places the site of the Nagar capital west of Begrām on a rocky elevation at the junction of the Surkhāb and Cabul rivers. No one of these identifications meets all the requirements of the descriptions, but each is supported to a certain extent by the statements in the Records.

If we take the narrative in the Records and read it in

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1 Sung-Shih, l. c.
2 J. A. S. Ben. Vol. xvii, p. 494.
3 A. G. I. p 44.

connection with that in the Life we find that there were three cities in this district visited by the pilgrim. These are the capital, the city of the Dīpankara Buddha, and Hilo the city of the Ushṇīsha relic. Now as the Records make mention of only the first and third of these by name it may perhaps be taken for granted that Yuan-chuang mixed up in his mind the first and second when writing out his notes. So the term "the city" seems to stand sometimes for the capital but more frequently for the city of Dīpankara. The confusion apparently affected the compilers of the Life also.

Combining the two narratives we find that Yuan-chuang on entering the country apparently went directly towards the capital. This he describes, as has been stated, as "above 20 *li* [in circuit]". The word *Chou* for "in circuit" is found only in the D text, but some such term is needed and the use of *Chou* agrees with Yuan-chuang's usual way of describing towns and districts. The reader will observe, however, that we are not told anything about the natural and artificial characteristics of the capital, about its situation or surroundings. This silence is very extraordinary if we regard the city to have been on the site proposed and described by Mr Simpson.

Now the description of the place which this explorer gives seems to be that of a fortress rather than a city. And Nagar was perhaps at this time a strong fortress, and it was called the capital because it was the official residence of the Governor appointed by the king of Kapis. Yuan-chuang apparently did not enter this city as he begins his description of the sacred objects of the country with those outside of "the capital". The last character in Yuan-chuang's Na-ka-lo-ho may stand for *kot* which means a *fortress*, and names like Nagkot, Nagarkot are met with in several regions of "North India".[1] The Nagar of our text may be the Nagarkot which Alberuni mentions as containing the annals of the Shāh dynasty of Kābul.

[1] See e. g. Nagarkot in Alberuni, Vol. ii, p. 11.

Moreover the Adinapūr of Baber was apparently site of Yuan-chuang's Nagar (or Nagar-kot) and it fort. Baber describes the fort as "situated on an em which, towards the river, is forty or fifty gez (100 upwards), in perpendicular height", a description agrees with that given by Mr Simpson of the Naga This fort Baber tells us was the official residence darogha or commandant of the district.

Let us now substitute "Nagar fortress" for "the C and "the city" in the first part of the pilgrim's na We find then that the great Asoka tope was abo *li* or nearly half a mile to the east (or south-east) fortress. Turning to Masson and Simpson we fir they give a tope called "Nagara Goondée" wl apparently about three furlongs to the east or sou of the Nagar rock.[1]

From the Flower Tope near the Asoka Tope the] according to the Life, set out south-east for Hi city of the Ushṇīsha relic. On the way apparent this is not quite clear, he learns of the Gopāla] cave with the miraculous likeness of the Buddha. V to visit this, Yuan-chuang had to go out of his way Têng-kuang (燈光) city in order to obtain a guide term Têng-kuang is used to translate the word Dīp name of a very early Buddha, but we need not s that it represents the name of the city. Now the kuang city was apparently that called Na-kie(l previous pilgrims, and it was apparently a little west of the site of the modern Jelalabad. One na it was Padmapur or Lotus city. This is given b Chinese as *Hua-shi-ch'êng*, or Flower City; and it to be another name for the capital of the Nagar d A more common name for Dipankara's City in Bu books is Dīpavatī from *dīpa*, a *torch* or *light*. W for the present, however, use Padmapur to represe name of the city, as we have no means of knowin

[1] Masson's Ar. Ant. p. 100 et al.

the name actually was, that is, supposing it not to have been simply Nagar.

This Padmapur then, let us assume, was the Na-ka city which had the ruins of the Tooth-tope, a tope which had been seen by Fa-hsien in perfect condition. It was this city also from which Hilo was distant about 30 *li* to the south-east. Then from it Yuan-chuang went south-west to the Shadow-Cave, and from this south-east to Hilo.

Now going from Padmapur south-west at a distance of above 20 *li* was a small rocky hill which had a great Buddhist monastery with an Asoka tope above 200 feet high. This monastery and tope may be represented by the ruins at Gunda Chismeh of Mr Simpson's map, "the smooth rounded mound of a tope and the rectangular mound of a vihara". Some distance from this on the east bank of a torrent was the Dragon's cave with the luminous picture of the Buddha on the rock. Fa-hsien places the cave about half a Yojana south from the Nakie city. His words are "Half a Yojana south of Nakie city is a cave *as you follow the course of the hills towards the south-west*". The words in italics are for the Chinese 博山西南向 which our translators understood to mean a *great mountain towards the south-west.* The phrase *poh-shan* is certainly used in the sense of a "great mountain" and this is its proper meaning. Here, however, as in some other cases the construction seems to require that the words be taken in the sense of *going along a hill* (or series of hills). This word *poh* is probably, as has been stated already, the *poh* of *hui-poh* (迴薄) of *Chuan I* of these Records, and also the *poh* (薄) of various passages in the Fo-kuo-chi and other works.

There does not seem to be any satisfactory explanation of the names Nagar and Hilo. If the former be for Nagara its memory may be kept up in the modern designation Begrām which like Nagara means a "city" Or the syllable Nag or Nak may possibly be for the Indian word nāga which denotes the *sun*, a *snake*, a *mountain*, an *elephant.* Masson says that the old name

for the country was Ajūna and Saint Martin and Cunningham think this word may be a corruption of another old name for it, viz. Udyānapur or "the city of the Garden". But no one seems to give any authority for this last old name and it is apparently unknown to Chinese authors and translators. It may be added that this district is referred to in some Chinese books as in the Yue-shi (Getæ) country of North India. It is also called *Ye-p'o-kan-t'ê* (業波乾陀), that is perhaps, Yavakāṇḍa, and it is said to be to the west of Udyāna

As to Hilo, Cunningham would have us regard this word as a transposition of the Sanskrit word Haḍḍa, meaning a "bone". But there were several Hilos in North India, and the relic supposed to have given the name is not called in Sanskrit by any term containing a word for "bone". It was the Ushnīsha of the Buddha that Hilo contained along with other relics of the Buddha. Some Chinese translators, it is true, call the relic "the bone of the top of Buddha's head," but others give a different rendering, or keep the original word. The full name and some of the translations will be given a few pages farther on. We may perhaps regard the name in our text as for Hilā which was probably a local pronunciation for Śilā. This word means a *rock* or *rocky eminence*, and the name suits the description of the place

BODHISATTVA AND DĪPANKARA.

From the account given of the Nagar country by our pilgrim we see that the district had several objects of attraction to a Buddhist. The principal of these objects were the mementos of the P'usa's meeting with Dīpankara Buddha, the luminous image of Gautama Buddha in the Dragon's cave, and his Ushṇīsha-bone. A few additional observations about each of these may be of interest to the student

The story of the P'usa in an exceedingly remote period of time in his existence as a Brahman student meeting the Dīpankara Buddha and giving him worship and service

is a well known one. It is found in the Sanskrit Mahāvastu[1] and Divyāvadāna,[2] in the Pali Jātakas,[3] and in several forms in Chinese translations from Indian originals. No one of all these treatises, so far as I know, places the scene of this meeting in a country called Nagar. In the different accounts various names are given to the city of the incident. Thus it is called Rammanagara (or Rammavatī or Rammagama).[4] This would seem to point to Ayodhya, the modern Oudh, but the Jātaka places Ramma-city in "the frontier territory". The city is also called Dīpavatī or Dīpavat[5] from *dīpa*, a *light*. It is also Padma-pura or Lotos-city, in Chinese Lien-hua-ch'êng or Hua-shi-ch'êng.[6] The last name means simply Flower city and it is properly applied to Pātalipur. It is said, however, as has been seen, to be an old name for Nagar city and it was given on account of the Lotus Ponds of the city.

The P'usa as brahmin student, variously named Megha, Su-medha and otherwise, on his way to see Dīpankara Buddha met a maiden carrying seven lotus flowers for the service of a shrine in the palace grounds. The P'usa bargained with the maiden for five of her flowers that he might have them to throw on the Buddha as he passed in procession. At the spot where the flowers were bought, an act involving great consequences in the distant future, king Asoka had built a tope. It is remarkable that the Pali Jātaka does not make any mention of the purchase and offering of the lotus flowers.

Then there was the place at which the P'usa spread out his deer-skin mantle and his hair on the muddy road

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1 Mahāvastu T. I, p. 193.

2 Divyāv. p. 246.

3 Rhys Davids' Birth Stories p. 7; Bigandet's Legend, Vol. i, p. 7.

4 Mahāvamsa Int. p. XXXII.

5 Yin-kuo-ching (Bun. No. 666).

6 Fo shuo-t'ai-tzŭ-sui-ying-pên-chi-ching, *ch.* 1 (Bun. No. 665); Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching. *ch.* 11 (Bun. No. 543); Hsing-chi-ching, *chs*. 2, 3 (Bun. No. 680).

to preserve Dipankara's feet from being defiled. On the road by which this Buddha was proceeding to the capital on this memorable occasion were several dirty muddy places which the people were trying to make clean. The brahmin student, at his own request, was allowed to put right a hollow in the road made by running water. Unable to fill up this muddy gap on the approach of the Buddha, he spread out in it his deerskin mantle, and then lay down prostrate with his long hair spread out for the Buddha to step on. Though the world had passed away and been renewed since the time of Dipankara and Megha (or Sumati) yet the depression in the road remained visible, being renewed with the renewal of the world. Close to the spot was a small tope of great antiquity, the successor of the original wooden stake, and not far from it was a very magnificent tope built by king Asoka.

This myth of the P'usa and the Dipankara Buddha seems to be very unbuddhistical, and its origin should perhaps be sought outside of religion. We remember that one of Gotama's royal ancestors was a king Dipankara who with "his sons and grandsons also twelve royal princes governed their great kingdom in Takkasilā best of towns."[1] A picture of this king, with a conquered chief prostrate before him, may have suggested the story. Such a picture may be seen in Plate VII fig. 5 of the "Ariana Antiqua." Compare with this the illustration of Dipankara and the P'usa in Burgess's "Buddhist Cave Temples" p. 66. Here the Buddha does not tread on the hair of the prostrate devotee at his side. The story is explained by some as originally an allegory to express Gautama's resolve to undergo all things in this world of impurities in order to obtain perfect wisdom and teach the way thereof to mortal creatures. A simpler theory is that the brahmin student laid down his deer-skin mantle and his hair before the Buddha to declare to the latter the student's resolve to give up Brahminism and become a professed Buddhist.

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[1] Dipavaṃsa p. 131.

ıch he must shave his head and cease to wear gar-
ı made of the skins of animals.

THE SHADOW CAVE.

cording to Yuan-chuang's account the Gopāla-Dragon with the likeness of the Buddha shining at times in ock opposite the entrance, was on the east side of a ıt among the heights to the south-west of the Nagar. is, the Padma city. Mr Simpson thinks that the of hills which extends from the Ahin Posh Tope of Jelalabad south-west to Sultanpur does not suit -chuang's description of the surroundings of this cave is objections seem to be based mainly on the oc- ıce of the words *cascade* and *mountain* in the trans- ;. There is nothing, however, corresponding to either se terms in the original either of the Life or Re- The road from the city was a bad one and rous, but it led to a hamlet with a monastery. Not om this, above the steep bank of a foaming torrent, ıe cave.

ı Gopāla Dragon of this cave, Yuan-chuang tells us, he story seems to be his only, was originally a rd in this district at the time of the Buddha. ed at a reproof from the king he vowed terrible nce. Then going to the Tope of Prediction he l to become a dragon; and immediately fulfilled his by committing suicide, and returning to the world malignant demon determined to make havoc. Hear- his spiteful cruel designs, the Buddha came through r from Mid-India, converted the dragon, and left luminous likeness of himself immanent in the inner of his cave. Yuan-chuang saw the likeness of the ıa and a great deal more. According to the tra- the Buddha was alone in the cave when he caused keness to go into the rock, but Yuan-chuang saw ı the wonderful manifestation the P'usas and saints ttended the Buddha in his ministrations.

In the "Ka-lan-chi" the narrative at the part about the Nagar country has this statement—"On to *Kü-lo-lo-lu*, saw the cave of Buddha's shadow, advancing 15 paces into the hill, the entrance facing west". Burnouf, who treats this short passage as corrupt, makes "Gopāla Cave" out of the four Chinese characters represented in the above transcription. This he effects by treating the first *lo* as a mistake for *p'o* and the last character *lu* as a mistake for *chü*, a *deer* for a *cave* as he represents it. But if we take the Chinese characters as we find them they give us Kulāla-lok, that is, the Pottery people. Now this reminds us of an interesting passage in the Chinese version of the Life of King Asoka[1] There Yasa tells the king how the Buddha just before his death, converted the Dragon-king Apalāla, the Potter, and the Chandāla Dragon-king. Burnouf translating from the Sanskrit text of this passage has "the potter's wife the Chandāli Gopāli" while the editors of the Divyāvadana treat Kumbhakāri (Potter's wife) as a proper name.[2]

With reference to this cave and its surroundings the following passage from the "Ariana Antiqua" may be found of some interest—"Tracing the skirts of the Siah koh, is a road leading from Bála Bágh to Darunta, and thence across the river of Kabul and Jelalabad to Laghman. From Bála Bágh to the ferry at Darunta may be a distance of seven miles. At about five miles on this road, coming from Bála Bágh, we meet the topes of Kotpur, situated a little on our right hand. The first is in the midst of cultivation about one hundred yards from the road; a deep ravine, through which flows a stream derived from the Surkh Rúd (red river), separates it from its two companions. These stand on a dák, or barren level, overspread with fragments of

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[1] A-yü-wang-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 1343). In *ch.* 6 of this treatise the chandāla Dragon-king is called *Ku-p'o-lo* (Gopāla), and in *ch.* 1 of the "A-yü-wang-chuan" he is the "Ox-Dragon" of Gandhavat. In the "Tsa-a-han-ching", *ch.* 23 (No. 544) Buddha subdues the dragon Apalāla, "the potter chandāla", and the Gopāli dragon.

[2] Bur. Int p. 377: Divyav. p. 348. See Legge's 'Fa Hian', p. 29.

potter's ware; and here coins, rings, and other relics are sometimes found. The spot was, therefore, an ancient place of sepulchre."[1] In the 'Life of Asoka', however, the Gopala cave is located in Gandhara.

In another Chinese Buddhist work we learn that, the Buddha once went to "North India" to the Yue-shi (Get e) country and thence to the west of this Here he overcame a fierce wicked Rakshasi, spent a night in her cave, and left his shadow on a rock in it like that in the Gopāla cave.[2] In another Buddhist treatise, moreover, there is mention of a district called Na-kie-lo or Na-kie-han (or a)-lo. Here also was a rākshasī cave, and Buddha came from India to convert the rakshasī and left his luminous image in the cave.[3] This cave was in the side of the mountain Ansu, in the Champak grove of the old rishi, close to a Dragon's lake, and north of the Blue-Lotus fountain. The district in which this cave was situated was evidently not the Nagar country of our pilgrim. He also mentions two other caves with luminous images of Buddha in other parts of India.

There is also something not quite clear in his location of the cave in Nagar. He seems to describe it as in the east bank of a torrent, yet he tells us that there was to the west of it a large flat stone on which the Buddha spread his robe to dry. According to Fa-hsien also there was a tope, 100 paces west of the cave, which was made by Buddha and his disciples as a pattern. Near this, moreover, was a monastery with above 700 monks in it, of which Yuan-chuang does not make mention.

THE USHṆISHA-BONE.

The next of the great objects of interest to Buddhists in this country was the Ushṇisha-bone of the Buddha in

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[1] Ar. Ant. p. 64. The conclusion drawn in the last sentence of this passage is not quite justified by the premises.

[2] Ta-chih-tu-lun, *ch.* 9 (Bun. No. 1169).

[3] Kuan-Fo-san-mei-hai-ching, *ch.* 7 (No. 430).

Hilo. This is called by Yuan-chuang and the other pilgrims Buddha's *ting-ku* (頂骨) or *Bone of the top of the head.* The Sanskrit term is Ushṇīsha-sīrshas or Ushṇīsha-śiraskatā. As to the latter part of these compounds there is no doubt, the words being from *śiras*, the *head.* But in the literature of India the word ushṇīsha has two meanings. (1) the hair done up into a coil on the top of the head and (2) a peculiar kind of turban or other head-dress. But the Buddhas cut off their hair and did not wear caps or turbans.[1] So a new use was given to the term in Buddhism, and it was applied to the cranial protuberance which was one of the thirty-two distinguishing marks of a Buddha. This protuberance was supposed to be a sort of abnormal development of the upper surface of the skull into a small truncated cone covered with flesh and skin and hair. But some, like Yuan-chuang, regarded it as a separate formation on, but not a part of, the top of the skull. This Ushnīsha-śirsha among the Buddhists was one of the thirty-two marks not only of a Buddha but also of a Chakravartin and a Mahā-purusha. But, as Senart has pointed out, it is not in the list of the signs of the Great Man (Mahā-purusha) in Brahminical writings such as the "Brihat Samhitā".[2]

According to Yuan-chuang's description the Ushṇīsha in Hilo was

> twelve inches in circumference, with the hair-pores distinct, and of a yellowish white colour. It was kept in a casket deposited in the small tope made of the seven precious substances which was in the second storey of the decorated Hall. Pilgrims made a fragrant plaster, and with it took a cast of the upper surface of the bone; and according to their Karma read in the traces on the plaster their weal or their woe.

In addition to the term already given as a rendering for Ushṇīsha there are several other Chinese translations

[1] In Max Müller's Dharma-samgraha p. 54 *ushnisha* is translated by "Cap". This rendering is not supported by any Buddhist authority, and it is at variance with the descriptions and explanations given in the Buddhist books.

[2] Essai sur la lég. du Bud. p. 111.

or interpretations of the Sanskrit word. Thus we have *ting-jou-chi* (頂肉髻) that is, "the flesh top-knot on the top of the head", and *ju-chi-ku* or "the bone of the flesh top-knot."[1] The Buddha is also described as having, as one of the thirty-two marks, "on the top of his head the ushṇīsha like a deva sun-shade",[2] or as having "on the top of his head the ushṇīsha golden skull-top bone";[3] and we also read that on the top of the Buddha's head is "manifested the ushnisha", that is, manifested occasionally as a miraculous phenomenon. It is also stated that the ushṇīsha is not visible to the eyes of ordinary beings.[4]

Nearly two hundred years before Yuan-chuang's time a Chinese pilgrim by name *Chih-mêng* (智猛) had seen, it is recorded, the Ushṇīsha-bone along with other relics of the Buddha in Kapilavastu, but this must be regarded as a mistake of a copyist.[5] Two later pilgrims *Tao-lin* and *Hsüan-chao*, the latter a contemporary of Yuan-chuang, visited Kapis and there paid reverence to the ushṇīsha or skull-top bone of the Buddha.[6] By Kapis we are probably to understand Nagar then a part of the Kapis kingdom. Then a century after Yuan-chuang's time *Wu-k'ung* went to see "Sakya Julai's skull-top bone (or Ushṇīsha) relic" in the city of Gandhāra.[7]

It is interesting to observe that we do not find mention of any Buddhist monks as being concerned in any way with this precious relic. Fa-hsien, indeed, places it in a *ching-shê* or temple, but this was apparently only the name which he gave to the building because it contained the relic. Yuan-chuang does not make mention of any sacred

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1 Hsing-cai-ching, *ch.* 9: Kuan-Fo-san-mei-hai-ching, *ch.* 1, where the *ting-shang-jou-chi* is one of the 32 marks of a *ta-chang-fu* (大丈夫) or Mahāpurusha; Chang-chao-fan-chih-ch'ing-wên-ching (Bun. No. 734).

2 Fa-chi-ming-shu-ching (No. 812).

3 Chung-hsü-ching, *ch.* 3 (No. 859).

4 Ta-ming-san-tsang-fa-shu, *ch.* 48 (No. 1621).

5 Kao-sêng-chuan, *ch.* 3.

6 Hsi-yü-ch'in, *ch.* 1, 2.

7 Shih-li-ching, and J. A. T. VI, p. 357.

building, he refers only to a tall two-storey building and this is apparently the high two-storeyed Hall of Fa-hsien. The latter pilgrim also mentions the small tope of the seven precious substances in which the casket containing the ushnisha was kept. This little tope is described by Fa-hsien as being moreover free, opening and shutting, and about five feet in height.[1]

The official custodians of the relic paid all expenses by charging the devout pilgrims according to a fixed tariff for seeing the relic, and for also taking an impression of its upper surface in clay or wax, and they acted in like manner with the other Buddha relics under their care.

The "Bone of the top of Buddha's skull", in shape like a wasp's nest or the back of the arched hand, which was shown to believing pilgrims in Hilo was of course an imposture. It was perhaps the polished skull-cup of some ancient Sakian chief preserved originally as an heir-loom.[2] We have seen that a segment of the Buddha's skull-bone was preserved as a sacred relic in the Kapis country.

GANDHĀRA.

The pilgrim's narrative in the Records proceeds to relate that "from this" (that is, from somewhere near the site of the modern Jelalabad) he went south-east among hills and valleys for above 500 *li* and came to the *Kan-t'o-lo* (Gandhāra) country. This country was above 1000 *li* from east to west and above 800 *li* north to south, reaching on the east to the *Sin* (in the D text,

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[1] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* XIII. The term which is here rendered by "free" is *chie-t'oh* (解脫). In the translations of the passage the *chie-t'oh-t'a* becomes "tours de delivrance", "Final emancipation tower". and "Vimoksha tope". Nothing is known of such topes or towers; and there is no meaning in the translations. A *chie-t'oh-t'a* is a tope, not closed up, but provided with a door opening and shutting as required. Other topes containing relics were securely fastened, but this one was *released* from the bonds of solid masonry so far as the relic was concerned.

[2] It was made of flesh and bone, was of the capacity of the hollow of the hand, of a dark colour, round, and very beautiful (Abhi-ta-vib. *ch.* 177).

Sin-tu) river. The capital *Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo* (Purushapur) was above 40 *li* in circuit; the royal family was extinct and the country was subject to Kapis; the towns and villages were desolate and the inhabitants were very few; in one corner of the royal city (*Kung-ch'êng*) there were above 1000 families. The country had luxuriant crops of cereals and a profusion of fruits and flowers; it had much sugar-cane and produced sugar-candy. The climate was warm with scarcely any frost or snow; the people were faint-hearted, and fond of the practical arts; the majority adhered to other systems of religion, a few being Buddhists.

The *Kan-t'o-lo* of this passage is doubtless the Gandhāra Gāndhāra of Indian writers. In a Chinese note we e told that the old and incorrect name was Gandhavat *'an-t'o-wei*) and that the country was in "North India". it in several Chinese treatises *Kan-t'o-wei* or the short rm *Kan-t'o* is the designation of a large and rather gue region which does not always correspond to the andhāra of our pilgrim. Thus Fa-hsien, for example, es it to denote a city and district in this region quite stinct from the Purushapur district.[1] In the Ka-lan-chi ; find Gandha, and also Gandhāra, used to designate ›th a city and the country in which the city was situated.[2] he Wei-Shu places the district of Gandha to the west Udyāna and makes it quite distinct from Kapin.[3] Then andhavat and Gandhāra are names of a vague "north untry" in which was the inexhaustible treasure-store of e naga-rāja Elāpatra.[4] In some books we find Gandhāra sociated with Kapin (Kashmir) either as a part of the tter or as a neighbouring state. Thus the apostle 'adhyantika was deputed to go to "Kapin Gandhāras cha", id here I think the syllable *che* (or *cha*) in the Chinese anslations stands for the Sanskrit word *cha* meaning

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[1] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 12.

[2] *Ch.* 5.

[3] *Ch.* 102.

[4] See A-na-pin-ti-hua-ch'i-tzŭ-ching (No. 649): Tsêng-yi-a-han iin, *ch.* 49 (No. 543): Fo-shuo-Mi-lê-ta-ch'êng-Fo-ching (No. 2vo) ivyāv. p. 61.

"and".[1] In Wu-k'ung's 'Itinerary' Gandhāra is described as the eastern capital of Kapin, the winter residence of the king of that country, but to the west of Kashmir.[2] The name Gandhāra is an old one in Buddhist literature and it is found in one of the Asoka Edicts.[3] It is interpreted in some places as meaning "Earth-holder",[4] but while there is a Sanskrit word *dhāra* meaning "holding" there does not seem to be any Sanskrit word like *gan* meaning "Earth". Taken as Gandhavat the name is explained as meaning *hsiang-hsing* (香行) or "scent-action" from the word gandha which means *scent, small, perfume*.[5]

In some books we find the name *Shih-shih*(石室)*-kuo* or "Cave country" applied to Gandhāra and the capital called *Shih-shih-ch'êng* or Cave city,[6] and this is evidently another name for Takshaśilā. An old or native name for Gandhāra is given as *Ye-p'o-lo* (業波羅) perhaps for Abār, but this seems to have been local and temporary. We are told, in fact, that it ceased to be used after the country was conquered by the *Ye-ta* (嚈噠 or 悒怛) that is, the Yets or Gats apparently near the end of our 5th century.[7] Further in some Chinese books Gandhāra is said to be the *Hsiao-yue-ti* country the district of the offshoot of the Yue-ti or Getæ, or at least to include the region so called.[8] The *Ye-ta*, who were a powerful people in Central Asia in the 5th century, are also said to have been of the Yüe-ti stock,[9] but some regard them as of Turkish, and others as of Tibetan origin.

In the above passage the words taken to denote that

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1 Shan-chien-lü-vib, *ch.* 2 (No. 1125)· cf. Mah. *ch.* XIII.

2 Shih-li-ching.

3 No. 5 of the Rock Edicts. Fleet in Ind. Ant. Vol. xxii, p. 178.

4 A-yü-wang-ching, *ch.* 10 (commentary).

5 Su-kao-sêng-chuan. *ch.* 2 (No. 1493)

6 A-na-pin-ti-hua-ch'i-tzŭ-ching; A-yü-wang-hsi-huai-mu-yin-yuan-ching (No. 1367).

7 Ka-lan-chi, *ch.* 5; Wei-shu, *ch.* 102.

8 Wei-shu l. c.; T'ung-chih-liao s. v. 小月氏.

9 T'ung-chien-kang-mu s Liang Wu Ti 普通 3rd year.

had "much sugar-cane and that it produced
dy (lit. stone-honey)" are 多甘蔗出石蜜. The
's in their renderings here have inserted a gloss
kes Yuan-chuang state that the sugar-candy was
the people from the sugar-cane. Julien trans-
words—"il produit aussi beaucoup de cannes à
l'on en tire du *miel en pierre* (du sucre solide)."
words "l'on en tire" are not warranted by the
h has merely the ordinary word *ch'u*. This word
n other passages of the Records simply means
is, the country) yields or produces". We know
other sources that the Chinese at this time did
of sugar as a product of the sugar-cane. In
ice of information obtained from India the Em-
ing T'ai Tsung sent a mission to that country
the art of making sugar and candy from the
ie. This candy was merely molasses dried or
pieces". It was at first "hard (or stone) honey"
inese, as sugar was honey to the ancient westerns.[1]
u-lu-sha-pu-lo or Purushapur of our text has been
to be the Parshawar of later writers, the Pu-
of Alberuni, and the Peshawer of modern times.[2]
uses the term "Purusha country"; and makes this
place four days' journey south from his Gandhavat
Sung-yun does not seem to have known the name
and he uses Gandhāra for country and capital.
een stated, the Nagarahāra of Kittoe's Sanskrit
n is evidently the city and district called Pu-
This name is interpreted as meaning "the city
Hero", in Chinese *Chang-fu-kung* (丈夫宮) or
alace,[3] the Purusha or "Hero" being Vishnu as
ieror of the terrible Asura.
huang proceeds to state that

'ao-kang-mu, *ch*. 83; T'ang-Shu, *ch*. 221 second part.
I. p. 47 ff. for this and Gandhāra generally: Alberuni
11.
-sêng-chuan, *ch* 2.

of the Buddhist Masters in India who since old times had written *śāstras* (*lun* 論) there were Nārāyaṇa-deva, *Wu-cho* (Asaṅga) P'usa, *Shih-ch'in* (Vasubandhu) P'usa. Dharmatāra, Manoratha(?), and Pārśva the Venerable who were natives of this district.

Julien translates this passage as follows—"Depuis l'antiquité, ce pays a donné le jour à un grand nombre de docteurs indiens qui ont composé des Traités (*Çastras*); par exemple à Nārāyaṇa Deva, Asañga, Vasoubandhu, Dharmatrāta, Manorhita, Ârya Parcrika, &c. &c." There is nothing in the text, however, corresponding to the *grand nombre*, the *par exemple*, or the *&c. &c.* of this rendering. Instead of the word *pu* (不), which is in Julien's Chinese text, there should be *yu* (有), the reading of the A and D texts Of the writers of śāstras or disquisitions mentioned here only three are known as authors of Buddhist books which have come down to us, viz. Asanga, Vasubandhu, and Dharmatāra. The Nārāyana-deva appears again in this treatise as a deva or god, and it is perhaps the incarnation of Vishnu so named that is represented here as a philosophical Buddhist writer. or Yuan-chuang may have heard that the "Dharma-śāstra" which bears the name of Vishnu was written by the god. But we must remember that Nārāyaṇa is a name common to several ancient philosophers of India. The other śāstra-writers of Gandhāra will meet us again as we proceed.

There were above 1000 Buddhist monasteries in the country but they were utterly dilapidated and untenanted. Many of the topes also were in ruins. There were above 100 Deva-temples, and the various sects lived pell-mell. In the north-east part of the capital were the remains of the building which once contained the Buddha's Alms-bowl. After the Buddha's decease the Bowl had wandered to this country, and after having been treated with reverence here for some centuries, it had gone on to several other countries, and was now in *Po-la-ssŭ* (Persia).

The Buddha's Bowl was seen by Fa-hsien in a monastery in Purusha, where it was in the care of the Buddhist Brethren. Kumārajiva saw it in *Sha-le* or Kashgar, and

Chih-mêng saw it in Kapin.[1] Our pilgrim here represents the Bowl as having passed away from Purushapur and as being in Persia, but the Life instead of Persia has Benares. According to other authorities the Buddha's Bowl moved about from place to place, passing mysteriously through the air, and working miracles for the good of the people until it passed (or passes) out of sight in the palace of the Dragon-king Sagara. There it will remain until the advent of Maitreya as Buddha when it will appear again to be a witness. According to some texts the Bowl was broken once by the wicked king Mihirakula, but the pieces seem to have come together again. As no one less than a Buddha could ever eat from this Bowl, so no one less than a Buddha could move it from its resting-place; borne by the hidden impulses of human karma it floated about from one chosen seat to another as Buddhism waxed or waned.[2]

About eight or nine *li* to the south-east of the capital was a large and very ancient sacred Pipphal Tree above 100 feet high with wide-spreading foliage affording a dense shade. Under it the Four Past Buddhas had sat, and all the 996 Buddhas of the Bhadra kalpa are to sit here; the images of the Four Buddhas in the sitting posture were still to be seen. When Sakya Julai was sitting under this tree with his face to the south he said to Ananda—"Four hundred years after my decease a sovereign will reign, by name Kanishka, who a little to the south of this will raise a tope in which he will collect many of my flesh and bone relics'. To the south of the Pipphal Tree was the tope erected by Kanishka. Exactly 400 years after the death of the Buddha Kanishka became sovereign of all Jambudvīpa, but he did not believe in Karma, and he treated Buddhism with contumely. When he was out hunting in the wild country a white hare appeared; the king gave chase, and the hare suddenly disappeared at this place. Here among the trees the king discovered a cow-herd boy with a small tope three feet high he had made. "What is this you have made?" asked the king. The boy replied telling the Buddha's prophecy, and informing

1 Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 12: Kao-sêng-chuan, *ch.* 2, 3.

2 See "Fo-mie-tu-hou-kuan-lien-sung-ching" (No. 124); Lien-hua-mien-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 465).

Kanishka that he was the king of the prophecy, adding that he had come to set in motion the fulfilment of the prophecy. With this the king was greatly pleased; he straightway became a Buddhist, and proceeded to accomplish the prediction. Trusting to his own great merits he set about building a great tope round the site of the boy's small tope, which was to be concealed and suppressed by the great tope. But as the latter rose in height the small tope always topped it by three feet. The king's tope was one and a half *li* in circuit at the base, which was 150 feet high in five stages, and the tope had reached the height of 400 feet. The boy's tope was now suppressed and the king was greatly pleased. He completed his tope by the addition of twenty five gilt copper disks in tiers, and having deposited a *ho* of relics inside, he proceeded to offer solemn worship. But the small tope appeared with one half of it out sideways under the south-east corner of the great base. The king now lost patience and threw the thing up. So [the small tope] remained as it was (i. e. did not all come through the wall) with one half of it visible in the stone base below the second stage, and another small tope took its place at the original site. Seeing all this the king became alarmed, as he was evidently contending with supernatural powers, so he confessed his error and made submission. These two topes were still in existence and were resorted to for cures by people afflicted with diseases South of the stone steps on the east side of the Great Tope were two sculptured topes, one three and the other five feet high, which were miniatures of the Great Tope. There were also two images of the Buddha, one four and the other six feet high, representing him seated cross-legged under the Bodhi Tree. When the sun shone on them these images were of a dazzling gold colour, and in the shade their stone was of a dark violet colour. The stone had been gnawed by gold-coloured ants so as to have the appearance of carving, and the insertion of gold sand completed the images. On the south face of the ascent to the Great Tope was a painting of the Buddha sixteen feet high with two heads from one body. Our pilgrim narrates the legend connected with this very curious picture as he learned it at the place.

Above 100 paces to the south-east of the Great Tope was a white stone standing image of Buddha eighteen feet high facing north, which wrought miracles, and was seen by night to circumambulate the Great Tope On either side of the latter were above 100 small topes close together The Buddha images were adorned in the perfection of art. Strange perfumes were perceived and unusual sounds heard [at the Great Tope], and divine and human genii might be seen performing pradakshina round it. The Buddha predicted that when this tope had been

seven times burned and seven times rebuilt, his religion would come to an end. The Records of former sages stated that the tope had already been erected and destroyed three times. When Yuan-chuang arrived he found there had been another burning, and the work of rebuilding was still in progress.

The description of the origin and structure of the Kanishka Tope in this passage is not very full or clear; and the interpretation here given differs in some important points from Julien's rendering. There are, however, other accounts of this unique building which may help to supplement our author's narrative. The white hare which appeared to Kanishka and led him to the fated spot was the agent of Indra; so also was the herd-boy who had made the small tope. Or rather the boy was Indra himself, and as the builder and the material were not of this world the tope could not be like the common buildings of its class. One authority describes it as being made of cow-dung; but when an unbeliever pressed it to try, the hollow which he made with his fingers could not be filled up, and remained to testify to the miraculous character of the tope.[1]

According to our pilgrim Kanishka's Tope was 400 feet high with a superstructure of gilt-copper disks, the base being in five stages and 150 feet in height. Julien makes the words of the text mean that each of the five stages was 150 feet high, but this is not in the original and does not agree with the context. Then the passage which tells of the miracle of the small tope coming out half-way through the wall of the Great Tope is thus rendered by Julien—"Quand il (i. e. the king) eut achevé cette construction, il vit le petit *stoupa*, qui se trouvait au bas de l'angle sud-est du grand, s'élever à côté et le dépasser de moitié." But the text does not place the small tope at the south-east corner of the great one, and the king is described as building it "autour de l'endroit où était le petit *stoupa*". Then the words *pang-ch'u-ch'i-pan* (傍出

[1] The Hsi-yü-chih quoted in Fa-yuan-chu-lin, *ch.* 98.

其半) lit. "side put out its half" cannot possibly be made to mean "s'élever à côté et le dépasser de moitié". This rendering moreover spoils the story which tells us that the king had finished his tope, and was pleased with his success in enclosing the small tope, when the latter was seen to thrust itself half through the stone wall of his tope Then we learn that on seeing this "the king's mind was ruffled and he threw the thing up". The Chinese for this clause is *wang-hsin-pu-p'ing-pien-chi-chih-ch'i* (王心不平便卽擲棄), and Julien translates: "Le roi en eprouva une vive contrariété et ordonna sur-le-champ de l'abattre". Here the word *ordonna* is a bad interpolation, and the term *chih-ch'i* has been misunderstood. It means, as usually, to *give up, renounce, abandon*. The king had built his great relic-tope, but he could not carry out the ambitious design he had to *mi-fuh* by his power the small tope which, unknown to him, was the work of the god Indra, so he wanted to abandon the whole affair. In the Fang-chih the king is wrongly represented as *putting aside* (*chih-ch'i*) the small tope when proceeding to build his own. At the time of Yuan-chuang's visit the small tope half-out through the wall still remained in that position, and the second small tope was to be seen at the original site of the first one. The position he assigns to his second small tope does not agree with the statement that Kanishka enclosed the site of the original small tope within the inclosure of his Great Tope. Perhaps the small tope appearing half-way out through the wall of the great one may have been a sculpture in alto-relievo in the latter. Mr Simpson in the XIVth Vol. of the Journal of the R. A. S. has described such sculptured topes, and gives us a sketch of one

Yuan-chuang's account of the Great Tope and the little one associated with it from the beginning agrees in the main with Fa-hsien's account, but does not much resemble the descriptions in other works. We must remember, however, that what he records is largely derived from others, while his predecessors saw the Great Tope in the splendour of

its perfect condition. One account represents the base of the Tope as 30 (for 300) feet in height, above this was a structure of polished and sculptured stone in five storeys, then a structure of carved wood about 120 feet high, then came the roof on which was erected a spire bearing fifteen gilt disks. Sung-yun, like Yuan-chuang, makes the height of the main building to be 400 feet: above this Sung-yun saw an iron pillar 300 feet high supporting thirteen tiers of gilt disks (lit. gold basins). He makes the total height 700 feet, while others make it 550, 632, 800, and 1000 feet. One of the names by which the tope was known was the "Thousand Foot Tope" (百丈佛圖). It was also called the *Chio-li* (雀離) Tope. This term *Chio-li* we have seen was applied to the pair of vihāras at Kuchih (Kutzŭ), and it is used to designate other vihāras and topes. If the name were always written as above we could regard it as a native term meaning "piebald, brown and yellow", *chio* denoting a sparrow and *li* an oriole. But the characters vary and the word is expressly said to be foreign and to mean *striped* or *chequered* in two or more colours. This sense would suit the Great Tope with its dark-coloured stone variegated by yellow tracings. It is apparently this building which is called in a Buddhist work the "Earth and Stone Tope" This will recall to the reader the very interesting general description of the topes of this region given in the Ariana Antiqua, a description which also illustrates our pilgrim's account of the Great Tope.[1]

In a Vinaya treatise the prediction of the building of this tope is made by the Buddha not to Ananda but to the Vajrapāṇi P'usa. The Buddha going about with this P'usa from place to place in "North India" came to the hamlet of the *Ho-shu-lo* (渴樹羅), that is, the Kharjūra or wild date tree. Here the two sat down; and Buddha, pointing to a small boy making a mud tope at a little distance, told the P'usa that on that spot Kanishka would erect the tope to be called by his name.[2]

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[1] Wei-shu l. c.; Ka-lan-chi, l. c.; Ar. Ant. p. 58.

[2] Ssu. Vin. Yao-shih, ch. 9.

The description in the Records goes on—

To the west of the Great Tope was an old monastery built by Kanishka; its upper storeys and many terraces were connected by passages to invite eminent Brethren and give distinction to illustrious merit and although the buildings were in ruins they could be said to be of rare art. There were still in the monastery a few Brethren all Hīnayānists. From the time it was built it had yielded occasionally extraordinary men, and the arhats and śāstra-makers by their pure conduct and perfect virtue were still an active influence.

This old monastery is apparently the "Kanik-caitya" of Alberuni, the "vihāra of Purushāvar" built by king Kanik. It was also the "Kanishka-mahā-vihāra" of Kittoe's inscri tion, "where the best of teachers were to be found, and which was famous for the quietism of its frequenters". Within the modern city of Peshawer is an old building called the Ghor Khattri (the Gurh-Katri of Baber) and known also as the Caravanserai (or the Serai). This was once a Buddhist monastery "with numerous cells". Does it represent the great Kanishka vihāra?

In the third tier of high halls of the Kanishka vihāra was the chamber once occupied by the Venerable *P'o-li-ssŭ-fo* (Pārśva): it was in ruins, but was marked off. This Pārśva was originally a brahmin teacher, and he remained such until he was eighty years old. Then he became converted to Buddhism and received ordination. The city boys hereupon jeered at him as an old and feeble man, and reproached him with wishing to lead an idle life, unable to fulfill the duties of a monk in practising absorbed meditation and reciting the sacred Scriptures. Stung by these reproaches the old man withdrew into seclusion and made a vow not to lay his side on his mat until he had mastered the canon, and had attained full spiritual perfection and powers. At the end of three years he had completely succeeded, and people out of respect called him *Reverend Side* (or *Ribs*) because he had not laid his *side* on his mat for so long a time.

The *P'o-li-ssŭ-fo* (Pārśva) of this passage is called in other works *P'o-she* (波奢) which may be for Passo the Pali form of Pārśva.[1] As this word means *side* it is translated into Chinese by *Hsie* (脇) which also means

[1] Pi-p'o-sha-lun, or Vibhāshā-śāstra, *ch.* 1 (No. 1279).

side or *ribs*. The Buddhist Doctor with this name was also called *Nan-shêng* or "Hard to be born", which is perhaps a translation of Durjāta. He was so called because, for misdeeds in a former existence, he was six (or sixty) years in his mother's womb, and was born with gray hair. Regarded as one of the Patriarchs he is placed by some ninth, and by others tenth, in the line of succession, and as such he is said to have been a native of "Mid India" and to have lived in the 5th century B. C.[1] But these statements are to be set aside as comparatively late inventions. From other sources we learn that Pārśva was a native of North India, and that he was a contemporary of king Kanishka, at whose Buddhist Council he assisted. His date is thus the first century A.D., and he is said to have lived 400 years after the Buddha's decease. All authorities agree that he was a bhikshu of great zeal and devotion, an ardent student and an indefatigable propagator of Buddhism, eloquent and expert in argument. Among the numerous converts he made the greatest was the celebrated Aśvaghosha who was a brahmin teacher having an unchallenged preeminence in his own country in Mid India. Pārśva, however, defeated him in a public discussion, and according to agreement Aśvaghosha became his disciple, and was ordained as a bhikshu.[2] Pārśva is cited by our pilgrim as a maker of śāstras; but no treatise bearing his name is known to have come down to us, and there does not seem to be any particular work ascribed to him in the Chinese books, although he is often quoted in some of these.[3] Nor is there anything, so far as we know, to confirm or warrant Yuan-chuang's story of Pārśva being ordained at the age of 80 years, and

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[1] In "Fo-tsu-t'ung-chi" (No. 1661), *ch.* 34, and in "Fu-fa-tsang-yin-yuan-ching" (No. 1340) Pārśva is the ninth Patriarch; in the "Chih-yue-lu", *ch.* 3, he is the tenth.

[2] Ma-ming-p'u-sa-chuan (No. 1460). See also Tār. S. 59 and Was. S. 52 note and 231.

[3] E. g. in the Abhi-ta-vib., and the Abhi-shun-chêng-li-lun (No. 1265).

the city boys jeering at him in consequence. We do read in a work already cited that when Pārsva was on his way to Mid India the boys at one town made fun of him for wearing shoes, and carried these off from him.

On the east side of Pārsva's chamber was the old house in which *Shih-ch'in* (世親) *P'usa* (Vasubandhu) composed the *A-p'i-ta-mo-ku-shi-lun* (Abhidharmakośa-śāstra), and posterity in reverential remembrance had set a mark on the old house.

As Yuan-chuang has told us, Vasubandhu was a native of this country, having been born in Purushapur. His father's name was Kausika and his mother's Bilindi, and he was the second of three brothers all named Vasubandhu. The eldest became celebrated as the great Buddhist teacher Asanga, the youngest was called Bilindibhava from his mother's name, and the middle one remained Vasubandhu simply. This last following the example of his elder brother became a Buddhist monk, and was at first an adherent of the Vaibhāshikas of the Sarvāstivādin School.[1]

The Abhidharmakośa-śāstra, or "Disquisition on the Treasury of Buddhist Philosophy", mentioned here, originated with 600 aphorisms in verse composed by Vasubandhu as a Sarvāstivādin Vaibhāshika. These were sent by the author from Ayodhyā to the Kashmir Vaibhāshikas who were greatly pleased with them. But as the aphorisms were very terse and hard to understand, the Brethren requested the author to expand them into a readable form. Vasubandhu in the meantime had become attached to the Sautrāntikas, and when he expanded his aphorisms into a prose treatise he criticised some of the doctrines of the Kashmir Vaibhāshikas from the point of view of a Sautrantika. This book also was written in Ayodhyā in the reign of Vikramāditya or his son Balāditya. It was regarded by the Vaibhāshikas of Kashmir as hostile to them, and it was refuted by the learned Sanghabhadra

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[1] Ta-shêng-pai-fa-ming-mên-lun (No. 1213) Int.; P'o-su-p'an-tou (Vasubandhu)-fa-shi-chuan (No. 1463); Was. S. 240.

who composed two treatises against it and in defence of the Vaibhāshikas. But Vasubandhu's treatise continued to have a great reputation and it was held in esteem by the adherents of both "Vehicles". Several commentaries were written on it in Sanskrit, and it was twice translated into Chinese, the first translation being by the great Indian Buddhist Paramārtha, and the second by our pilgrim. In this treatise the author does not shew any hostility to the Vaibhāshikas, and he frankly acknowledges his indebtedness to them.[1]

The Vasubandhu of this passage, who will meet us again, is not to be confounded with the Buddhist of the same name who is given as the 21st of the Patriarchs of the Buddhist Church.

About fifty paces south from Vasubandhu's house was the second tier of high halls; here the śāstra-master *Mo-nu-ho-la-t'a* (末笯曷剌他) (Manoratha) composed a "vibhasha-lun". This Master made his auspicious advent within the 1000 years after the Buddha's decease; in youth he was studious and clever of speech. His fame reached far and clericals and laymen put their faith in him. At that time the power of Vikramāditya king of Srāvasti was widely extended; on the day on which he reduced the Indias to submission he distributed five lakhs of gold coins among the destitute and desolate. The Treasurer, fearing that the king would empty the Treasury, remonstrated with him to the following effect—Your Majesty's dread influence extends to various peoples and the lowest creatures. I request that an additional five lakhs of gold coins be distributed among the poor from all quarters; the Treasury being thus exhausted new taxes and duties will have to be imposed; this unlimited taxation will produce disaffection; so Your Majesty will have gratitude for your bounty, but Your Ministers will have to bear insulting reproaches. The king replied that giving to the needy from the surplus of public accumulation was not a lavish expenditure of public money on himself, and gave the additional five lakhs in largesse to the poor. On a future occasion the king, while out hunting, lost trace of a wild boar and rewarded the peasant who put him on the track with a lakh of gold coins. Manoratha had once paid his barber a like sum for shaving his

[1] See Abhi-kü-shê(kośa)-lun (No. 1267), and Abhi-kośa-shih-lun (No. 1269); Abhi-kośa-lun-pên-sung (No. 1270).

head, and the State annalist had made a record of the circumstance. This fact had wounded the king's pride, and he desired to bring public shame on Manoratha. To effect this he called together 100 learned and eminent non-Buddhists to meet Manoratha in discussion. The subject selected for discussion was the nature of the sense-perceptions about which, the king said, there was such confusion among the various systems that one had no theory in which to put faith. Manoratha had silenced 99 of his opponents and was proceeding to play with the last man on the subject, as he announced it, of "fire and smoke". Hereupon the king and the Non-Buddhists exclaimed that he was wrong in the order of stating his subject for it was a law that smoke preceded fire. Manoratha, disgusted at not being able to get a hearing, bit his tongue, sent an account of the circumstances to his disciple Vasubandhu, and died. Vikramāditya lost his kingdom, and was succeeded by a king who shewed respect to men of eminence. Then Vasubandhu solicitous for his Master's good name came to this place, induced the king to summon to another discussion the former antagonists of Manoratha, and defeated them all in argument.

The name of the great Buddhist master here called *Mo-nu-lo-ha-t'a*, and translated by Yuan chuang *Ju-yi* (如意) or "As you will", has been restored by me as Manoratha. Julien here as in the Vie having the B reading *Mo-no-ho-li*(利)*-t'a* restores the name as Manorhita. This seems to be a word of his own invention, but it has been adopted by the P. W., and by subsequent writers on our pilgrim's narrative. The Chinese characters of Julien's text, however, cannot be taken to represent this word, and they might stand for a word like Manoriddha. This would perhaps suit Yuan-chuang's rendering, and also the Tibetan term Yid-on. But Manoratha is the name given by Burnouf from the Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhya, by Paramārtha, who translates it by *Hsin-yuan* or "Mental desire", and by Schiefner in his translation of Tāranātha.[1] But the Tibetan books make the bearer of the name to be a native of South India and a contemporary of Nāgasena. This Manoratha is not to be regarded as the same

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[1] Bur. Int p. 567; Life of Vasubandhu (No. 1463); Tār. S. 3, 298.

person as the Manor or Manura who is represented as the 21st (or 22d) Patriarch.

Yuan-chuang here ascribes to Manoratha the composition of a *Vibhāsha-lun*, that is an expository Buddhistic treatise. Julien very naturally took this term to be the name of a particular treatise which he calls the "Vibhāshā śāstra" There is a learned and curious work in the Canon with the name "Vibhāshā-lun", the authorship of which is ascribed to *Shi-t'o-pan-n'i* (尸陀槃尼) restored by Julien as "Siddhapaṇi", and by some to Kātyāyani-putra, but not to Manoratha.[1] Nor is this last the author of the treatise bearing the name "Vibhāshā-vinaya", or of any other work in the sacred Canon.

According to Yuan-chuang Manoratha flourished (*lit.* was seen to profit, 利見 a phrase from the Yih-Ching) within 1000 years after the decease of the Buddha. This, taking the Chinese reckoning, would place the date of the śāstra-master before A.D. 150.

The pilgrim relates of Vikramāditya that "on the day on which he reduced the Indias to submission he distributed five lakhs of gold coins"—For these words the Chinese is *shih-ch'ên-chu-In-tu-jih-yi-wu-yih-chin-ch'ien-chou-kei* (使臣諸印度日以五億金錢周給). Julien, who instead of *chu*, the reading of the A, C, and D texts, had *yi* (詣) of the B text, translates—"Quand un de ses envoyés arrivait dans (un royaume de) l'Inde, il distribuait chaque jour cinq cent mille pièces d'or pour secourir les pauvres, les orphelins et les hommes sans famille." This is very absurd and is not in the text. The first character here *shih* is not needed, and is not in the D text; and the meaning seems to be very clear that, on the day on which India became subject to him, the king distributed five lakhs of gold coins among his own needy and desolate. Then the narrative makes the Treasurer try to frighten the king by proposing that he should distribute another lakh, among the poor from all quarters, thereby

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[1] Bun. No. 1279 and 收 9 of Jap. Reprint.

exhausting the Treasury and causing oppressive taxa The Treasurer's speech, which is rather absurd, seem be clearly expressed; but Julien does not seem to l understood its meaning. A little farther on we have reasons alleged by the king for summoning the Buddhists and Buddhists to a public debate. He "he wanted to set right seeing and hearing and s (lit. travel in) the real objects of the senses" (欲收視遊諸真境), the diverse theories on sense perceptions ing led to confusion and uncertainty. The king's lang refers to the great controversies about the senses, their objects, and the word he uses for the latter, c (境), is that employed in Yuan-chuang's translation of Abhidharmakośa-lun. There were great difference opinion among the rival schools as to the relations tween the senses and their respective objects. Thus, example, as to sight, it was discussed whether it was eye or the mind which saw, and whether the "true re of sight was colour or form. For the purpose at lea suppressing Manoratha, the philosophers at the de were agreed on the point that smoke should precede

From the Kanishka Monastery Yuan-chuang went nort above 50 *li*, crossing a large river, to the city which he *Pu-se-ka-lo-fu-ti* (Pushkaravati). This was about fourte fifteen *li* in circuit, was well peopled, and the wards were nected by passages. Outside the west gate of the city Deva-Temple with a marvel-working image of the Deva the east of the city was an Asoka tope on the spot whe Four Past Buddhas had preached. The Buddhist sages o old times came from "Mid India" to this district and t mortals were very numerous. It was here th t Vasumitra posed his "Chung-shih-fên-Abhidharma-lun" Four or f north of the city was an old monastery in r ins and wit a few Brethren who were all Hinayanists. In it Dharm composed the "Tsa-abhidharma-lun"

The Pushkaravati of this passage, which the Life m to be 100 *li* from the Kanishka Monastery, is evid the *Fo-sha-fu* of the Ka-lan-chi and the Pukarava other works, and it is supposed to be represented b modern Hashtnagar. Here according to our text Y

mitra composed his "*Chung-shih-fên* (衆事分)-Abhidharma-lun" or "Abhidharma-prakaraṇa-pada-śāstra". It is worthy of note that Yuan-chuang, who is sparing in his references to his predecessors, uses here the translations of the title of this work given by Guṇabhadra and Bodhiyaśa, the first translators of the treatise. For his own version Yuan-chuang used a more correct translation of the title "Abhidharma-*p'in-lei-tsu*(品類足)-lun"[1]. Yuan-chuang here ascribes to Dharmatrāta the authorship of a work which he calls "Tsa-abhidharma-lun". But no treatise with this name is known to the collections of Buddhist scriptures, and it is perhaps a mistake for "Tsa-abhidharma-hsin(心)-lun"; there is in the Canon a work with this name and it is ascribed to Dharmatrāta (or Dharmatāra) as author.[2]

> Beside the monastery was an Asoka tope some hundreds of feet high, the carved wood and engraved stone of which seemed to be the work of strangers. Here Sākya Buddha in his P'usa stage was born 1000 times as a king, and in each birth gave his eyes in charity. A little to the east of this were two stone topes, one erected by Brāhma and one by Indra, which still stood out high although the foundations had sunk. At the distance of 50 *li* to the north-west of these was a tope at the place where the Buddha converted the *Kuei-tzŭ-mu* or "Mother of Demons", and forbade her to kill human beings. The people of the country worshipped this Demon-mother and prayed to her for offspring.

The word "thousand" in the statement here about the thousand gifts of his eyes by the Bodhisattva in as many previous existences as a king is perhaps a mistake. Describing the commemorating tope our author tells us that the *tiao-mu-wên-shih-p'oh-yi-jen-kung* (彫木文石頗異人工). These words seem to have the meaning given to them above, but they have also been taken to mean "the carved wood and engraved stone are superhuman work". Julien's translation, which is the tope "est fait en bois sculpté et en pierres veinées; les ouvriers y ont déployé un art extraordinaire" seems to be far wrong.

The *Kuei-tzŭ-mu* or "Mother of Demon-children" of this passage is evidently the goddess whom I-ching iden-

tifies with the Ha-li-ti (Hārītī) of the Sarvāstivādin Vinay This goddess, in the time of the Buddha, was a Yaksh living near Rajagriha, and married to a Yaksha of Ga dhāra. Her name was *Huan-hsi* (Nandā?) or "Joy", a she was supposed to be a guardian deity to the peo of Magadha. But as the result of a spiteful wish in previous life she took to stealing and eating the childr of Rājagaha. When the people found that their godd was secretly robbing them of their offspring to feed h self and her 500 sons, they changed her name to Hār or Thief. On the petition of the victims the Budd undertook to put an end to the Yakshini's cannibal mo of life.[2] In order to convert her he hid her youngest a favourite son, in one account called Pingala, in his alm bowl, and gave him up to the mother on her promise renounce cannibalism and become a lay member of l communion. Then to provide for the subsistence of t mother and her numerous offspring the Buddha ordain that in all monasteries' food should be set out for the every morning. In return for this service the Yakshi and her sons were to become and continue guardians the Buddhist sacred buildings. The Sar. Vin. does n make any mention of Hārītī undertaking to answer t prayers of barren women for children, but in one of t sūtras the Kuei-tzŭ-mu agrees to comply with the Buddha request in this matter.[3] I-ching tells us that the nan Kuei-tzŭ-mu was used by the Chinese before they ha the story of Hārītī, and a goddess of children with th name is still worshipped by Chinese women. She is co

[1] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 1 and Takakusu p. 37.

[2] Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih (No. 1121), *ch.* 31.

[3] See the "Kuei-tzŭ-mu-ching" (No. 759) where the scene is la in the 不 婆 country; Tsa-pao-tsang-ching (No. 1329) *ch.* 9 whe the baby is Pin-ka-lo (Pingala) and the name of the country is n given; Tsa-a-han-ching, *ch.* 49 where the scene is in Magadha a the demon-mother's baby is *Pin-êng-ka*. See also Waddell's 'Buddhis of Tibet' p. 99; and Chi-p'o-so-shuo-shên-chou-ching, last pa (No. 447).

monly represented by a standing image with a baby in her arms and two or three children below her knees as described by I-ching. As the word *kuei* has only unpleasant associations ever since the T'ang period the Chinese have occasionally substituted for it in the name of this goddess the word for *nine*, calling her *Kiu-tzŭ-mu*, "Mother of nine (that is, many) sons".

Above 50 *li* north from the scene of the conversion of the Kuei-tzŭ-mu was another tope. This marked the place at which the P'usa in his birth as Śama while gathering fruit as food for his blind parents was accidentally shot by a poisoned arrow aimed by the king at a deer of which he was in pursuit. The perfect sincerity of the P'usa's conduct moved the spiritual powers and Indra provided a remedy which restored the son to life.

It will be remembered that Brahminical literature has a similar story about Krishṇa. The Jātaka is a well known one and is related in several books.[1]

From the Śamaka (or Śama) Tope a journey of above 200 *li* south-east brought the pilgrim to the city called *Po-lu-sha* (Palusha). To the north of this city was a tope to mark the place at which the P'usa in his birth as Prince *Su-ta-na* (Sudāna) bade adieu on being sent into exile for having given the elephant of the king his father to a brahmin. At the side of this tope was a monastery with above fifty Brethren all adherents of the "Small Vehicle". Here the Master of Śāstras, Īśvara, composed the "Abhidharma-ming-chêng-lun".

The Palusha of this passage was apparently about 100 *li* to the south-east of Pushkaravati. Cunningham has proposed to identify it with the modern Palo-dheri which is about forty miles from Pushkaravati or Hashtnagar. As it is also, however, apparently about forty miles south-east from the Samaka tope, Palo-dheri may correspond to the site of Palusha.

The name Sudāna of the text is explained in a note as meaning "having good teeth", but this, as has been pointed out by others, is evidently wrong. Better renderings are

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[1] See Wilkins' Hind. Myth. p. 188, 209; Jātaka Vol VI p. 71; P'u-sa-san-tsŭ-ching (No. 216); Liu-tu-chi-ching, *ch.* 5 (No. 143).

Shan-yü and *Shan-shih* (善與 or 善施), both mean *liberal* or *generous*. As Sudāna is apparently an epi for the prince whose name was Viśvantara (Wessanta so *Shan-ya* or "Good-teeth" may have been the nam the much prized white elephant which the prince g away to the brahmin from the hostile country.

As to the Abhidharma treatise which Yuan-chuang ascribes to the śāstra master Īśvara no work with name "Abhidharma-ming-chêng-lun" seems to be kn to the Buddhist canon. Instead of the *ming-chêng* (明 of the ordinary texts the D text has *ming-têng* (燈), m ing the name to be the "Abhidharma Shining l śāstra".

> Outside the east gate of the Palusha city was a monas with above 50 Brethren all Mahāyānists. At it was an A tope on the spot at which the brahmin, who had b gged son and daughter of the Prince Sudāna from him on the ' *to-lo-ka* (Dantaloka) mountain, sold the children. Above tw *li* north-east from Palusha was the Dantaloka mountain which was an Asoka tope at the place where Prince Su lodged. Near it was the tope where the Prince having g his son and daughter to the Brahmin the latter beat the chil until their blood ran to the ground; this blood dyed the and the vegetation still retained a reddish hue. In the cliff the cave in which the Prince and his wife practised samā Near this was the hut in which the old rishi lived; above 1 north from it beyond a small hill was a mountain; on the s of this was a monastery with a few Brethren who were M yānists; beside this was an Asoka tope where the rishi *Tu-* (Ekaśringa) once lived; this rishi was led astray by a lu woman and lost his superhuman faculties, whereupon the lu woman rode on his shoulders into the city.

In their renderings of the text of the above pass the translators have made a serious mistranslation wh injures the narrative. They make the pilgrim state t the tope at the east gate of Palusha was at the pl where *Prince Sudāna sold his two children to a brahn* But the Prince never did anything like this, and Chinese states clearly that it was the brahmin who s the children after having begged them from their fat on the mountain. This agrees with the context and w

the story in the Scriptures. According to the latter the brahmin on the instigation of his wife went to the Danta mountain to beg the Prince to give him the son and daughter of whom the Prince and his wife were very fond; and by his urgent entreaty he prevailed on the father, in the absence of the mother, to give up the children to serve in his household. But when the Brahmin brought them to his home his clever wife saw they were of superior birth, and refused to keep them as slaves. Hereupon the brahmin took them away to sell, and against his will, under the secret influence of Indra, he found himself with the children at the royal city, where they fell into the hands of the king their grandfather. This happy incident led to the recall of the all-giving Prince and his faithful devoted consort.

Then the stone-hut on the Danta mountain was not merely one which had been inhabited by "a rishi". It was the hut supposed to have been once occupied by the old rishi Akshuta, in Chinese transcription *A-chu-t'ê*, the Acchuta of Fausböll. This was the aged hermit who welcomed the banished Prince and family on their coming to stay on his mountain.

The name of this mountain is given by Yuan-chuang as *Tan-to-lo-ka*, which Julien restored as Dantaloka; the restoration has been adopted by the P. W., and by subsequent writers. But the old and common form of the name in Chinese translations is *T'an-t'eh* (檀特), and the original may have been Daṇḍa. The "Mountain of punishment" would be an appropriate designation, and the suggestion is strengthened by the Tibetan rendering "forest of penance". Our pilgrim places the mountain at a distance of above twenty *li* north-east from Palusha; but instead of twenty we should probably read 2000 *li* as in the Fang-chih. All the legends represent the mountain of exile as being far away from any town or place of human habitation. It was beyond the Chetiya country, or in Udyāna, or in Magadha. In the Jātaka it is called Vaṁkaparvata, and a Chinese authority ex-

plains *T'an-t'eh-shan* as meaning "the dark shady mountain (*yin-shan*)".[1]

In his remarks about the rishi whom he calls "Single-horn" (or Ekaśringa) our pilgrim is apparently following the "Jātaka of Rāhula's mother". In this story, the scene of which is laid in the Benares country, the ascetic of mixed breed, human and cervine, is named Unicorn on account of the horn on his forehead. He has attained great power by his devotions and becoming offended he stops the rain. The king is told that in order to save his country from a prolonged drought he must find a means by which the rishi's devotions will be stopped. A very clever rich "lustful woman" comes forward and undertakes to seduce the saint. She takes 500 pretty girls with her, and by means of love potions, disguised wines, and strong love-making she overcomes the rishi and makes him fall into sin. Beguiling her lover-victim to the city of Benares she pretends on the way to be faint and the rishi carries her on his shoulders into the city.[2] In other versions of this curious wellknown legend the lady who woos and wins the simple, innocent, but very austere and all-powerful, hermit is a good princess, the daughter of the king of the country. For her father's sake and at his request she undertakes the task of wiling the saint from his austerities and devotions: he is captivated, becomes the princess's lover, marries her and succeeds her father on the throne. In most versions of the story the saint to be seduced is called Rishyasringa, the Pali Isisinga; the lady who leads him astray is Śāntā in the Chinese translations and some other versions, but Nalini or Nalinikā in other versions.[3] In the "Jātaka of Rāhula's

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[1] Liu-tu-chi-ching, *ch.* 2: T'ai-tzŭ-su-ta-na-ching (No. 254) in this work the elephant's name is *Su-tan-yen*; Hardy M. B. p. 118; Jāt. Vol. VI last jātaka where the mountain is Vaṁkapabbato; Feer's Chaddanta-jātaka p. 81; Schiefner Tib. Tales p. 257.

[2] Ta-chih-tu-lun, *ch.* 17; cf. Hsing-chi-ching, *ch.* 16.

[3] Kshemendra's Kalpalatā in J. B. T. S. Vol. i. P. II, p. 1, here the rishi is Ekaśringa, the lady is the Princess Nalini, and the two

mother" the rishi and his tempter are respectively the Bodhisattva and his wife Yasodhara, but in the Jātaka it is the wise father of the rishi who is the Bodhisattva, and the rishi and the lady are a certain bhikshu and his former wife.

Above 50 *li* to the north-east of Palusha (Julien's Varusha?) was a great mountain which had a likeness (or image) of Maheśvara's spouse Bhīmā-devī of dark-blue stone. According to local accounts this was a natural image of the goddess; it exhibited prodigies and was a great resort of devotees from all parts of India; to true believers, who after fasting seven days prayed to her, the goddess sometimes shewed herself and answered prayers. At the foot of the mountain was a temple to Maheśvara-deva in which the Ash-smearing "Tīrthikas" performed much worship.

Going south-east from the Bhīmala (or Bhīma) Temple 150 *li* you come to *Wu-to-ka-han-t'u* (or *ch'a*) city, twenty *li* in circuit and having the Indus on its south side; its inhabitants were flourishing and in it were collected valuable rarities from various regions.

A journey of above 20 *li* north-west from *Wu-to-ka-han-t'u* brought one to the *P'o* (or *Sha*)-*lo-tu-lo* city, the birth place of the rishi Pāṇini who composed a *shêng-ming-lun* (Treatise on Etymology). At the beginning of antiquity, our author continues, there was a very luxuriant vocabulary. Then at the end of the kalpa, when the world was desolate, and void the immortals became incarnate to guide mankind; and from this written documents came into existence, the flow of which in after times became a flood. As opportunity arose Brahma and Indra produced models. The rishis of the various systems formed each his own vocabulary; these were emulously followed by their successors, and students applied themselves in vain to acquire a knowledge of their systems. When the life of man was a century Pāṇini appeared; of intuitive knowledge and great erudition he sorrowed over the existing irregularities and desired to make systematic exclusions and selections. In his studious excursions he met Siva to whom he unfolded his purpose; the god approved and promised help. So the rishi applied himself earnestly to selecting from the stock of words and formed an-

are the Bodhisattva and Yasodhara of after births, cf. App^x I of the same Vol.; Mahāvastu T. III, p. 143; Bud. Lit. Nep. p. 68; Takakusu in Hansei Zasshi Vol. xiii, No. 1; Jāt. Vol. v, p. 123 where the lady is Nalinikā, p. 152 where she is the apsarā Alambusā.

Etymology in 1000 stanzas each of 32 words; this exhausted modern and ancient times and took in all the written language. The author presented his treatise to the king who prized it highly and decreed that it should be used throughout the country; he also offered a prize of 1000 gold coins for every one who could repeat the whole work. The treatise was transmitted from master to disciple and had great vogue, hence the brahmins of this city are studious scholars and great investigators.

The pilgrim goes on to tell a story which he heard on the spot. Within the city of *P'o* (or *Sha*)-*lo-tu-lo* was a tope where an arhat had converted a disciple of Pāṇini. Five hundred years after the Buddha's decease a great arhat from Kashmir in his travels as an apostle arrived at this place. Here he saw a brahmin teacher chastising a young pupil: in reply to the arhat's question the teacher said he beat the boy for not making progress in Etymology. The arhat smiled pleasantly and in explanation said—You must have heard of the treatise on Etymology made by the rishi Pāṇini and given by him to the world for its instruction. The brahmin replied—"He was a native of this city; his disciples admire his excellences, and his image is still here". To this the arhat answered—This boy of yours is that rishi. He added that in his previous existence Pāṇini had devoted all his energies to worldly learning but that from some good Karma he was now the teacher's son. He then told the teacher the story of the 500 Bats who long ago allowed themselves to be burned to death in a decayed tree through delight in hearing a man read from the Abhidharma. These 500 Bats came into the world in recent times as human beings, became arhats, and formed the Council summoned by king Kanishka and the Reverend Pārsva in Kashmir which drew up the Vibhāsha treatises. The arhat added that he was an unworthy one of the Five Hundred, and he advised the teacher to allow his dear son to enter the Buddhist church. Then the arhat disappeared in a marvellous manner and the teacher became a Buddhist and allowed his son to enter the Buddhist church; he became a devoted believer, and at the time of the pilgrim his influence in the district was still a very real one.

The image or likeness of Bhīmā-devī here mentioned was apparently a dark-blue rock in the mountain supposed to have a resemblance to that goddess. Julien, however, understood the passage to mean that there was a *statue* and he makes the author state that the people said—"la statue de cette déesse s'est formée toute seule". But what the people said was that "this goddess' likeness (or

ge) was a natural (or self-existing) one"—此天像者有也 (in B text 形 instead of 也).

Then the Bhimala of the next paragraph in the B text, others having Bhima, is taken by Julien to be a take for Bhimā. But the texts are quite correct, ma and Bhimala being names of Siva. There is no ation in the text of a temple to Bhimā, but there is a ple to Siva at the foot of the mountain and from it journey begins.

The name of the city here transcribed *Wu-to-ka-han-t'u ch'a)* (烏鐸迦漢荼 or 茶) is tentatively restored by ien as Uḍa-khāṇḍa, but the characters give us a word h liker Udaka-khaṇḍa. In two texts of the Life the e of the city is given as *Wu-to-ka-han-p'êng* (蓬). nt Martin and Cunningham consider that this city was the site of the later Ohind (or Waihand), but the ntification seems to be doubtful.

n the next paragraph we have Pāṇini's city called in ien's text *P'o-lo-tu-lo.* As the great Grammarian is posed to have been a native of Śalātura Julien pro-ed to regard *P'o* here as a mistake for Sha; in this is probably right as the A text here has *Sha.* All other texts, however, have *P'o* (婆 or 娑) and one s not like to regard them all as wrong. Still for the sent it is better to regard *Sha* (娑) as the correct ding, the name transcribed being Śalātura. It is re-rkable that neither in the part of the Life which tells the pilgrim's visit to Gandhāra nor in the Fang-chih e we any mention of Pāṇini and his birth place. But the third *chuan* (Book) of the Life we read of "the i Pāṇini of the *P'o-lo-mên-tu-lo* city of Gandhāra in rth India" (北印度健馱羅國婆羅門覩羅邑波膩仙). These words are in Julien's rendering "dans le aume de *Gandhara,* de l'Inde du Nord, un Brāhmane nmé le Richi *Po-ni-ni* (Pānini) de la ville de *Tou-lo* lātoula)". Here the learned translator must have known t he was doing violence to the text and that the word *-lo-mên* or Brāhmana could not possibly be severed from

tu-lo and made to apply to Pāṇini who here, as in the Records, is styled a *rishi* It is perhaps possible that the *mên* in the text is a copyist's interpolation and that the original reading was *P'o-lo-tu-lo* as in the common texts of the Records.

When our author writes of the Immortals, the devas of long life, becoming incarnate, he is referring to the restoration of our world after its last destruction. The first beings to occupy the new earth were the time expired devas of one of the Heavens and they did not become incarnate in the ordinary sense; they came to earth with the radiance and beauty of gods and with the aerial ways of celestial beings.[1] But they did not come to teach men and it was a very long time after their descent when human beings first began to have a written language.

The reader of this passage about Panini will observe that the pilgrim gives the date of king Kanishka as 500 years after Buddha's decease. This is not in accordance with the common Chinese chronology of Buddhism which makes the death of the Buddha to have taken place in the ninth century B. C.

[1] Ta-lu-t'an-ching, *ch.* 6

CHAPTER VII.

CHUAN (BOOK) III.

UDYĀNA TO KASHMIR.

From Udakakhaṇḍa city a journey north over hills and across rivers (or valleys) for above 600 *li* brought the traveller to the *Wu-chang-na* country. This country was above 5000 *li* in circuit; hill and defile followed each other closely and the sources of river-courses and marshes were united. The yield of the cultivated land was not good; grapes were abundant, but there was little sugar-cane; the country produced gold and iron (in the D text, gold coins) and saffron; there were dense woods and fruits and flowers were luxuriant. The climate was temperate with regular winds and rain. The people were pusillanimous and deceitful; they were fond of learning but not as a study, and they made the acquisition of magical formulæ their occupation. Their clothing was chiefly of *pai-tieh* (calico). Their spoken language was different from, but bore much resemblance to, that of India, and the rules of their written language were in a rather unsettled state.

A note added to our text tells us that Wu-chang-na means "park", the country having once been the park of a king, (viz. Asoka, according, to the 'Life'). The Wu-chang-na of the narrative is pehaps to be read Udana and it stands for Udyāna which means "a park". Other forms of the name in Chinese works are *Wu-t'u* or *-ch'a* (荼 or 茶) perhaps for Uḍa.[1] *Wu-ch'ang* (長) used by Fa-hsien, *Wu-ch'ang* (塲) in the Ka-lan-chi, *Wu-tien* (or *yun*)-*nang* (塡 or 嗔 曩) used by Shih-hu of the later Sung period, and

[1] T'ung-chien-kang-mu, T'ang Kao Tsung Tsung-chang 2d y.

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the unusual form *Wu-sun-ch'ang* (烏 萇). But the terr denoted by these varieties of name does not always c spond to the *Wu-chang-na* of our text. In some Ch translations this country is vaguely denominated "I (Getæ) Country".[1] There may possibly have been a n name like Uda from which the Sanskrit form Udyāna the Pali Uyyāna were formed. Our pilgrim's Ud according to Cunningham, comprised the present dist of Pangkora, Bijāwar, Swât, and Runir.[2] The count represented by Yuan-chuang as not yielding good c and this is not in agreement with the accounts in works which describe it as a well watered region yiel good crops of rice and wheat.[3]

The people of Udyāna held Buddhism in high esteen were reverential believers in the Mahāyāna Along the two of the *Su-p'o-fa-su-tu* river there had formerly been 1400 nasteries but many of these were now in ruins, and once had been 18 000 Brethren but these had gradually decr until only a few remained; these were all Mahāyānists occupied themselves with silent meditation; they were cle reciting their books without penetrating their deep mea they lived strictly according to their rules and were spe expert in magical exorcisms. There were five redactions (the Vinaya taught, viz. the *Fa-mi* (Dharmagupta), the *I* (Mahīśāsika), the *Yin-kuang* (Kāśyapīya), the *Shuo-yi-ch* (Sarvāstivādin) and the *Ta-chung* (Mahāsaṅgkika) Vinaya Deva-Temples there were above ten and the various sect lived pellmell.

The river here called *Su-p'o-fa-su-tu* according to B, C, and D texts is the Subhavastu, the Swāt of mo geography. In the old A text the reading is *Su-p'o-* representing a form like Svastu. The name Swāt is ap not only to the river but also to the district through w it flows.

The five redactions of the Vinaya which the pil found in force in this country are the more or less

[1] E. g. in the Ta-chih-tu-lun, *ch*. 9.

[2] A. G. I. p. 81. For recent observations on this countr H. A. Deane in J. R. A. S. for 1896 p. 655.

[3] Wei-Shu, *ch*. 102

rodox editions ascribed to five disciples of Upagupta. Instead of Mahāsaṅgkika we find Vatsiputra, but this name is supposed to be used as an equivalent for Mahāsaṅgkika. This five-fold Vinaya is often mentioned in Buddhist treatises and another enumeration of it is Sthavira, Dharmagupta, Mahīśāsika, Kāsyapīya, and Sarvāstivādin.[1] I-ching, who gives a fourfold division of the Vinayas, says he never heard of the five-fold division in India; his four chief schools (or redactions) are the Sthavira, the Sarvāstivādin, the Mahāsaṅgkika, and the Sammatiya.[2] It will be noticed that according to our pilgrim all the Buddhists in Udyāna were Mahāyānists and yet followed the Vinaya of the Hinayānists; Fa-hsien represents the Bre .ren here as Hīnayānists.[3]

> This country had four or five strong cities of which *Mêng-kie* (or *ka*)-*li* was chiefly used as the seat of government. This city was 16 or 17 *li* in circuit and had a flourishing population.

The *Mêng-kie-li* of the text may represent a word like Mangkil. Cunningham has identified the city with the modern Manglaur (or Minglaur), a large and important village at the foot of one of the north-west spurs of the Dosirri mountain between Swāt and Boner, and Major Deane thinks that the identity is undoubted.

> Four or five *li* to the east of the capital was a tope of very many miracles on the spot where the P'usa in his birth as the Patiently-enduring rishi was dismembered by the *Ka-li* king.

Julien understood the words of this passage, 爲羯利王割截肢體, to mean that the rishi cut off his own limbs on behalf of the king. But the word *wei* (爲) here, as often, is used to convert the following active verb into a passive one and has the sense of "was by"; so used the word is said to be in the *ch'ü-shêng* and to be equivalent to *pei* (被) in the sense of "by". The "Patiently-enduring rishi" is the Kshānti or Kshānti-vādin (Pali, Khantivādi),

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[1] Fang-yi-ming-yi, *ch.* 4 Sec. 41; Seng-chi-lü, *ch.* 40.
[2] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei Int., and Takakusu Int. p. XXI, and p. 7.
[3] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 8.

or Kshānti-bāla or Kshāntivat of the Buddhist scr
and called Kuṇḍakakumāra in the Jātaka. The
king" is the king named Kali or the king of the
named Kali or Kalinga. The word Kshānti means '
endurance", and Kali is interpreted as meaning "fi
or "quarreling". We find the story of this wick
Kali hacking to pieces the good hermit who was
vouring to make himself perfect in patient endurar
in several Buddhist books with some variations of
It forms the Kshāntibala chapter of the *Hsien-y*
or "Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish",[1] and i
"Khantivādi Jātaka" in the Pali Jātaka.[2] In thes
the scene of the action is laid in the vicinity of I
and in some of the other accounts the name of tl
lity is not given. The Sūtra of the Wise and the
calls the king Kali, but the Jātaka and some other
rities call him Kalābu, in Chinese transcription *K*
(迦藍浮). The wording of our author's text here
the reference to the story in the 14th chapter of tl
kang-ching or Vajra-chchedikā, and there the
text leaves no doubt as to the meaning of the wo
the Jātaka the king orders his executioner to
mutilate the patient rishi and the king persona
administers a parting kick. But in other versio
the king himself who in his wrath hacks off the
limbs of the Kshānti rishi who is not in all vers
P'usa destined to become Gautama Buddha.

A note to the B text here tells us that there i
after the words of this paragraph, but the note i
the other texts, and there is no reason to supp
anything has fallen out. It is to be observed that
Fa-hsieh nor Sung-yun makes any mention of the
rishi tope in this country.

From Mangkil, the pilgrim tells us, a journey nort
about 250 *li* brought him to a mountain in which was t

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[1] Hsien-yu-ching, *ch.* 2: Der Weise u. d. Thor, S. 60.
[2] Jātaka, Vol, iii, p. 39.

lo-lo (Apalāla)-Dragon Spring, the source of the Swāt river. This river flows away from its source south-west; it keeps its coldness through spring and summer, and morning and evening (in one text, every evening) the flying spray, rainbow-tinted, sheds brightness on all sides. The dragon of the spring in the time of Kāsyapa Buddha was a man named *King* (or *Keng*)-*ki* (Gañgi? Julien), able by his magical exorcisms to control dragons and prevent them from sending violent rains. For his services in this way the inhabitants had given him fixed yearly contributions of grain. But the contributions fell off, and the magician, enraged at the defaulters, expressed a wish to be in his next birth a wicked malicious dragon, and in consequence he was reborn as the dragon of this spring, the white water from which ruined the crops. Sakyamuni Buddha came to this district to convert the dragon; on this occasion the Vajrapāṇi god struck the cliff with his mace, and the dragon becoming terrified took refuge in Buddhism. On his admission to the church the Buddha forbade him to injure the crops, and the dragon asked to be allowed to have these once every twelve years for his maintenance; to this petition Buddha compassionately assented. And so once every twelve years the country has the "white water" infliction.[1]

Major Deane says that the distance and direction here given by our pilgrim "bring us exactly to Kalām, the point at which the Utrot and Laspur (Ushu in our maps) streams meet. The junction of these is the present head of the Swat river."

The word Apalāla means *without straw*, and it is rendered in Chinese by *Wu-tao-kan* (無稻芉) meaning "without ricestraw". Another translation is *Wu-miao* (無苗) that is "without sprouting grain". The name seems to have been given to the dragon of the Swāt on account of the ravages among the crops made by the floods of that river. We read in the Sarvata Vinaya[2] that the Buddha, on a certain occasion near the end of his career, took with him his attendant Yaksha named *Chin-kang-shou* or Vajrapāṇi, and went through the air to the country

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[1] For this Jātaka see Fo-shuo-p'u-sa-pên-hsing-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 432); Ta-chih-tu-lun. *ch.* 14; Liu-tu-ching, *ch.* 5 (No. 143), Hsien-chie-ching, *ch.* 4 (No. 403). In the Ch'u-yao-ching, *ch.* 23 (No. 1321) the story is told of Siddhārtha while preparing to become Buddha.

[2] Sar. Vin. Yao-shih, *ch.* 9.

beyond the Indus to subdue and convert this drag When Buddha arrived at the palace of the dragon latter became greatly enraged, and caused fierce show of rain and hail to descend on the Buddha. Determi to put the dragon in terror Buddha caused the Yak to smite the adjoining mountain with his adamantine cl whereupon a vast fragment of the mountain fell into dragon's tank. At the same time Buddha caused a ma fire to appear all around the place. Then the drag frightened and helpless, came to Buddha's feet, gave his submission, and was converted with all his family. is worthy of note that in this Vinaya story the drag king is required by Buddha to take up his abode Magadha. This dragon is also called *A-p'o-lo* and find the Spring which was his residence located in "Yue-shi (Getæ) country of North India" or simply "North India". The "A-yü-wang-chuan" places the ho of this dragon in Udyāna, but the "A-yü-wang-ching" the Divyāvadāna do not mention his country. In a Vin treatise, apparently from Pali sources, we read of a dra called Alāpalu in Kapin (Kashmir), who is overcome converted by the great arhat Madhyantika (Majjhanti who had come as an apostle to introduce Buddhis This legend seems to be a version of the story here n rated, Majjhantika taking the place of the Buddha.

Julien in his translation of the description of the S river here seems to have followed the text of the I rather than that of his author. The latter does not st that *an arm* of the river flows to the south-west; it as the passage and context show, the river itself wh so flows. Nor does Yuan-chuang state that "dans ce p il gèle au printemps et en été", for that would be variance with his former statement about the climate the country; it is the river which is cold through spr and summer. Moreover, although *fei-hsüe* does m "flying snow", it also means "flying spray", and that is

[1] Shan-chien-lü-vibhasha, *ch* 2 (No. 1125).

meaning here. There was apparently a cascade near the source of the river; and the morning and evening (or, the evening) sun daily shone on the dense white spray tossed up in the air, and made it bright and beautiful with the colours of the rainbow.

The "white water" of this district is referred to by other authorities. Thus Alberuni[1] quotes Jīvaśarman to the effect that "in the country of Svāt, opposite the district of Kīrī(?) there is a valley in which 53 streams unite; during the 26th and 27th days of the month Bhādrapadā the water of this valley becomes white, in consequence of Mahādeva's washing in it, as people believe". According to the Fang-chih it was the rains which the dragon sent that made the water plague.

Above 30 *li* south-west from the Apalāla dragon spring, and on the north bank of the river, was a large flat stone with the Buddha's footprints; these, the size of which varied with the religious merit of the measurer, were left by the Buddha when he was going away after having converted the dragon; a building had been erected over them and people from far and near came to make offerings. Above 30 *li* farther down the river was the rock on which Buddha had washed his robe, the lines of the robe being still distinct like carving.

Above 400 *li* south from Mangkil was the *Hi-lo* mountain; the stream of the mountain valley flows west; as you go up it eastward flowers and fruits of various kinds cover the water-course and climb the steeps; the peaks and precipices are hard to pass, and the ravines wind and curve; you may hear the sound of loud talking or the echo of musical strains: square stones like couches (in D, topes) made by art form an unbroken series over the gulley. It was here that Ju-lai once gave up his life for the hearing of a half-stanza of doctrine.

The stone with the miraculous footprints of the Buddha and the rock on which he had washed his robe and spread it out to dry are described in the Fo-kuo-chi and the Ka-lan-chi, and the accounts in these works should be compared with our pilgrim's narrative. For the words "the streams of the gorge flow west and as you go up them eastward", Julien has "Les eaux de la vallée se

[1] Alberuni Vol. ii, p. 182.

partagent à l'ouest et remontent ensuite du côte de l'orient." This cannot, however, be taken as the meaning of the text which is 谷水西派逆流東上 lit. "the water of the mountain-valley goes off to the west; going up east against the course of the stream —". The pilgrim is probably here describing a part of his journey from Udakahantu to the capital of Udyāna. In the last sentence of the present passage we have reference to a curious Jātaka. In a very far off time when there was no Buddha in the world the P'usa was a brahmin student living on the Himavat; he knew all secular lore, but had never heard the teaching of Buddhism. He expressed his great desire to learn at any cost some of the doctrines of that religion, and Indra, wishing to prove the sincerity of the brahmin's desire, disguised himself as a hideous rākshasa, came to the Himavat, and appeared before the Brahmin. On behalf of the latter he uttered half of the stanza beginning with the words "all things are impermanent"; the brahmin was delighted a d asked for the other half. But the rākshasa refused to utter this until the brahmin promised to give himself up as food to the rakshasa in reward for the recital. When the second half of the stanza was uttered the brahmin threw himself from a tree towards the rākshasa; but the latter in his form as Indra saved the devotee's life[1]

> Above 200 *li* south from Mangkil at the side of a mountain was the *Mo-ha-fa-na* (Mahāvana or Great Wood) monastery. Ju-lai long ago as P'usa was the *Sa-fo-ta-chih* king; to avoid his enemy he gave up his kingdom and going into obscurity came to this place, here he met a mendicant brahmin, and having nothing whatever to give the brahmin, he made the latter bind him and deliver him up to the king his enemy, the reward offered for the exiled king being the latter's alms to the brahmin.

The Monastery of the Great Wood according to Major Deane "was apparently on the western, or north-western, slopes of the present Mahaban. Numerous ruins exist on

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[1] See the Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching, *ch.* 14 (No. 113); Hsüan-chi-pai-yuan-ching *ch.* 4 (No. 1324); Ta-chih-tu-lun, *ch.* 12.

the lower slopes and also on the higher portions of Mahaban". But Dr Stein thinks that Mahāban is too far away, and that the Mahāvana monastery was at Pinjkoṭai at Sunigram.[1] In the B and D texts the name of the good king is given as *Sa-fo-ta-chih* (薩縛達之), but instead of *chih* the other texts have *ta* repeated. The name is interpreted as meaning "All-giving", and the original was either Sarvadā, as in some places, or Sarvadada as in other passages. Our pilgrim's version of this pretty jātaka agrees with the story in the Buddhist books except that in these the locality is not given.[2]

> North-west from the Mahāvana monastery, and 30 or 40 *li* down the mountain, was the *Mo-yü* (摩愉) monastery with a tope above 100 feet high, and at the side of it a large square stone on which were the Buddha's footprints. These were left when the Buddha treading on the stone sent forth a Koṭi of ray of light which illumined the Mahāvana Monastery while he related his former births to men and devas. At the base of the tope was a stone of a pale yellow colour yielding a constant exudation; it was here that the Buddha as P'usa hearing Buddhist doctrine wrote the sacred text with a splinter from one of his bones.

A note added to the text here tells us that *Mo-yu* is in Chinese *tou*, a general name for all kinds of pulse. Julien reads the second character of the word as *su* and regards the transcription as representing the sanskrit word Masura which means *lentils*. But all my texts have *Mo-yu* and this agrees with the Glossary. The native interpretation may be a mistake, and the Chinese characters may represent *Mayū* for Mayūkha, a word which means *brightness, a ray of light*. This suggestion is strengthened by the statement which our pilgrim makes about the Buddha here shedding a bright light which lit up the Mahāvana Monastery. The incident of the Buddha in one of his previous births taking a splinter of one of his bones to write out a Buddhist text is taken from a Jātaka mentioned in several of the Chinese writings. In some

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1 Ind. Ant. Vol. xxviii, pp. 14, 58

2 See Ta-chih-tu-lun, *ch.* 12 and 38.

versions of the story the P'usa's name is *Ai* (or *Lo*)-*fa* (愛 or 樂 法), "Loving or Rejoicing in dharma"[1], but in other versions he is *Yü-to-lo* (or *Yu-to-li*), and in the 'Der Weise u. d. Thor' he is Udpala.[2] As the price of hearing a sacred text of Buddhism the P'usa agreed to write the text with a pencil made from one of his bones on paper made from his skin and with his blood for ink. The person who made this hard bargain was a brahmin or the Devil disguised as such.

> Sixty or seventy *li* to the west of the *Mo-yü* Monastery was an Asoka tope to mark the spot at which the P'usa in his birth as *Shih-p'i-ka* (Śivika) king sliced his body to ransom a pigeon from a hawk.

A note added to the Chinese text here tells us that *Shih-p'i-ka*, the correct form for the old *Shih-p'i* means "giving", but we are not bound to accept either the correction or the interpretation. The story of the Rajah of Sivi (or Raja Śivi) saving a pigeon chased by a hawk, and then cutting off portions of his own flesh to weigh against the pigeon, and finally putting his skeleton in the scales in order to have an equivalent in weight for the bird which still remained heavier, is told or referred to in many Buddhist books. It is found also in old Brahminical literature and Dasaratha is reminded by his queen how

> "His flesh and blood the truthful Saivya gave
> And fed the hawk a suppliant dove to save".

According to the common versions of the story the hawk was Indra bent on proving or tempting the king, and the pigeon is in some versions Agni, in others Visvakarma, or a "frontier king".[3] In the "Liu-tu-chi-ching" the king's name is given as Sarvadā. In the "Hsien-yü-ching", and in other works, the capital of Sivi is Dīpavatī

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[1] Ta-chih-tu-lun. *ch.* 16 and 49.

[2] Hsien-yu-ching, *ch.* 1; Der Weise u. d. T., S. 15; P'u-sa-pên-hsing-ching, *ch* 3 where the P'usa is the ishi *Yu-to-li* (優 多 梨).

[3] Liu-tu-chi-ching, *ch.* 1.

or Devapati, the Devawarta of "Der Weise u. d. Thor".[1] Fa-hsien makes the scene of this deed of charity to have been in the *So-ho-to*, that is probably Svāt, country, to the south of his Udyāna.[2] In some works Sivi is a personal name, in others the name of a people or country, and there is a king Sivi among the supposed ancestors of Gautama Buddha.[3] Yuan-chuang apparently understood his Sivika to be a personal name or epithet.

Above 200 *li* north-west from the Pigeon-ransom Tope and in the *Shan-ni-lo-she* valley was the *Sa-pao-sha-ti* monastery with a tope above 80 feet high. It was here that Ju-lai in his existence as Indra encountered a year of famine with pestilence. In order to save the people's lives the P'usa as Indra changed himself into a great serpent lying dead in the valley; the starving and distressed, in response to a voice from the void, cut from his body pieces of flesh which were at once replaced, and all who ate were satisfied and cured. Near this Monastery was the *Su-mo* great tope where Ju-lai in his Indra life in a time of plague changed himself into a *Su-mo* serpent and all who ate his flesh were cured. By the side of the cliff at the north of the *Shan-ni-lo-she* valley was a tope with powers of healing. It was here that Ju-lai in his existence as a king of peacocks pecked the rock and caused water to flow for the refreshment of his flock; there was a spring and the traces of the peacock's feet were to be seen on the rock.

The *Shan-ni-lo-she* of this passage may be, as Julien suggests, for Sanirāja, and the *Sa-pao-sha-ti* for the word Sarpaushadhi. This latter means "serpent medicine", and this agrees with the rendering in the Chinese note to the ordinary texts. The D edition gives the translation as "Earth Medicine", but this is probably the result of some copyist's error. The *Su-mo* of the text is perhaps for Soma, although Julien restores it as Sūma and translates *Su-mo-shé* by "water serpent".

Major Deane supposes our pilgrim's Sanirāja to be "the Adinzai valley entered from Swat at Chakdara". In this

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[1] Hsién-yü-ching, *ch.* 1; Der Weise u. d. T., S. 16.

[2] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 9.

[3] Dip. p. 182.

Chakdara district, he tells us, there is a large tope wh is still known to some of the people by the name Su:

In a Buddhist sūtra[1] we read of the Bodhisattva in birth as Indra becoming a great reptile called *Jen-lia chung* (仁賢蟲) interpreted as meaning "the reptile be volent and of healing efficacy". When the Kuru cour was afflicted with plague Indra caused a voice from void to call the people to cut from his (that is, reptile's) body, and eat the flesh, and be cured. The pec flocked to the carcase, and eagerly cut pieces of its fl which never suffered diminution, new flesh replacing pieces cut away. A similar story is found in other boo but the inexhaustible benevolent animal is usually a la fish.[2]

> About sixty *li* south-west from Mangkil city and on the side of a great river was the tope erected by Uttarasena, k of this country, to enclose his share of the relics of the Budd body, and near this was the tope which that king built to r the spot at which his large white elephant bearing the prec relics had suddenly died and become a rock.

There does not seem to be any mention either of Udy or of Uttarasena in the various accounts given in various Nirvāṇa treatises of the division of the Budd relics. But other authorities relate how a female eleph named *Mo-tu* (or Mata) bearing relics of Buddha t north country died suddenly on the way, was afterw reborn as a human creature and became an arhat w an enormous appetite.[3] Yuan-chuang also tells in ano

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[1] Ta-pao-chi-ching, *ch.* 8 (Bun. No. 23(8)).

[2] Hsien-yü-ching, *ch.* 7; Der Weise u. d. T., S. 215; P'u-sa-hsing-ching, *ch.* 3.

[3] Abhi.-ta-vib., *ch.* 42. Major Deane tells us that on the River "between Ghaligai and Shankardar, the natives of the cou describe the remains of a stūpa as still standing; and this is doubtedly that referred to by the Pilgrim—for the Pilgrim rec next a large rock on the bank of the great river, shaped lik elephant. This rock is a conspicuous landmark existing nea river, about twelve miles from the village of Thana, and near G gai", op. c. p. 660.

place of an arhat of Kashmir who in a previous existence had been a king's elephant, and had been given to a monk to carry some Buddhist scriptures. When the elephant died he was reborn as a human being, entered the Buddhist church, and rose to be an arhat.

West from Mangkil above 50 *li* and across a large river was the *Lu-hi-ta-ka* (Rohitaka or Red) tope above 50 feet high erected by Asoka. At this place Ju-lai in his birth as *Tzŭ-li* (Compassion-strength) king drew blood from his body to feed five Yakshas.

The *Tzŭ-li*, "whose strength is compassion", of this passage is the king Maitra-bala (or Maitribala) of certain Jātakas. This king, who lived in an unknown past and in an undefined country, had administered his kingdom so perfectly that the Yakshas in it were reduced to starvation, as they could not obtain human blood and life on which to subsist. At last five of these creatures came to the king and laid their sad case before him. The king in utter pity made five incisions in his body and refreshed the Yakshas with his blood. Having done this he taught them the way of mercy to creatures, and induced them to take the vows of good life as Buddhists. Very long afterwards when the king came into the world and became Buddha these five Yakshas were born as human creatures and became Ajñāta Kaundinya and his four companions, the first disciples of the Buddha.[1]

In this passage "Rohitaka tope" probably denotes "the tope of Rohitaka". This was the name of a town or village and in an interesting passage of the Sarvata Vinaya it is placed in India south of Kashmir.[2] It was here that Buddha, while lodged and entertained by a good Buddhist Yaksha, gave his disciples leave to eat grapes purified by fire and to drink grape-syrup. The grapes offered to the disciples on this occasion are said to have been brought

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[1] P'u-sa-pên-shêng-man-lun, *ch.* 3 where the P'usa is king *Tzŭ-li* (慈力); Hsien-yü-ching, *ch.* 2 where the king's name is Mi-k'a-lo-po-lo but rendered in Chinese by Tzŭ-li; Jātakamāla (Kern) S. 41.

[2] Sar. Vin. Yao-shih, *ch.* 9.

from Kashmir by the Yakshas, and the fruit wa
the disciples. Major Deane thinks that the villa
tope is that now called Hazara and adds that th
describe the tope as still existing.[1]

> Above thirty *li* to the north-east of Mangkil was t
> (Adbhuta or Marvellous) stone tope above forty feet
> Buddha had preached and taught here, and after his
> the tope emerged from the ground and became a
> worship. West from this stone tope across a great r
> or forty *li* was a Buddhist temple (*ching-shê*) in wh
> image of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Kuan-tzŭ-tsa
> mysterious power with miraculous manifestations;
> object of pilgrimage for Buddhists and its worship
> tinuous.
>
> North-west from this image 140 or 150 *li* was the
> mountain on which was a dragon-lake above 30 *li*
> The pilgrim then tells the story of the exiled Sakya
> lavastu who came to this place, married the dragon's
> assassinated the king of Udyāna and reigned in his
> king was the father of Uttarasena. After this we hav
> of the mother of king Uttarasena being converted by t
> and regaining her sight.

The marvellous stone tope of this passage, Maj
tells us, is said to be still in existence, but thi
doubted. Above 30 *li* west from this tope was the
temple which Deane following B. wrongly calls
and about 140 *li* north-west from this we have
po-lu mountain. "This measurement", Major Dea
"brings us exactly to the head of the Aushiri vall
drains into the Panjkora near Darora. How th
got his distance over several valleys and interve
spurs, it is difficult to conjecture. But on th
which it brings us there is found a large lake, n
a mile in length."

Our pilgrim represents the conversion of Utt
mother and the restoration of her sight as having
at Mangkil. In the Sarvata Vinaya the conversi
queen-mother is stated to have occurred in a c

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[1] Op. c. p. 660.

Tao-ku-lu-ko (稻榖樓閣) or "Grain-loft" which was apparently in this region.[1]

TA-LI-LO (DĀREL).

The narrative in the Records now proceeds.

> North-east from Mangkil over hills and across gulleys ascending the Indus by hazardous paths through gloomy gorges, crossing bridges of ropes or iron chains across bridges spanning precipices or climbing by means of pegs for steps, a journey of above 1000 *li* brings you to the *Ta-li-lo* valley, the old seat of government of Udyāna. The district yields much gold and saffron. In the valley is a great Monastery by the side of which is a carved wooden image of *Tzŭ-shih* P'usa (Maitreya Bodhisattva) of a brilliant golden hue and of miraculous powers; it is above 100 feet high; it was the work of the arhat Madhyāntika who by his supernatural power thrice bore the artist to Tushita Heaven to study Maitreya's beautiful characteristics; the spread of Buddhism eastwards dates from the existence of this image.

It is worthy of note that the Life represents Yuan-chuang as only learning of the road to *Ta-li-lo*, whereas the text of the Records seems to imply that he actually travelled from Mangkil to that place. One text of the Life also makes the distance between the two places to be only ten *li*, but in the D text it is 1000 *li* as in the Records. The *Ta-li-lo* valley is apparently, as Cunningham suggests, the *To-li* country of Fa-hsien and the modern Dārel; it may be also the *Ta-la-t'o* (Dard?) of a Buddhist Śastra.[2] The great wooden image of Maitreya in this district was a very celebrated one, and it is strange to find our pilgrim making it 100 feet high while Fa-hsien makes it only 80 feet high.[3]

PO-LU-LO (BOLOR).

> Proceeding east from Ta-li-lo across mountains and gulleys going up the Indus, by flying bridges over precipices, a journey of above 500 *li* brought you to the *Po-lu-lo* country. This was

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1 Sar. Vin. l. c.

2 A. G. I. p. 82; Abhi-ta-vib., *ch.* 79 (*Ta-la-t'o* 達剌陀).

3 Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 6.

above 4000 *li* in circuit and was situated in the Great Snow Mountains, it was long from east to west and narrow from north to south; it produced wheat and pulse and gold and silver. The people were rich, the climate was cold; the inhabitants were rude and ugly in appearance; they wore woollen clothes, their writing was very like that of India but their spoken language was peculiar. There were some hundreds of Buddhist Monasteries; and some thousands of Brethren who were without definite learning, and were very defective in their observance of the rules of their Order.

The *Po-lu-lo* of this passage is apparently, as has been suggested by others, the Bolor of later writers and the modern Balti or Little Tibet But it may be doubted whether the pilgrim's account was derived from a personal visit; it may have been all obtained at Mangkil. According to the Fang-chih the traveller after a journey of 500 *li* east from Dārel crossed the Oxus east into the *Po-lu-lo* country. The narrative in the Life does not make any mention of this country.

TAKSHASILA.

From this (i. e. Bolor) the pilgrim returned to Utakahantu (Udaka Khaṇḍa) city, went south across the Indus here three or four *li* broad and flowing south-west (in B and C but in D south) pure and clear, to the Takshaśilā country. This was above 2000 *li* in circuit its capital being above ten *li* in circuit. The chiefs were in a state of open feud, the royal family being extinguished; the country had formerly been subject to Kapis but now it was a dependency of Kashmir; it had a fertile soil and bore good crops, with flowing streams and luxuriant vegetation; the climate was genial; and the people, who were plucky, were adherents of Buddhism. Although the Monasteries were numerous, many of them were desolate, and the Brethren, who were very few, were all Mahāyānists.

The *Ta-cha-shi-lo* (Takshaśilā or Taxila) of this passage seems to be described by the pilgrim as adjacent to Gandhāra, but Fa-hsien makes Takshaśilā to be seven days' journey east from his Gandhāra.[1] These two travellers treat Takshaśilā as a district separate from Gandhāra,

[1] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 11.

but in several of the Buddhist books it appears as a part or city of that country. Fa-hsien explains the name as meaning "cut off head" as if the second part of the word were śira. Another author translates it by *sio-shih* (削石) or "severed rock",[1] and another by *ts'o-shih* (鑿石) or "chiseled rock;[2] it is rendered by "rock-cave",[3] and interpreted as meaning "the Rock of the Takkas". The Pali form of the name is Takkasilā. In very old times, it is fabled, a city called Bhadraśilā was on the site afterwards occupied by Takshaśilā,[4] and in modern times the latter has also had the name Mārīkala.[5] Baron Hügel thought that the site of the old city corresponded with that of the present Rawal-Pindi,[6] but Cunningham places the site of Takshaśilā at the modern Shahdheri, a mile to the north-east of Kālaka-serai. There seems to be much in favour of Cunningham's identification which has been generally accepted.[7] According to the statements in the Buddhist books Takshaśilā was at one time an important trading centre, and a great seat of learning specially famed for its medical teachers.[8] It formed a part of Asoka's empire; and that sovereign, and after him his son, were viceroys appointed to reside at it before they succeeded to the throne.[9]

Above 70 *li* to the north-west of the capital was the tank of the *I-lo-po-ta-lo* (Elāpattra) Dragon-king above 100 paces in circuit, its limpid water beautiful with various-coloured lotuses. This dragon was the bhikshu who in the time of Kāśyapa

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[1] Hsing-chi-ching, *ch.* 38.

[2] A-yü-wang-ching, *ch.* 10.

[3] E. g. in A-yü-wang-hsi-huai-mu-yin-yuan-ching (Bun. No, 1367). It is sometimes doubtful whether the name "Rock-cave" is applied to Takshaśilā or to Gandhāra.

[4] Bud. Lit. Nep. p. 310.

[5] Alberuni Vol. i, p. 302.

[6] Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab p. 230 et al.

[7] A. G. I. p. 104; McCrindle's Invasion of India by Alexander the Great p. 342.

[8] Ta-chuang-yen-lun-ching, *ch.* 8, 15.

[9] Divyāv. p. 371; A-yü-wang-chuan, *ch.* 1.

Buddha destroyed an *I-lo-po-ta-lo* tree, hence when the natives are praying for rain or fine weather they have to go with a monk to the tank, and when they have cracked their fingers, and spoken the dragon fair they are sure to have their prayers answered.

The story here alluded to of the very ancient Buddhist monk who was afterwards reborn as the Elāpattra Dragon-king is told with slight variations in several Buddhist books. The monk was a very pious good ascetic living in a lonely hermitage among Cardamon (Elā) plants or "Ilā trees". He was much given to ecstatic meditation and on one occasion he remained absorbed in thought all the morning and until it was the afternoon. He then arose, took his bowl, and went in the usual manner into the town or village, to beg his daily food. The people, seeing him beg for food out of hours, upbraided him, and made disagreeable remarks about his violation of the rules of his Order. The monk became annoyed and irritated by these remarks, and went back to his hermitage. Here he paced up and down as usual, but being in a bad temper he could not endure the touch of the leaves of the Elā (or "Ila trees"). So he tore them off and angrily strewed them on the ground. When the Buddha Kāśyapa came to remonstrate with him for injuring the plants, and tried to bring him to a proper frame of mind, the monk was rude to the Buddha, and refused to take his reproof. For the two offences, eating food in the afternoon and breaking off the Elā leaves (or scorning the Buddha's reproof for doing so), the monk was reborn as a Dragon-king. In this form he had a monstrous, hideous, and distressing body with seven heads from each of which grew an "Ilā tree", and so long was his body that it reached from Benares to Takshaśilā, a distance of above 200 Yojanas. While the Buddha was at Benares this Elāpattra dragon came thither seeking for the explanation of an incomprehensible verse, and having assumed the form of a universal sovereign, he presented himself in the congregation of the Buddha. The latter, however, caused the dragon to resume his proper form, and then informed him

that at the advent of Maitreya he would be released from the dragon existence. Elāpattra then undertook to lead a life of gentleness and mercy not doing harm to any creature.[1] In all the Chinese transcriptions the name Elā (or Ilā)-pattra is given both to the tree which the bhikshu injured and to the dragon-king, but there does not seem to be any plant or tree with the name Elāpattra. I-ching transcribes the name of the dragon *I-lo-po* as if for Elāpat, and he uses a different transcription for the name of the great Treasure.

From the Dragon-Tank Yuan-chuang proceeded south-east for above thirty *li* to a place between two ranges of hills where there was an Asoka tope above 100 feet high. This marked the spot at which, according to the Buddha's prediction, when Maitreya comes as Buddha one of the four great natural Treasures of valuables will be in existence.

The four great Treasures here alluded to are those of Elāpattra in Gandhāra, Pāṇḍuka in Mithila, Piñgala in Kaliñga, and Śañkha in the Kasi (Benares) country.[2] According to some authorities it was at Sāvatthi that the Buddha made to Anāthapiṇḍaka the announcement of the existence of these four hidden Treasures to be revealed at the time when Maitreya comes to be Buddha, but other versions of the story differ.[3] So also some accounts represent the Treasures as being already made use of by the people who every seventh year, on the seventh day of the seventh month, drew at will from the Treasures, which did not experience any diminution.[4] When Maitreya comes as Buddha the Elāpattra, Pāṇḍuka, and Piñgala Treasures are to be transferred to that of Śañkha. In the Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching we find the terms *dragon* and

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[1] Fu-kai-chêng-so-chi-ching (福蓋正行所集經), *ch.* 11; Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih, *ch.* 21; J. B. T. S. Vol. ii, P. 1, p. 2; Rockhill Life p. 46.

[2] See Divyāv. p. 61.

[3] Anāthapiṇḍada-hua-ch'i-tzŭ-ching (No. 649); Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching, *ch* 49.

[4] Upasaka-chie-ching, *ch.* 5 (No. 1088). See also Sar. Vin. Yao-shih, *ch.* 6.

dragon-king applied to Elāpattra in connection with the Treasure at Takshaśilā in Gandhāra, but in the other accounts there is no reference to a dragon. Some think that Elāpattra was the name of a king, but it was probably the name of the place afterwards extended to the Tank and the dragon of the Tank. It was undoubtedly this Elāpattra Treasure which our pilgrim here mentions as a sacred spot divinely protected and marked by a tope.

Above twelve *li* to the north of Takshaśilā city, the pilgrim continues, was an Asoka tope which on Fast days sent forth a brilliant light accompanied by divine flowers and heavenly music. Yuan-chuang learned at the place that within recent times a miracle had occurred in connection with this tope. A woman afflicted with a repulsive skin-disease had come to it for purposes of worship; finding the building in a very filthy state she set to work to cleanse it, and having succeeded in this she presented flowers and incense. Thereupon her disease left her, and she became a beautiful woman, breathing a perfume of blue lotus. At the site of this tope, Yuan-chuang tells us, the P'usa as Chandraprabha (Moon-brightness) king cut off his own head as an act of charity, and did this in 1000 similar births

Fa-hsien simply relates that the P'usa here once gave his head in charity to a man, and adds that this act gave its name to the country, as if Taksha-śira or "Severed head".[1] In another treatise it is the king of the *Kan-yi* (乾夷) country who agrees to give his head to a wicked and importunate petitioner, but when the latter draws his sword to cut off the king's head, a deity intervenes and saves the king's life.[2] In this Jātaka the king is the P'usa, and the cruel petitioner is Devadatta. This story is told with some variations in the "Divyāvadāna Mālā" where the king is Chandraprabha, and his head is actually cut off by the petitioner.[3] In one book we read of Prince Moon-brightness (Chandraprabha) giving his blood and marrow to heal a poor distressed man.[4] It is rather

[1] Fo-kuo-chi l. c.

[2] Liu-tu-chi-ching, *ch.* 1.

[3] Bud. Lit. Nep. p. 310.

[4] Ta-chih-tu-lun, *ch* 12

curious to find the story which Yuan-chuang here tells about the woman afflicted with a loathsome skin disease cleansing the sacred building and offering flowers and in consequence becoming healed and endowed with beauty and a sweet breath quoted in an Abhidharma-vibhāsha-śāstra.[1]

Near the Head-giving Tope, Yuan-chuang relates, was an old ruinous Monastery occupied by a few Brethren. It was in this monastery that the Sautrāntika Doctor in Buddhism by name *Kou-mo-lo-lo-to* (Kumāralabdha) once composed expository treatises.

The name of this learned Buddhist Śāstra-master as given here is translated in a Chinese note by *Tung-shou* (童受) or "Received from the Youth", that is from Kumāra, the god of war, the name being Kumāralabdha. In the Life the name is given as *Ku*(*Kou*)-*mo-lo-to* and translated wrongly by "youth's life". Kumāralabdha, we learn from another part of the Records, was a native of this country, but he was taken by force to Kabandha where the king of the country gave him a splendid monastery in the old palace grounds. He was, we are told elsewhere, the founder of the Sautrāntika School, and he was celebrated over all the Buddhist world for his genius, his great learning, and his controversial abilities. He was one of the "Four Suns illuminating the world", the three others being Aśvaghosha, Deva, and Nāgārjuna.[2] Kumāralabdha is mentioned by Tāranātha as a Sautrāntika Master by the name Gzon-nu-len or "Youth-obtained", but he seems to be little known in Buddhist literature and history.[3] He may perhaps be the great *Kiu*(*Ku*)-*mo-lo-t'o* who is the 18th (or 19th) in the list of Buddhist Patriarchs.[4]

On the north side of the south hill to the south-east of the capital was a tope above 100 feet high erected by king Asoka

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[1] Abhi-ta-vib., *ch.* 114. Here Asoka had built a Chaitya at the place where king Chandraprabha had given 1000 heads (his own head 1000 times).

[2] *Ch.* 12; J. Vol. iii, p. 218.

[3] Tār. S. 78.

[4] Fu-fa-tsang-yin-yuan-chuan, *ch.* 6 (No. 1340).

on the spot where his son Prince *Ku-lang-na* (for *Ku-na-lang*), or Kunāla, had his eyes torn out by the guile of his step-mother; the blind came here to pray, and many had their prayers answered by restoration of sight. Our pilgrim then proceeds to tell his version of the story of Kunāla's career; of Asoka on the advice of his wicked second queen sending his son to govern Takshaśilā, of the blinding of this prince there by the cruel deceitful action of this queen, of the return of the prince and his princess to the king's palace, and of the restoration of the prince's eyesight effected by the Buddhist arhat Ghosha.

Some versions of this pathetic story represent Asoka as sending his son to restore order in Takshaśila on the advice of a Minister of state and without any interference on the part of Tishyarakshā, the cruel, vindictive, libidinous queen, and in some accounts the prince dies after his return home without having any miracle to restore his eyes. His name was Dharmavivardhana, and his father gave him the sobriquet Kunāla because his eyes were small and beautiful, precisely like those of the Himavat bird with that name. The blinding of this pious and virtuous prince was the consequence of bad Karma wrought in a far-past existence. He had blinded 500 deer, according to one story; or an arhat, according to another version; or he had taken the eyes out of a chaitya, according to the Avadāna-kalpalatā. Ghosha, the name of the arhat who restored eyesight to Kunāla, was also the name of a physician of this district who was celebrated as an oculist.[1]

The Takshaśilā city and region were celebrated from old times, and we read of the king of the country who was contemporary with the Buddha coming to Rājagaha on the invitation of king Bimbisāra to see Buddha. This king became a convert and was ordained, but he died by an unhappy accident before he could return to his kingdom. With reference to this country in later times we

[1] A-yü-wang-chuan, *ch.* 3; A-yü-wang-hsi-huai-mu-yin-yuan-ching (the Prince is sent on the advice of Yasa); *Fa-yi-ching* (法益經) where the story is like that told by Yuan-chuang; Divyav. p. 416: Bar. Int. p. 404; Bud. Lit. Nep. p. 61.

have the following interesting passage in Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India"—"At the time of Asoka's accession the wealth of Taxila is said to have amounted to 36 *kotis* or 360 millions of some unnamed coin, which, even if it was the silver *tangka*, or six pence. would have amounted to nine *crores* of rupees, or £ 9,000,000. It is probable, however, that the coin intended by the Indian writer was a gold one, in which case the wealth of this city would have amounted to about 90 or 100 millions of pounds. I quote this statement as a proof of the great reputed wealth of Taxila within fifty years after Alexander's expedition" (p. 106). The whole of this statement is based on Burnouf's translation of a passage in the Asokāvadāna in the "Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien" (p. 373) which reads—"Le roi (i. e. Asoka) fit fabriquer quatre-vingt-quatre mille boîtes d'or, d'argent, de cristal et de lapis-lazuli; puis il y fit enfermer les reliques. Il donna ensuite aux Yakchas et déposa entre leurs mains quatre-vingt-quatre mille vases avec autant de bandelettes, les distribuant sur la terre tout entière jusqu'aux rivages de l'océan, dans les villes inférieures, principales, et moyennes, où [la fortune des habitants] s'élevait à un koṭi [de Suvarnas]. Et il fit établir, pour chacune de ces villes, un édit de la Loi.

En ce temps-là on comptait dans la ville Takchaśilâ trente-six koṭis [de Suvarṇas]. Les citoyens dirent au roi: Accorde-nous trente-six boîtes. Le roi réfléchit qu'il ne le pouvait pas, puisque les reliques devaient être distribuées. Voici donc le moyen qu'il employa: Il faut retrancher, dit-il, trente-cinque koṭis. Et il ajouta: Les villes qui dépasseront ce chiffre, comme celles qui ne l'atteindront pas, n'auront rien".

It will be observed that in this passage the words "la fortune des habitants" and "de Suvarṇas" are introduced by the learned translator to supplement the language and complete the meaning of his author. But these words do not seem to be warranted by the Sanskrit original, which apparently refers to *inhabitants*, and not to *coins*. This

interpretation is supported by two out of the three Chinese translations, the third translation being apparently from a different text. The passage translated by Burnouf would thus mean something like the following—The king had 84 000 boxes made to hold Buddha's relics. These boxes he gave to Yakshas to distribute among all large, medium, and small towns having a koṭi of inhabitants. But the people of Takshaśila said—We are thirty-six koṭis in number and we want thirty-six boxes. The king seeing he could not give a box for every koti of inhabitants in his dominions said to the Takshaśilans—No, you must knock off thirty-five koṭis for the rule is to be that a box is to be given only to those places which have exactly a koṭi of inhabitants neither more nor less.[1]

According to one story the people of Takshaśila accepted the king's conditions and received a box of relics. But from other accounts it is to be inferred that they did not obtain any of the relics. Neither Fa-hsien nor our pilgrim refers to the presence in this country of one of the 84 000 boxes containing Buddha's relics distributed by Yakshas for Asoka.

SIÑHAPURA.

From this (that is, the neighbourhood of Takshaśilā) going south-east across hills and valleys for above 700 *li* you come to the *Seng-ha-pu-lo* (Siñhapura) country; this was about 3500 *li* in circuit with the Indus on its west frontier. The capital fourteen or fifteen *li* in circuit rested on hills and was a natural fortress. The soil of the country was fertile; the climate was cold, the people were rude, bold, and deceitful. There was no king and the country was a dependency of Kashmir.

The text of this paragraph by itself and taken in connection with what follows presents serious difficulties. Although the pilgrim seems to describe himself here as

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[1] Divyāv. p. 381. In A-yü wang-chuan, *ch.* 1 and in Tsa-a-han-ching, *ch.* 23 it is a matter of population, and in A-yü-wang-ching, *ch.* 1 it is a question of money. The particular form of expression used seems to be susceptible of both these interpretations.

going south-east from Takshaśila to Siñhapura, yet a little further on he represents himself as returning from the latter to the north of the former. In the Life, at this part of Yuan-chuang's journey, the D text makes him *hear* of (聞) Siñhapura at Takshaśila, but the other texts state that Siñhapura was among (閒) the hills and valleys 700 *li* south-east from Takshaśilā. In another passage of the Life Siñhapura is placed about twenty-two days' journey from Takshaśilā and apparently to the east of that city, but the direction is not given.[1] If the rest of the narrative with which we are now concerned be correct it would seem that north-east should be substituted for south-east in the statement of the direction of Siñhapura from Takshaśilā. We cannot imagine Yuan-chuang going 700 *li* (about 140 miles) south-east from Takshaśilā, then turning back to the north of that district, and setting out from it again south-eastwards. From the context here it seems to be clear that Yuan-chuang places Siñhapura to the north of Takshaśilā rightly or wrongly. Moreover the "Fang-chih" which places Siñhapura to the south-east of Takshaśilā, following the Records, yet makes the latter place to be south of the former.

Cunningham, in his "Ancient Geography of India", identifies the capital of Siñhapur with Ketās "situated on the north side of the Salt Range, at 16 miles from Pind Dādan Khan, and 18 miles from Chakowāl, but not more than 85 miles from Shah-dheri or Taxila".[2] This identification, to which Cunningham did not adhere, has since been established by Dr Stein to his own satisfaction, and that of Dr Bühler.[3] It is true that distance from Taxila, extent of territory, situation of capital, and one or two other details do not tally, but such discrepancies are not insuperable difficulties to an enthusiastic Indian archæologist.

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1 *Ch.* 5. The T'ang-Shuh (*ch.* 221) agrees with Yuan-chuang in placing Siñghapura 700 *li* to the south-east of the Taxila district.

2 A. G. I p. 124.

3 Trübner's Or. Rec. No. 249 p. 6.

Near the south of the capital was an Asoka tope the beauty of which was impaired although its miraculous powers continued, and beside it was a Buddhist monastery quite deserted. Forty or fifty *li* to the south-east of the capital was a stone tope above 200 feet high built by Asoka. Here were also more than ten tanks large and small—"a scene of sunshine". The banks of these tanks were of carved stone representing various forms and strange kinds of creatures. The struggling water (that is, the river which supplied the tanks) was a clear brawling current; dragons, fish, and other watery tribes moved about in the cavernous depths; lotuses of the four colours covered the surface of the clear ponds; all kinds of fruit trees grew thick making one splendour of various hues and, the brightness of the wood mixing with that of the tanks, the place was truly a pleasure-ground.

The words "a scene of sunshine" in this passage are a quotation and in the original are *ying-tai-tso-yu* (映帶左右) "a sunshine borne left and right". The meaning is that there was a continuous line of brightness along the sides of the tanks and the stream by which they were supplied. Julien understood the passage to mean that the tanks surrounded the tope "à gauche et à droite, d'une humide ceinture". But this seems to be impossible and is not in the original. Our pilgrim saw (or was told) that the mountain stream formed a pool or tank in its course, flowed out from this and formed another, and so on, making above ten tanks, the stream all the way between the tanks being above ground in the daylight. The people had afterwards furnished these tanks with facings for their banks made of curiously carved stone.

Supposing Ketās to be the modern representative of Siṅhapura we may compare with Yuan-chuang's account the description which Dr Stein gives from personal observation of the scenery at Mūrti a few miles south-east from Ketās—"The bed of the Ketās brook forms in the narrow and very picturesque Gamdhala valley a number of small tanks, and at a bend, where there are two large basins, stands the hill of Mūrti. From the top of the hill I heard distinctly the murmuring of the brook, which on leaving the chief tank, forces its way between a number

of boulders. Dene groups of trees, such as Hiuen Tsiang describes, are refleted in the limpid waters of the tanks, which still swarm vith fish". Dr Stein also saw at Ketâs "two richly-ornameted stone pillars which were stated to have come from Mūti". "The sculptures on their capitals differ", he adds, "bit are decidedly in the Jaina style, showing seated, nak d male figures with garlands in their hands. You will uncerstand that they forcibly reminded me of Hiuen Tsiang's "balustrades of different shapes and of strange character"." The words within inverted commas at the end of this paragrapl are an incorrect quotation from Burnouf who puts "balutrades" in italics and within brackets to show that the worl is the gloss which he adds to his text. There is nothing whatever corresponding to the word in the Chinese.

> Our pilgrim continues his desription and tells us that beside [the tope?] was a Buddhist monstery which had long been unoccupied. Not far from the t pe, he says, was the place at which the founder of the "Whit-clothes" sect having come to realize in thought the principles for which he had been seeking first preached his system, the pace being now marked by a memorial beside which a Deva-lemple had been erected. The disciples [of the founder of th White-clothes sect] practise austerities persevering day and ight without any relaxation. The system which their founder preached, Yuan-chuang says, was largely taken from the doctines of the Buddhist canon. He proceeded according to classe and made rules of orderly discipline; the great (i. e. senior) deciples are Bhikshus and the small ones are called Śramaṇeras, tieir rules of deportment and ritual observances are much like those of the Buddhist system; but they leave a little hair on the head and they go naked, or if they wear clothes these have the peculiarity of being white. By these differences of detail they hive gradually become quite distinct (viz. from the Buddhists). he images of their "deva teacher" they have venturned to make like those of Buddha, with the difference as to clothing, the distinguishing marks being the same.

From a careful study of all this eassage and the preceding one about the Siñhapur couitry and the objects of interest which it contained, one feds very much inclined to believe that the pilgrim did not viit the place on this

occasion and that he obtained his information about it at Takshaśilā and elsevhero. What he tells us about the "white robed non-Buddhists, *pai-yi-wai-tao* (白衣外道) is very interesting, but i is vague and unsatisfactory. This sect was evidently, as has been pointed out by others, the Śvetāmbaras, a development of primitive Jainism. But who was the founder of it who attained spiritual enlightenment and began to preach his system in this region? The spot had a memorial of the event at the time of Yuan-chuang's visit, or as Julien translates—"Aujourd'hui, on y voit une inscription". But this seems to be more than is in the original—*chin-yi-fêng-chi* (今有封記), which perhaps means only "there is now a memorial of the event set up". Beside this memorial there had been erected a "Deva-Temple". Julien adds -"Les sectaires qui le frequentent", but the Chinese has ony *ch'i-t'u* (其徒) which means "his disciples", that is, the fllowers of the founder of the sect. The pilgrim is telling us now of the Śvetambara and Digambara ascetics generally. Severe austerities were inculcated and practised by the Jains from their first appearance and wherever tley lived. The constitution, doctrines, and outward obser ances of their religion with certain exceptions named had, according to our pilgrim, been appropriated from Buddhism. It is thus plain that Yuan-chuang had been taught that Jainism as a system was later in origin than Buddhism, and was mainly derived from the latter. His remarks on this subject appear very extraordinary when we remember that the Nirgrantha (or Jain) sect figures largely in the Buddhist canonical works. It was evidently a large and influential body in the time of Gautama Buddha, who was an avowed opponent of the system, and argued strongly against its teaching as to the efficacy of bodily austerities. As Yuan-chuang must have known, the Jains had their ritual code and their religious and philosophic creed and organisation at the time of the founder of Buddhism

It should be noticed that our pilgrim does not make mention of a Jain establishment at Siñhapur, or of any

inhabitants whatever in the neighbourhood of the tope. There were at the place a Buddhist monastery without Brethren and a Deva-Tem le, but no Jain temple or monastery is mentioned. Th s Dr Stein's sculptures from Mūrti "decidedly in the Jain style" and thus enabling him to find "Hiuen Tsiang's long-looked for Jaina temple" must wait for further developuents. The Ketās district as described by Dr Stein seems to present some agreement with our pilgrim's Siṅhapura in its natural scenery, having a stream, a series of tanks, and dense vegetation. But this does not amount to much; and as it is apparently the only point in which there is any resemblance, it is not enough for a basis of identification

Our pilgrim proceeds to relate thatfrom this (i. e. the Siṅhapura district) he went back to the norh confines of the Takshaśilā country, crossed the Indus, and tavelled south-east going over a great rocky Pass. Here long ag the Prince Mahāsattva gave up his body to feed a hungry tigess. About 140 paces from this was a stone tope at the spot to which Mahāsattva pitying the wild beast's feeble state came; here piercing himself with a dry bamboo he gave his blood to he tigress, and she after taking it ate the Prince; the soil and th vegetation of the spot had a red appearance as if blood-dyed. Tavellers suffering from the wild thorns of the place, whether they are believers or sceptics, are moved to pity.

This story of the compassionate Prince givng his body to save the lives of a starving tigress and her ubs is told with variations in several Buddhist books. Te version which Yuan-chuang apparently had before him was that given in the "Hsien-yü-ching" which agrees in he main with Schiefner's translation from the Tibetan.[1] Acording to the story there was once many kalpas before te time of Gautama Buddha a king of a great country the name of which is not given. But the name of the kin was Mahāratna (or Mahāratha), and he had three son the youngest of whom was called Mahāsattva. This pince grew up to be good and gentle, and very compassionate

[1] Hsien-yü-ching, *ch.* 1, Der Weise u. d. T., S. 21; P'u-sa-pên-shêng-man-lun, *ch.* 1. Cf. Bud. Lit. Nep., p. 247.

to all creatures. It happened that one day he and his brothers were strolling among the hills when they saw near the foot of a precipice a tigress with two cubs. The tigress was reduced to a skeleton, and was so utterly famished with hunger that she was about to eat her young ones. Prince Mahāsattva, seeing this, left his brothers, and desirous of saving the animal's life, and the lives of her cubs, threw himself down the precipice, and then lay still for the tigress to eat him. But she was too weak and exhausted to take a bite out of his body. So he pricked himself with a sharp thorn and thus drew blood. By licking this blood the wild beast gained strength, and then she devoured the prince leaving only his bones. When his parents found these, they had them buried, and then raised a mound or tope at the grave. This Mahāsattva was the Buddha in one of his numerous preparatory stages of existence as a Boddhisattva.

Other versions of the story give the number of the tigress' cubs as seven, the number in the Life. This jātaka, sometimes called the Vyāghri (or Tigress) Jātaka, is not in the Pāli collection, but the story is in Hardy's "Manual of Buddhism" where the P'usa is a brahmin named Brahma and lives near Dāliddi, a village not far from the rock Munda (otherwise called Eraka).[1] In one version the P'usa is the prince Chandanamati son of king Gandhaśri of Gandhamati (that is, Gandhāra);[2] in another he is a Prince in the Panchāla country, and in another the scene of the self-sacrifice is not localised. The Chinese pilgrim of the Sung period found the precipice from which Mahāsattva threw himself in a mountain to the west of Kashmir.[3]

The word which Yuan-chuang uses in this passage for "tigress" is the unusual one *wu-t'u* (烏菟 or as in D 擇). This word, also written 於菟 pronounced *wu-t'u*, is the

[1] M. B. p. 94

[2] P'u-sa-t'ê-shên-ssŭ-ngo-hu-ch'i-t'a-yin-yuan-ching (No. 436).

[3] Ma T. l., *ch.* 238.

old Central-China name for a *tiger*, and it is also a recognized term but of very rare occurrence.[1]

> To the north of the Body-offering Tope was a stone Asoka tope above 200 feet high with very artistic ornamentation and shedding a miraculous light. Small topes and above 100 small shrines encircled the grave; pilgrims afflicted with ailments made circumambulation, and many were cured. To the east of this tope was a monastery with above 100 Brethren all Mahāyānists.

We have thus two topes at this place to commemorate the self-sacrifice of the P'usa to save the life of the tigress. Cunningham has identified one of these, apparently the stone one, with the great Mānikyāla Tope, and he quotes the Chinese pilgrims' testimony in support of this identification.[2] Now Fa-hsien places the scene of the "body-offering", and the site of the memorial tope, at a spot two days' journey east from his Takshaśilā, which was seven days' journey east from his Gandhāra; Sung-yun, who does not mention any tope, places the scene eight days' journey south-east from the capital of Udyāna; and Yuan-chuang puts it above 200 *li* (about 40 miles) south-east from the north of the Takshaśila country. For Sung-yun's Udyāna Cunningham substitues Gandhāra, for Yuan-chuang's "north of Takshaśilā" he substitutes "Taxila", and he makes the "Indus" of the Records to be a mistake for the "Suhān" River. Then he finds that the three pilgrims have thus exactly described the situation of the great Mānikyāla Tope, which is about 34 miles south-east from Shah-dheri. The identification of this tope with either of those mentioned here by Yuan-chuang seems to be attended with serious difficulties. The large stone tope was built by Asoka and the other one (according to tradition) was built either by a king of Gandhāra contemporary with the Buddha or by Asoka, and the Mānikyāla tope cannot be referred to an earlier period than the first century of our era. The tope near the "grave" or spot in which Mahāsattva's bones were interred was known as the "Sattva-

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1 See Fang-yen (方言), *ch.* 8.

2 A. G. I. p. 121.

śarīra Tope" or more fully as the "Tope of the relics of the Bodhisattva having given up his body to the tigress." It was supposed, we are told, to have been built by the king of Gandhāra after he had heard the pathetic story from the Buddha.

The Monastery mentioned in the above passage was visited by the Chinese pilgrim monk by name *Fa-shêng* (法盛), a native of Kao-ch'ang, about the beginning of the 5th century A.D. He found it a large establishment frequented by about 5000 Brethren, and the great tope was then daily visited by crowds of pilgrims coming to be cured of infirmities.

> From this (i. e. the place of the interment of Mahāsattva's bones) the pilgrim proceeded eastward above 50 *li* to an isolated hill. Here was a monastery with above 200 Brethren, all students of the Mahāyāna system, amid luxuriant vegetation and with pellucid streams and tanks. Beside the monastery was a tope above 300 feet high which marked the place where the Buddha once converted a wicked Yaksha, and made him give up the eating of animal food.
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> Continuing his journey, our pilgrim travelled south-east over hills for above 500 *li*, and arrived at the *Wu-la-shih* country. This was a very hilly region above 2000 *li* in circuit, with little cultivated land; the capital was seven or eight *li* in circuit, but there was no ruler and the country was a dependency of Kashmir; the people were rough and deceitful, and they were not Buddhists. About four *li* to the south-east of the capital was an Asoka tope above 200 feet high, and at its side was a monastery which contained a few Brethren all Mahāyānists.

The *Wu-la-shih* of this passage, in the D text of the Life *Wu-la-cha*, perhaps represents an original like Uras or Uraksh. The word for "over hills" (*shan* 山) is in most of the texts, but not in all. Cunningham identifies this country with the "*Varsa Regio* of Ptolemy, and with the modern district of *Rash*, in Dhantāwar, to the west of Muzafarabād". That is, Yuan-chuang places the district of Uras about 125 south-east from the Takshaśilā country; and Cunningham, without any warning or explanation, places it above 100 miles to the north-east of that country.[1]

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1 A. G. I. p 103.

M. St. Martin, who had made the same identification, suggests that there is a mistake in our author's text which should have *north-east* instead of *south-east.*[1] But this latter is the reading of all the texts, and of the Life, and the Fang-chih. In another passage of the Life, however, we find Kashmir placed 50 yojanas distant from Takshaśilā in a north-east direction.[2] There are apparently mistakes in the pilgrim's account of some of the places in this part of his narrative with respect to their relative positions; and, on the other hand, the identifications proposed are not to be accepted as absolutely correct. A later investigator, who also silently ignores the pilgrim's statement of direction, thinks that "the country of Urasa corresponded pretty nearly to that of the modern Hazara, if we include in that term the whole tract up to the Indus, now held by the Tamaolis, the Hassarzais, the Akazais and others". This writer regards Haripur as corresponding to Yuan-chuang's capital of Uras, the actual city being now represented by Pir-māmaka, a Mahometan shrine close under the citadel of Haripur. The identification here proposed, it will be seen, practically agrees with that proposed by previous investigators.[3]

From Uras, the pilgrim goes on to narrate, he continued his journey south-east above 1000 *li* over mountains and along dangerous paths and across iron bridges to the country of Kashmir.

Our pilgrim transcribes this name *Ka-sse-mi-lo* (迦濕彌羅), and the transcription in the T'ang-Shu and other works is *Ko-shih-mi* (箇失蜜).

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[1] Julien Vol. iii, p. 321.

[2] *Ch.* 5 and Julien Vol. i, p. 262.

[3] Revd C. Swymerton in Ind. Ant. Vol. xx, p. 336.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHUAN III CONT[D].

KASHMIR TO RAJAPUR.

KASHMIR.

For an account of the pilgrim's entry into Kashmir, and his arrival at the capital of that country, we are indebted to the narrative in the Life.[1] This treatise tells us that Yuan-chuang entered Kashmir territory by the rocky Pass which formed the western approach to the country. At the outer end of the Pass he was received by the maternal uncle of the king, who had been sent with horses and conveyances to escort him to the capital. On the way thither the pilgrim passed several Buddhist monasteries in which he performed worship; and at one, the Hushkara (護瑟迦羅)-vihāra, he spent a night. During the night the Brethren of the monastery had dreams in which they were informed by a deity that their guest was a Brother from Mahā-China who, desirous of learning, was travelling in India on a pilgrimage to Buddhist sacred places; the Brethren were also exhorted by the deity to rouse themselves to religious exercises in order to earn by their proficiency the praise of their illustrious guest. This was repeated on each of the few days occupied by the pilgrim and his party in reaching the royal Dharmaśāla which was about a yojana from the capital. At this building the king was waiting to receive the pilgrim and conduct him into the city. His Majesty was attended by

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[1] *Ch.* 2.

his grandees, and by certain Buddhist monks from the capital, and he had a magnificent retinue of above 1000 men. He treated his Chinese visitor with marked ceremonious respect, and mounted him on one of his large elephants when setting out for the city. On his arrival here the pilgrim lodged for one night in the Jayendra (闍耶因陀羅)-monastery, but next day on the king's invitation he took up his quarters in the palace. Then His Majesty appointed some scores of Brethren with the illustrious Bhadanta *Ch'êng* (稱), or ? Yaśa, at their head to wait on his Chinese guest. He also invited Yuan-chuang to read and expound the Scriptures, gave him twenty clerks to copy out Mss, and five men to act as attendants. The pilgrim remained here two years and devoted his time to the study of certain sūtras and śāstras, and to paying reverence at sacred vestiges (that is, places held in reverence by Buddhists).

Neither the *Records* nor the *Life* gives the name of the king of Kashmir who so hospitably entertained our pilgrim. It was, apparently, the same king who about this time, as we learn on I-ching's authority. received another Chinese pilgrim, by name Süan-hui (玄會), and entertained him as a guest in the palace for about a year, when some unpleasantness arose which caused Süan-hui to leave and continue his wanderings.[1]

Coming back to the text of the Records we find a Chinese editorial note added to the word Kashmir telling us that Ki(-Ka)-p'in (罽賓) was an old and incorrect name for the country. But in many Chinese treatises Ka-pin is a geographical term of vague and varying extension, and not the designation of a particular country. It is applied in different works to Kapis, Nagar, Gandhāra, Udyāna, and Kashmir. The region first called Kapin was once occupied by the Sakas (塞), a great nomad people who spread themselves over vast regions to the north-west

[1] Hsi-yü-ch'iu, *ch.* 1; Chavannes Mém. p. 46.

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from what is now the district of Kashgar.[1] Afterwards applied less vaguely Kapin was the name of a country south of the Ts'ung-Ling and subject to the Great Yue-ti (Getæ), and it is said to have been a synonym for the *Tsao* (漕) of the Sui period.[1] But by several Chinese writers, and translators of Buddhist books into Chinese, both before and after our pilgrim's time, the word Kapin is used to designate the country which he and others call Kashmir. Thus for the "charming Kāśmir-city" of the Divyāvadāna the Chinese translation has simply Kapin. Then we read of the rishi Revata, who lived on a mountain in Kapin, being converted by the Buddha, and building a tope (or chaitya) for the Buddha's hair- and nail-relics. This Revata is "Raivataka, a bhikshu of Śaila Vihara at Kaśmir", and the "Śaila vihara" was the Cliff (石 巖)-Monastery not far from the old capital of Kashmir.[2] But by Chinese writers generally Kapin seems to have been always loosely applied; and even down to the T'ang period the word was used by them to designate a region which did not correspond to that afterwards known to them as Kashmir. Thus in the *Hsi-yü-chih*, a Buddhistical treatise of the Sui period, Kapin is evidently the Kapis of other works, the country of Buddha's skull-bone and of the Chinese Monastery. Even the T'ang-Shu treats Kashmir and Kapin as names of two countries, and gives descriptive particulars about each. In other works of the T'ang period we find Kapin apparently used to denote the Nagar and Kapis of earlier writings.

The word Kashmir is transcribed in Chinese in several ways giving slight differences as Kaśmir and Kashmir, and it is explained as meaning "Who goes in?". It is said to have arisen at the time when Madhyāntika induced the dragon to turn the lake into dry land in the manner to be presently described. When the people saw the arhat

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[1] Han-Shu, *ch.* 96, P. I.

[2] Divyāv. p. 399; Tsa-a-han-ching, *ch.* 23; Ta-chih-tu-lun, *ch.* 9; Abhi-ta-vib. *ch.* 125; Bud. Lit. Nep. p. 76.

sitting where water had been a moment before, they were afraid to venture to him, and kept exclaiming to each other—*Who goes in?* [1] This etymology, which reminds one of Dean Swift, is curious but not satisfactory. Burnouf suggested that Kaśmir might be for Kāśyapa-mir, and one variety of the Chinese transcriptions is *Ka-ye* (that is *Ka-sa* often used for Kāśyapa)-*mi-lo* (迦葉彌羅) or Kāśyapa-mir, but these characters may simply be for Kaśmir.

The pilgrim gives a short general description of Kashmir in his usual manner. It was, he states, above 7000 *li* (1400 miles) in circuit, surrounded by high steep mountains over which were narrow difficult Passes, and the country had always been impregnable. The capital, which had a large river on its west side, was 12 or 13 *li* from north to south and four or five *li* from east to west. The district was a good agricultural one and produced abundant fruits and flowers; it yielded also horses of the dragon stock, saffron, lenses, and medicinal plants. The climate was very cold in season with much snow and little wind. The people wore serge and cotton (*pai-tieh*); they were volatile and timid, being protected by a dragon they crowed over their neighbours; they were good-looking but deceitful; they were fond of learning and had a faith which embraced orthodoxy and heterodoxy (that is, Buddhism and other religions). The Buddhist Monasteries were above 100 in number, and there were above 5000 Buddhist Brethren; and there were four Asoka topes each containing above a pint (*shêng*) of the bodily relics of the Buddha.

The circuit which our pilgrim here assigns to the country of Kashmir is about 3000 *li* above that given to it by Ma Tuan-lin and other authorities, and it is evidently much too great. The rocky Pass (lit. "stone gate"), by which the pilgrim entered the country, was evidently the western Pass which terminates near the town of Barāmūla (Varāhamūla). This is Alberuni's "ravine whence the river Jailam comes; at the other end of this ravine is the watch station Dvār, on both sides of the river Jailam. Thence, leaving the ravine, you enter the plain, and reach in two more days Addisthān, the capital of

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[1] Yi-ch'ie-ching-yin-yi, Supplement ch. 1.

Kashmīr, passing on the road the village of Ushkāra, which lies on both sides of the valley, in the same manner as Bārāmūlā".[1] In the text of the Life the Prince is represented as meeting the pilgrim at the outer end of the Pass, but as he had horses and carriages with him, we must understand him as waiting for the pilgrim at the Dvār at the inner end of the Pass. In the T'ang-Shu the name of the capital of Kashmir is given as *Po-lo-wu-lo-pu-lo* (撥邏勿邏布邏) that is Barāmūla- (or Varāha-mūla)-pura. Other authorities give *P'i-lo-t'a* (鞞邏吒) that is Bhirath, or *Shan-chien* (善堅) meaning "of good solidity", as names for the capital in previous periods.[2] Our pilgrim represents the capital as having a large river on its west side, and the T'ang-Shu tells us that this was the *Mi-na-si-to* (彌那悉多) or, perhaps, Menāsitā.

Among the products of Kashmir specified by the pilgrim in this passage is an article the name of which here as in other passages is given by me as "saffron". The original for this is *Yuh-chin-hsiang* (鬱金香) which Julien and others always render by *Curcuma* or *turmeric*. But this undoubtedly is not the meaning of the term here and in other passages of the Records and Life. The word *hsiang* means "incense" or "perfume", and *Yuh-chin*, pronounced like Guh-kum, evidently represents a foreign word. In Sanskrit one name for *saffron* is *Kuṅkuma*, and *Yuh-chin* in its old pronunciation is to be regarded as a transcription of this word, or of a provincial variation of it like the Tibetan *Gurkum*. That *Yuh-chin-hsiang* is "saffron" is seen also by comparing the Tibetan and Chinese translations of a Sanskrit passage which tells of Madhyāntika's proceedings in Kashmir. The valuable plant which this arhat carries off from the Gandhamādana Mountain, and introduces into Kashmir, is called *saffron*

[1] Alberuni Vol. i, p. 207. So Baron Hügel leaving this "Indian Paradise" "passed through a rock which together with the river forms a strong barrier". Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab p. 172 (tr. Jervis).

[2] Abhi-ta-vih. ch. 126.

in the Tibetan rendering, and *Yuh-chin* in the Chinese version.[1] The saffron plant, Crocus sativus, has been greatly cultivated in this country from a very early period. Its flowers were long ago used to adorn the necks of oxen at the autumn festival in the country, and they were boiled in aromatic spirits to make a perfume.[2] This, or some preparation of the flowers, was largely used in northern countries in the service of worship offered before images in Buddhist temples The flowers of the saffron plant are still largely used in decoctions, both as a condiment and as a pigment, by many of the inhabitants of Kashmir.[3] But the *fei*(緋)-*yuh-chin* or purple saffron was forbidden as a dye-material to the Buddhist Brethren. It seems very likely that the term Yuh-chin-hsiang is sometimes used in a loose manner and applied to turmeric, just as the name "Saffron", we learn, is often given to turmeric and saffflower.[4]

The word for "lenses" in Yuan-chuang's description in the passage under consideration is *huo-chu* (火珠), lit. "fire pearls", and this is rendered by Julien "lentilles de verre". The pilgrim was here apparently translating the Sanskrit word *dahanopala* which means *fire-stone, burning gem*, and is a name for crystal lenses. These "fire pearls" are described as being like crystal eggs, and one of the tortures of the Hungry Ghosts is that for them the drops of rain turn into "fire pearls".

The reader will observe that our pilgrim, in his enumeration of some of the chief products of Kashmir, has not a word about its grapes and wine. Yet the country was celebrated for its grapes, and it was long the only place

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[1] Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih, *ch.* 40; Tär, S. 12; A-yü-wang-chuan, *ch.* 4. See Dr Bretschneider in Ch. Notes and Queries, Vol. iii, p. 55 and iv, p. 97.

[2] Abhi-ta-vib, *ch.* 12; Fa-yuan-chu-lin, *ch.* 36

[3] On the saffron of Kashmir see Lawrence's "Valley of Kashmir" p. 342.

[4] Glossary of Ang-Ind. Terms s. v. Saffron.

in all the parts about India in which wine was made from the juice of the grape.

With reference to the state of Buddhism it is remarkable that our pilgrim gives the number of Buddhist establishments in this country as only 100, while Wu-k'ung, who lived in it for some time above a century later, gives the number at his time as 300.[1]

Kashmir is one of the most important and most famous lands in the history of the spread and development of Buddhism. In the literature of this religion we find frequent reference to the capital, and the country generally, in terms of praise and admiration. The pious, learned, and eloquent Brethren of the region seem to have had a great reputation even at the time of king Asoka, who is represented as calling on the disciples of Buddha dwelling in the "charming city of Kaśmir" to come to his Council.[2] When the Buddha and the Yaksha Vajrapāṇi—not Ananda as Yuan-chuang relates—were returning through the air from the conquest and conversion of the Dragon of Udyāna, as they were over the green vales of Kashmir Buddha drew Vajrapāni's attention to them.[3] Into these, the Buddha predicted, after my pari-nirvāna an arhat named Madhyāntika will introduce my religion, and the country will become distinguished as a home of the Brethren devoted to absorbed meditation (Samādhi) and prolonged contemplation (Vipassanā). In another book the Buddha is represented as having prophesied that Kashmir would become rich and prosperous as Uttaravat, that Buddhism would flourish in it, the number of the disciples being beyond counting, and that it would become like the Tushita Paradise.[4] The country, he said, would be like Indra's Pleasure-garden, or the Anavatapta Lake district, and it would be a real "great Buddhist Congregation."

The pilgrim proceeds with his narrative and relates the story

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[1] Shih-li-ching; J. A. 1895, p. 341 ff.

[2] Tsa-a-han-ching, *ch.* 23; Divyāv. p. 399.

[3] Sar. Vin. Yao-shih, *ch.* 9.

[4] Lien-hua-mien-ching, *ch.* 2 (Bun. No. 465).

of Madhyāntika's coming. According to the native records, he states, Kashmir was originally a dragon-lake. When the Buddha, having subdued the wicked dragon of Udyāna, had arrived above Kashmir on his way through the air to Central India he said to Ananda—"After my decease Madhyāntika, an arhat, will in this place establish a country, settle people, and propagate Buddhism". In the 50th year after Buddha's decease, the pilgrim continues, Ananda's disciple the arhat Madhyāntika, perfect in spiritual attainments, having heard of Buddha's prediction was delighted. He accordingly came hither and took his seat in a wood at a great mountain. Here he made miraculous exhibitions and the dragon seeing these asked the arhat what he wanted. "I want you to grant me room for my knees in the lake", was the reply, i. e. I want to have as much dry land in the lake as will enable me to sit cross-legged. The dragon thereupon proceeded to grant the arhat's request by withdrawing water from the lake, but Madhyāntika by the exercise of his supernatural powers enlarged his body until the dragon had drawn off all the water of the lake. Then the dragon was accommodated in a lake to the north-west of the old one, and his relations and dependents went to live in a small one. The dragon now begged Madhyāntika to remain permanently and receive due service, but the arhat replied that this was impossible as the time was near for his pari-nirvāna. At the dragon's request, however, Madhyāntika consented that his 500 arhats should remain in Kashmir as long as Buddhism lasted in the country, the land to become again a lake when Buddhism ceased to exist. Madhyāntika now by his miraculous powers built 500 monasteries, and afterwards he bought foreign slaves to serve the Brethren. Some time after his decease these inferiors became rulers of the country; but neighbouring states despising them as a low-born breed would not have intercourse with them, and called them Kritā or "the Bought".

This account of Madhyāntika does not quite agree with any of the older accounts in Buddhist books. These, however, present some interesting and important points of difference among themselves. Yuan-chuang's narrative follows the version which is to be found with slight variations of detail in the "A-yü-wang-chuan" version of the Asokāvadāna, the Sarvata Vinaya, and in the Tibetan texts translated by Schiefner and Rockhill.[1] In these

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[1] A-yü-wang-chuan, *ch.* 4; Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih, *ch.* 40; Tār. l. c.; Rockhill Life p. 166 ff.

Madhyāntika is a disciple of Ānanda, converted and ordained in the last moments of Ānanda's life; he is a master of 500 disciples, and comes with these from the Himavat to the place where Ānanda is about to pass away; on a magic isle in the Ganges Ānanda ordains the master and his disciples and all immediately attain arhatship; they want to pass away before Ānanda, but he gives the master Buddha's commission for him to go and teach Buddhism in Kashmir, and the commission is accepted. The name given to the master, and also apparently to his disciples, is explained as meaning Mid-water (中 水), as if Madhyan-taka (for udaka), because they were ordained and perfected on an island in the Ganges; it is also explained by Mid-day (中 日) as if Madhyan-dina, because the ordination took place at mid-day. But according to the "Shan-chien-lü-vibhāsha", Buddhaghosha, the "Dipavamsa", and the "Mahāvaṇsa", Maddhyāntika, called Majjhantiko the thera, lived in the time of Moggala-putta Tissa, and was sent by that head of the church from Pāṭaliputra to Kashmir and Gandhāra.[1] Then there is a Kashmir Abhidharma treatise in which we have a dragon called "Fearless" in the country. This dragon plagues the 500 arhats in their monasteries; the arhats have no magic powerful enough to drive the dragon away; a foreign Brother comes who has no skill in magic and no supernatural powers whatever; by the power of a pure strict life (śīla) he, using only a polite request, rids the country of the dragon.[2] In the Pali versions of Madhyāntika's story the name of the dragon is Aravāla, the *A-lo-p'o-lu* of the Chinese translation; in the Sarvata Vinaya it is *Hu-lung*, the Hulunta of Rockhill. This dragon was a wicked spiteful creature sending floods to ruin crops, according to the Pali accounts, and he is perhaps the original of the Udyāna dragon.

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[1] Shan-chien-lü-vib, *ch.* 2; Vinaya, Vol. iii, p. 315; Dip. VIII. 1. 4; Mah. *ch.* XII.

[2] Abhi-ta-vib, *ch.* 44.

> Our pilgrim next gives a brief account of the settlement of 500 arhats from India in Kashmir, an event which he assigns to the hundredth year after Buddha's decease in the reign of Asoka king of Magadha. This great and powerful sovereign was a firm believer in Buddhism, we are told, and charitable to all creatures. There were [at his capital] 500 arhats and 500 ordinary Buddhist monks, all of whom were treated by the king with equal reverence and attention. Among the ordinary Brethren was one Mahādeva, a man of great learning and wisdom, a subtle investigator of name and reality who put his extraordinary thoughts into a treatise which taught heresy. All this man's acquaintances followed his heretical reasonings. The king following his personal inclinations and taking the part of those whom he liked, unable to distinguish the arhat from the common monk, summoned all to the Ganges with the intention of causing them all to be drowned. But the arhats, finding their lives in danger, used their supernatural powers, and flew through the air to Kashmir, where they settled on the hills and in the vales. When the king learned this he became distressed, went to Kashmir to apologize to the arhats, and to beg them to return. They, however, stedfastly refused to go back, so the king built 500 monasteries for them, and gave up all Kashmir for the benefit of the Buddhist church.

This is Yuan-chuang's short and condensed abstract, which cannot be properly understood without some knowledge of Mahādeva's career as this is related in the "Abhidharma-mahā-vibhāsha-lun"[1] and other treatises. According to the Abhidharma work, Mahādeva was the son of a brahmin merchant of Mathurā. While still a very young man he took advantage of his father's prolonged absence from home on business and formed an incestuous connexion with his mother. When his father returned Mahādeva murdered him, and soon afterwards he fled with his mother. Finding that a Buddhist arhat had an inconvenient knowledge of his guilty life he promptly killed the arhat. Then finding that his mother was not true to him he murdered her also. By thus taking the lives of his parents and an arhat he had committed three unpardonable offences; in the technical

[1] *Ch.* 99.

language of Buddhism he had "made three immediate karmas" (造三無間業), three ānantarya karmas. Stung by conscience, and haunted by fear, he now skulked from place to place until he reached Pāṭaliputra. Here he resolved to enter religion, and he easily persuaded a monk of the Kukuṭārāma vihara to have him ordained. He now devoted all his energies and abilities to his new profession and, having zeal and capacity, he soon rose to be the head of the establishment, and the leader of a large party in the church at Pāṭaliputra. His intellectual abilities were much above those of the ordinary brethren, but his orthodoxy was doubtful, and his moral character was not above suspicion. Mahādeva claimed to have attained arhatship, and he explained away circumstances which seemed to be destructive of his claim. In answer to queries from younger brethren he enunciated five dogmas, or tenets, which led to much discussion, and at length to open dissension. These tenets were, (1) An arhat may commit a sin under unconscious temptation, (2) One may be an arhat and not know it, (3) An arhat may have doubts on matters of doctrine, (4) One cannot attain arhatship without the aid of a teacher, (5) The "noble ways" may begin by a shout, that is, one meditating seriously on religion may make such an exclamation as "How sad!" and by so doing attain progress towards perfection. These five propositions Mahādeva declared to be Buddha's teaching, but the senior Brethren declared them to be Mahādeva's invention and opposed to the orthodox teaching. There were at the time four "sets" or "parties" of Buddhists at Pāṭaliputra, and these had bitter controversies about the five propositions. When dispute ran high the king, on Mahādeva's suggestion, called an assembly of all the monks to have an open discussion and vote on the subject, the king being a friend and patron of Mahādeva. When the assembly was summoned it was attended by a number of senior Brethren, who were arhats, and by an immense number of ordinary ordained members of the church. The superior Brethren argued and voted against

the five propositions, but they were far outnumbered by the inferior members who were all friends of Mahādeva. When the discussion and voting were over the wrangling still continued, and the king ordered all the brethren to be embarked in rotten boats and sent adrift on the Ganges; by this means he thought it would be shewn who were arhats and who were not. But at the critical moment 500 arhats rose in the air, and floated away to Kashmir. Here they dispersed, and settled in lonely places among the vales and mountains. When the king heard what had occurred he repented, and sent messengers to coax the arhats to return to his capital, but they all refused to leave. Hereupon he caused 500 monasteries to be built for them, and gave the country to the Buddhist church. These 500 arhats introduced and propagated the Sthavira school in Kashmir, and the majority of inferior brethren at Pāṭaliputra began the Mahāsanghika school.

It will be noticed that in this account we have neither the name of the king nor the date of the schism. But in the "I-pu-tsung-lun" and the "Shi-pa-pu-lun' the king is Asoka, and the time above 100 years after Buddha's decease. Additional information on the subject will be found in Wassiljew's "Buddhismus" and in Schiefner's "Tāranātha".[1] In the "Shan-chien-lü-vibhāsha" and in the passages of the Pali works referred to in connection with Madhyāntika we find mention of a Mahādeva at Pāṭaliputra.[2] But this man lived apparently a good and pious life, and he was sent by Tissa as a missionary to the Andhra country. He preached (or composed) the "Deva-dūta-sūtra" that is the Deva-messenger sūtra, in Chinese *T'ien-shi-ching* (天使經), and he seems to have been successful in propagating Buddhism. This may be the Mahādeva of the northern treatises, the popular and influential abbott of Pāṭaliputra. But the latter dies, and

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[1] Was. Bud. S. 62; Tār. S. 51 and 298; Rhys Davids in J. R. A. S. 1892, p. 9.

[2] Shan-chien-lü-vib. *ch.* 2; Vinaya Vol. iii, p. 316

is cremated with peculiar circumstances at the capital, and there is no mention of his mission to Andhra. On the other hand it seems possible that the Brethren, sent away in different directions as apostles, were men who had taken prominent parts in the controversies which had arisen among the Buddhists of Pāṭaliputra. All accounts seem to agree in representing their Mahādeva as a man of unusual abilities and learning; and the story of his great crimes as a layman, and his unscrupulous ambition as an abbott, related in the Abhidharma treatises are probably the malicious inventions of enemies.

Our pilgrim next proceeds to relate the circumstances connected with the great Council summoned by Kanishka This king of Gandhāra, Yuan-chuang tells us, in the four hundredth year after the decease of Buddha, was a great and powerful sovereign whose sway extended to many peoples. In his leisure hours he studied the Buddhist scriptures, having a monk every day in the palace to give him instruction. But as the Brethren taught him different and contradictory interpretations, owing to conflicting tenets of sectarians, the king fell into a state of helpless uncertainty. Then the Venerable Pārśva explained to His Majesty that in the long lapse of time since Buddha left the world disciples of schools and masters with various theories had arisen, all holding personal views and all in conflict. On hearing this the king was greatly moved, and expressed to Pārśva his desire to restore Buddhism to eminence, and to have the Tripiṭaka explained according to the tenets of the various schools. Pārśva gave his cordial approval of the suggestion, and the king thereupon issued summonses to the holy and wise Brethren in all his realm. These came in crowds from all quarters to Gandhāra, where they were entertained for seven day. They were far too numerous, however, to make a good working Council, so the king had recourse to a process of selection. First all had to go away who had not entered the saintly career—had not attained one to the four degrees of perfection. Then of those who remained all who were arhats were selected and the rest dismissed; of the arhats again those who had the "three-fold intelligence" and the "six-fold penetration" were retained; and these were further thinned out by dismissing all of them who were not thoroughly versed in the Tripiṭaka and well learned in the "Five Sciences". By this process the number of arhats for the Council was reduced to 499.

Yuan-chuang goes on to tell that the king proposed Gandhara

as the place of meeting for the Council, but that this place was objected to on account of its heat and dampness. Then Rājagaha was proposed, but Pārśva and others objected that there were too many adherents of other sects there, and at last it was decided to hold the Council in Kashmir. So the king and the arhats came to his country, and here the king built a monastery for the Brethren.

When the texts of the Tripiṭaka were collected for the making of expository Commentaries on them, the Venerable Vasumitra was outside the door in monk's costume. The other Brethren would not admit him because he was still in the bonds of the world, not an arhat. In reply to his claim to deliberate, the others told him to go away and come to join them when he had attained arhatship. Vasumitra said he did not value this attainment a spittle—he was aiming at Buddhahood and he would not have any petty condition ("go in a small path"); still he could become an arhat before a silk ball which he threw in the air fell to the ground. When he threw the ball the Devas said to him so as to be heard by all—Will you who are to become Buddha and take the place of Maitreya, honoured in the three worlds and the stay of all creatures—will you here realise this petty fruit? The Devas kept the ball, and the arhats made apologies to Vasumitra and invited him to become their President, accepting his decisions on all disputed points.

This Council, Yuan-chuang continues, composed 100 000 stanzas of Upadeśa śāstras explanatory of the canonical sūtras, 100 000 stanzas of Vinaya-vibhāshā-śāstras explanatory of the Vinaya, and 100 000 stanzas of Abhidharma-vibhāshā śāstras explanatory of the Abhidharma. For this exposition of the Tripiṭaka all learning from remote antiquity was thoroughly examined; the general sense and the terse language [of the Buddhist scriptures] were again made clear and distinct, and the learning was widely diffused for the safe-guiding of disciples. King Kanishka had the treatises, when finished, written out on copper plates, and enclosed these in stone boxes, which he deposited in a tope made for the purpose. He then ordered the Yakshas to keep and guard the texts, and not allow any to be taken out of the country by heretics; those who wished to study them could do so in the country. When leaving to return to his own country Kanishka renewed Asoka's gift of all Kashmir to the Buddhist church.

This account of king Kanishka's Council and its work is very interesting, but it requires to be supplemented by some notes and explanations. There are also some

statements of the author which, in the abstract here given, are different from the versions given in Julien's full translation. Thus Yuan-chuang represents the king as summoning the arhats to make *vibhāshā-lun*, that is, discussions on, or expositions of, the Canonical works. Julien, however, makes the author state that the king "voulut composer (un traité intitulé) Vibhāshā çāstra". Here the words which I have put in brackets are an addition by the translator and do injury to the text. Again, when all was ready for the Council to proceed to work, the Venerable Vasumitra, Yuan-chuang tells us, *hu-wai-na-yi* (戶外衲衣) which Julien translates "se tenait en dehors de de la porte et raccommodait son vêtement". But the words mean simply "was outside in monk's costume". The term *na* (sometimes written 納)-*yi* is of very frequent use in this sense of "bhikshu's clothing". Thus the monk's complete dress is called "the five *na-yi* of the cemeteries", and we read of a Brother *na-yi-yen-tso*, "sitting meditating in monk's dress; it was one of the rules of Devadatta's fraternity that the members should for life "don *na-yi*" The expression in our text is used to indicate that Vasumitra was an ordinary bhikshu, not an arhat.[1]

The story which follows about the attempt to exclude Vasumitra from the deliberations of the Council, because he was only an ordinary bhikshu, is a feeble imitation of the story about Ananda at the First Council. In our text Yuan-chuang, going according to Mahāyānist traditions, identifies the Vasumitra of Kanishka's time with Buddha's disciple of the same name. The latter, as the Buddha is represented telling his audience, had in a far past existence been a monkey; as such he acquired a knowledge of and faith in Buddhism, and he received the prediction that in a future birth he would become Buddha; in the time of Gautama Buddha he had been born as a human creature and in due course of time had become a

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[1] Vasumitra-so-chi-lun, *ch.* 2 (No. 1289); Kao-sêng-chuan, *ch.* 3; Shih-sung-lü, *ch.* 36.

disciple and risen to great eminence. But something remained over from his simious life which led him to play and gambol occasionally, and so give cause of offence. Buddha, however, explained the circumstances, and stated that Vasumitra was so take the place of Maitreya, and finally succeed the latter as Buddha with the name Shih-tzu-yue (or merely Shih-tzŭ)-Ju-lai, that is Lion-moon (or Lion) Tathāgata.[1] Thus the Vasumitra of Yuang-chuang's story having the rank of a Bodhisattva (being a "P'usa-bhikshu as he is called) was above the degree of arhat according to Mahāyānist teaching, and hence his refusal in the story to acquire the "petty fruit". It was probably a survival of simious propensities which made him play with the ball of silk in the very solemn circumstances here related. The story here told about Vasumitra is very like one given in an old Mahāyāna śāstra about this p'usa. But in the latter treatise it is a stone which he throws in the air; the stone is caught and held by devas who tell Vasumitra that he is to seek bodhi, that they are to obtain emancipation through him, and that after twenty kalpas he will become Buddha.[2]

Vasumitra, here as in other places translated *Shih-yu* (世友). is a name common to several illustrious Buddhists in the early periods of the church. The personal disciple of the Buddha already mentioned who is destined to become Buddha may perhaps be the sthavira with this name who is placed by one authority next in succession to Upagupta.[3] Then we have the Śāstra-Master Vasumitra, mentioned in the Records, who composed the "Abhidharma prakaraṇa-pāda-śāstra" already noticed, and the "Abhidharma-dhātukāyapāda-śāstra".[4] It was probably also this author who composed the "*Wu-shih-lun*" to which Dharmatrāta supplied a short expository commentary. This is

[1] Fo-shuo-shih-tzŭ-yue-Fo-pên-shêng-ching (No. 414): Tsun-Vasumitra-P'usa-so-chi-lun, Preface (No. 1289).

[2] Wei-jih-tsa-nan-ching (No. 1428).

[3] Dharmatara-shan-ching, *ch.* 1 (No. 1341).

[4] Abhi-chie-shên-tsu-lun (No. 1282).

apparently not the Bodhisattva Vasumitra to whom is ascribed the authorship of the "Arya Vasumitra-Bodhisattva-sañgiti-śāstra".[1] The "Abhidharma-mahāvibhāshā-śāstra" is also said to have been the work of the 500 arhats of Kanishka's Council with Vasumitra at their head. But there is nothing either in this treatise or the Sañgiti-śāstra to show that tuese works were written at the time of Kanishka, nor is there anything in either to show that it was wholly or in part the work of Vasumitra. It is only in one text out of four that the Sañgiti-śāstra appears with Arya Vasumitra on the title-page as author. These two treatises contain references to Vasumitra and quotations from him, and the "Vibhāshā" work mentions him as one of the "Four Great Lun-shi of the Sarvāstivādin School". He was noted among the learned and ingenious Doctors of this School for his theory about the threefold division of time and states of existence. He held that the Past, Present, and Future are all realities and that they differ as to their *wei* (位) "locations", or "Conditions" as Mr Rockhill renders the corresponding Tibetan term. Then there is also the Vasumitra who composed the important treatises "Chih-pu-yi-lun" and "Yi-pu-tsung-lun".[2] Moreover there is the Vasumitra who furnished a commentary to Vasubandhu's celebrated "Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra", but of him little or nothing seems to be known.[3] The Vasumitra who is given as the seventh Patriarch in the succession from Kaśyapa, and who is supposed to have lived in the 6th century B. C., need not be further mentioned.[4]

The unfriendly feeling exhibited by the 499 arhats of Kanishka's Council in our pilgrim's narrative towards Vasumitra reminds us, as has been stated, of Ānanda and the First Council. But the old Mahāyana Śāstra to

[1] See Tsun-Vasumitra-P'usa-so-chi-lun. Cf. Tār. S. 67 ff

[2] Chih-pu-yi-lun (No. 1285), Yi-pu-tsung-lun (No. 1286).

[3] Bur. Int. p. 566 ff.

[4] Chih-yue-lu, *ch.* 3.

which reference has been made tells us of an envious opposition to Vasumitra on the part of certain junior Brethren, and the hostility is not represented as connected with the Council. In both accounts, however, the genius and learning of Vasumitra are indispensable, and he overcomes the enmity, and gains the admiration of the Brethren.

The pilgrim tells us that when Vasumitra was admitted the Council being duly constituted proceeded to its work which was, not to revise or rearrange the canonical treatises, but to furnish these with commentaries and discussions. Taking the sūtras first the arhats composed 100 000 stanzas of upadeśa or explanatory comments on these. Julien makes the author say they composed "le traité Oupadêça çâstra" and here again the addition of "le traité" spoils the meaning. Although there are upadeśas to several individual sūtras, or to a class of sūtras, there does not seem to have ever been a general upadeśa-śāstra for all the sūtra-piṭaka.

This word *upadeśa* seems to have puzzled some of the early translators from Sanskrit into Chinese, and some of them apparently did not understand its meaning and derivation. One curious explanation of it is that it is "oral instruction to leave lust and cultivate goodness".[1] As the designation of a class of canonical treatises it is translated by Lun-i (論議) or Discussion. The term was technically used to denote a treatise made by a bhikshu, and explanatory of the teachings of a canonical sūtra, and the work itself might become a recognized sutra. It was then called a Sūtra-upadeśa to distinguish it from the primitive Upadeśa-sūtras, and it was also called a Mahopadeśa, or Great Upadeśa. An essential requisite of such a work was that its teachings should be perfectly in accordance with those of the accepted canon. An upadeśa presented for approval, and rejected on account of its

[1] Sui-hsiang-lun, *ch.* 1 (No. 1280).

heterodoxy is called a Karopadeśa.[1] The Council composed also 100 000 stanzas explaining the Vinaya — "Vinaya-vibhāshā-lun". There is an extant treatise entitled "Sarvata (or Sarvāstivādin)-vinaya-vibhāshā" which may have been regarded as the work of the Council. Unfortunately there is only a Chinese version of this work which is in nine *chuan*, of unknown date, and imperfect. The original, however, was evidently composed at a time long after the Buddha, in a country outside of India, and for the use of foreigners. There is nothing in the work, however, to shew that it was the work of Kanishka's Council.[2]

According to our pilgrim this Council further made 100 000 stanzas of exposition or discussion of the Abhidharma — Abhidharma-vibhāshā-lun. There are several vibhāshā treatises in this section of the canon, and it would seem that there are others which have disappeared. In the existing collections of Buddhist books in China we find a treatise known by its short name "Vibhāshā-lun", its full title being "Vibhashā-shuo. Abhidharmāshṭakhanda".[3] This book is sometimes wrongly ascribed to Katyāyaniputra who apparently composed the original text to which this work serves as a commentary. The author of the "Vibhāshā-lun" is given as Shi-t'ê-p'an-ni, the native pronunciation being perhaps something Siddhavanni. This man apparently lived in Kashmir and, according to his own statement, about 1000 years after Buddha's death. Another vibhāshā treatise is the short one entitled "Wu-shi (五 事)-vibhāshā-lun", composed by the great Dharmatāra.[4] This is an exposition of Vasumitra's "Wu-shi-lun", a treatise which does not appear among the canonical books. Then we have the long and important work called "Abhidharma (or Abhidharmata)-vibhāshā-lun" already mentioned. This treatise, which was evidently

[1] Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching (No. 114); Yi-ch'ie-ching-yin-yi, *ch.* 17; Sar. Vin. Mātrika, *ch.* 6.

[2] Sar. Vin. Vibhāshā (Nos. 1135 and 1136).

[3] Vibhāshā-lun, end of treatise (No. 1279).

[4] Wu-shih-vibhāshā-lun (No. 1283).

written in Kashmir, was composed, according to the translators into Chinese, by 500 arhats. It is an exposition and discussion of Katyāyanīputra's "Abhidharma-jñāna-prasthāna-śāstra", the short Chinese translation for which is "Fa-chih-lun" (發智論). But the "Abhidharma-ta-vibhāshā-lun" was evidently not composed by the Kanishka Council for, not to mention other matters, it relates a miracle which it says occurred *formerly* in the reign of that king.

The word *vibhāshā* is often rendered in Chinese by Kuang-shuo (廣說), *comprehensive statement*, or Kuang-chie (廣解), *comprehensive explanation*. But more appropriate renderings are chung-chung-shuo (種種說) and fên-fên-shuo (分 | |), meaning *statement by classes or sections*.[1] It denotes properly a commentary or discussion on a canonical text, especially on an Abhidharma treatise.[2] The term, however, seems to have become restricted, by some at least, to the Abhidharma commentaries written by certain masters in Buddhism, chiefly of Kashmir, who attached themselves to the Sarvāstivādir School. These Masters are very often called Vibhāshā-shi (師), but they are also sometimes called by other names such as Kashmir-shi. A vibhāshā must apparently be a commentary on an abhidhàrma treatise elucidating the text by the opinions of various authorities, and it is not necessary that the author should be bound by the views of the Sarvāstivādins or any other school or sect. There are also, as has been seen, Vinaya-vibhāshās, and these are Commentaries or discussions on Vinaya rules as promulgated by certain disciples or enforced by certain schools.

Yuan-chuang's remarks about the learning brought to the making of the explanatory commentaries on the Tripiṭaka do not appear in the translations. The extent of the commentators' investigations is doubtless overstated, but there is evidence of great study and research in the

[1] Yi-ch'ie-ching-yin-yi, *ch.* 17.

[2] Tsa-abhi-hsin-lun, Int. et al. (No. 1287).

"Vibhāshā-lun" and "Abhidharma-mahā vibhāshā-lun". In these books we find an extraordinary acquaintance with Buddhist learning of various kinds, and also with Brahminical learning including the original Indian alphabets, the Vedas and their aṇgas.

It is to the statements made by our pilgrim about Kanishka's Council that we are indebted for nearly all our information about the Council. In later Tibetan books we find mention of it and some particulars about it which do not agree with Yuan-chuang's account.[1] In the Life of Vasubandhu also we read of an assembly meeting in Kapin (Kashmir) 500 years after Buddha's decease.[2] It contained 500 arhats and 500 Bodhisattvas with Katyāyanī-putra as President, the Vice-President being Aśvaghosha. These sages compiled the "Sarvata-Abhidharma" and composed for it a commentary—vibhāshā. When the latter was finished it was written out on stone by Aśvaghosha, and placed under guard, and the king, whose name is not given, forbade the carrying away of any part of the treatise out of the country. This account also does not agree with Yuan-chuang's narrative which must be treated with suspicion as probably containing some grave mistakes. The discovery of the copper plates which he mentions, with the treatises inscribed on them, would help much to make known the Buddhism taught in the schools of Kashmir in or about the first century of our era.

Our pilgrim continues his narrative and tells us of the invasion of Kashmir, and the assassination of its Kritiya usurping sovereign, by the king of the Tokhara country Himatala, in the 600th year after the Buddha's decease. We are told that after Kanishka's death a native dynasty had arisen in Kashmir, and its sovereign had become a persecutor of Buddhism. Hereupon the king of Himatala, who was a Sakya by descent and a zealous Buddhist, determined to drive the cruel Kritiya king from his

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[1] Tār. S. 58 ff., 298.

[2] Vasubandhu-chuan (No. 1463); Was. Bud. S. 238 ff.

throne and restore Buddhism. By a stratagem, cunningly devised and skilfully carried out, he succeeded in killing the king of Kashmir. He then banished the chief ministers of the Court, and reinstated Buddhism as the religion of the country, and then returned to his own kingdom. But, the pilgrim adds, in the course of time the Kritiyas, who still hated the Buddhists and bore them grudges, regained the sovereignty and at Yuan-chuang's time the country had no faith in Buddhism and gave itself up to other sects.

The Himatala of this passage is a country of which we have some account in the XII^th^ *chuan* (Book) of these Records, and it will meet us again.

The pilgrim now proceeds to mention some of the noteworthy sacred objects connected with Buddhism in this district, and he begins with a Monastery containing above 300 Brethren, and at it a tope built for a Tooth-relic of the Buddha. These buildings, he tells us, were situated on the south side of a mountain to the north of the old capital, and above ten *li* south-east from the new capital. The tooth, brought from India, was preserved in the tope, and Yuan-chuang describes its size and colour. We have also the legend of the acquisition of this relic by a persecuted monk of the country who had gone to India on a pilgrimage.

The Tooth-relic here mentioned was not allowed to remain in Kashmir and was carried away a few years after Yuan-chuang's visit by the great king Śilāditya.[1]

Our pilgrim goes on to describe that about fourteen *li* (about three miles) to the south of the Monastery at the Tooth-tope was a small Monastery which contained a standing image of the P'usa Kuan-tzŭ-tsai (Kuan-yin P'usa). To importunate earnest worshippers this P'usa occasionally caused his golden body to emerge from the image.

On a mountain above thirty *li* south-east from this were the ruins of a fine large old monastery. At the time of the pilgrim's visit, he tells us, only a two-storey building in one corner of it was inhabited, and this contained thirty Brethren who were all students of the Mahāyāna system. It was in this monastery

[1] There was a sacred tooth in Kashmir in Baron Hügel's time. The Brahmins of Baramulla, in whose keeping it was, declared that the tooth was that of an ancient jin, but Hügel says it was an elephant's tooth "and of no great age to judge from its appearance."

that the Śāstra-master Sanghabhadra composed the "Shun-chêng-li-lun (順正理論)." To the right and left of the monastery were topes to great arhats, and the relics of these were all still in existence. Hither monkeys and other wild animals brought flowers as offerings of worship, and they did this regularly as if acting under instructions. Many other strange things occurred on this mountain. Thus a wall of rock would be split across and footprints of horses would be left on the top of the mountain. But the latter were deceptive, being tracings made by the arhats and their novices when out on parties of pleasure; such traces left by them as they rode to and fro were too numerous to mention. Above ten *li* east of the Buddha-tooth monastery in the steep side of the northern mountain stood a small monastery. Here the great Śāstra-Master *So-kan-ti-lo* (塞建地羅) or Skandhila, composed the "*Chung-shih-fên-p'i-p'o-sha-lun*" (衆事分毘般沙論).

The Śāstra-master Sanghabhadra will come before us again in chapter X. The treatise here mentioned by the name "Chung-shih-fên-p'i-p'o-sha (vibhāshā)-lun" does not seem to be known to the Buddhist canon, at least it is not in the existing catalogues or collections. It was apparently a vibhāshā or disquisition on Vasumitra's treatise already mentioned the "Chung-shih-fên-abhidharma-lun" called also the "Abhidharma-p'in-lei tsu-lun", the Sanskrit original for which is given as "Abhidharma-prakaraṇa-pāda-śāstra" (Bun. No. 1292). Julien suggests "Vibhāshā-prakaraṇa-pāda as possibly the original title of Skandhila's treatise. This Śāstra-master, also styled "Arhat", of whom very little seems to be known, was also the author of the short but interesting treatise entitled "Shuo-i-ch'ie-yu-ju-abhidharma-lun". But the characters for *Shuo-i-ch'ie-yu* meaning "Sarvāstivādin" are generally omitted and the work is known by its short name "Ju-abhidharma-lun" which is in Sanskrit, according to B. Nanjio, "Abhidharmāvatāra-śāstra". This retranslation of the title, however, may possibly not be the correct one. The book is an introduction or *entrance* (*Ju* 入) to the study of the Abhidharma, and its original title may have been something like "Abhidharmapraveśana-śāstra". It is to our

pilgrim that we are indebted for the Chinese translation of this little treatise.[1]

Within the grounds of this little monastery, the pilgrim tells us, was a stone tope over the bodily relics of an ancient arhat. This arhat, who has been referred to already, had been a very large man with the appetite of an elephant: so the people of the time jeered at him as a glutton without a conscience. When the time for his passing away was near he said one day to the people—"I am soon to take the remainderless [to die]; I wish to explain to you the excellent state to which I have personally attained". But the people only jeered the more, and collected together to see what would befall. The arhat then addressed them thus—"I will now tell you the causal connection of my past and present states. In my last existence before this one I had through previous karma the body of an elephant in the stable of a raja of East-India. While I was there a Buddhist monk from Kashmir came to travel in India in search of sacred books. The raja gave me to the monk to carry his books home, and when I reached this country I died suddenly. As a result of my merit from carrying the sacred books I was next born as a human being, and then enjoying the residue of my good fortune I became a Buddhist monk in early life." The arhat goes on to tell the people how he assiduously sought and at length obtained spiritual perfection. The only survival from his former bodily existence was his elephantine appetite, and by the exercise of self-restraint he had reduced his daily food by two-thirds. Finally in the presence of the scoffing and unbelieving spectators he rose in the air and there, in the smoke and blazes of a burning ecstasy, he went into final extinction, and a tope was erected over the relics which fell to the earth.

The story here related bears considerable resemblance to a story told in the Mahā-vibhāshā-śāstra. There a she-elephant named *Mo-t'u* (or *-ch'a*) carries relics of the Buddha from a foreign country to Kashmir where she dies; she is then re-born as a male child and becoming a bhikshu attains arhatship. But the arhat retains the elephant's appetite and requires a *hu* (bushel) of food every day. When he is about to pass away he proposes to explain to certain nuns his "superior condition" but

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[1] This treatise is Bun. No. 1291. In the name of the author the first syllable is Sa (薩) instead of the So of our text.

they only jeer at him. Then he tells them his history, and so explains his great appetite, which he says he had moderated, reducing his daily food from a bushel and a half to a bushel *per diem*.[1] The reader will remember that Uttarasena brought his share of the Buddha's relics home on an elephant, and that the elephant died on reaching a place not many miles from the capital of Udyāna.

The pilgrim goes on to relate that at a distance of above 200 *li* north-west from the capital was the monastery of the *Shang-lin*, that is perhaps, Merchant's-wood. Here the Śāstra-Master *Pu-la-na* (Pūrṇa) composed an "expository vibhāshā-*lun*" (釋毘婆沙論). To the west of the capital 140 or 150 *li* north of a large river and adjoining the south side of a hill was a Mahāsaṅgika Monastery with above 100 inmates. Here the Śāstra-Master *Fo-ti-lo* composed the "Chi-chên-lun" of the Mahāsaṅgika School.

By the words here rendered "expository vibhāshā-lun" the pilgrim probably only intended to describe the character of the śāstra, not to give the name of the treatise written by Pūrṇa. There does not seem to be any work by this author in existing catalogues and collections of Chinese translations of Buddhist works, and we cannot be certain who is the Pūrṇa here mentioned. A book already mentioned, No. 1282 in Mr Bun. Nanjio's Catalogue, is referred by one authority to a Pūrṇa as its author.

The name of the other Śāstra-Master of this passage, *Fo-ti-lo* Julien thinks may be for Bodhila. In a note to the text the word is explained as meaning "Bodhi-taking". But nothing seems to be known either about the man, or the "Chi-chên-lun" which he composed.

It is worthy of notice that none of the Buddhist monasteries in Kashmir mentioned by Yuan-chuang seem to have been known to other pilgrims and writers; and that Buddhist establishments at or near the capital, and in other parts of the country, mentioned by other authorities were apparently unknown to Yuan-chuang, although they were evidently in existence at the time of his visit. Some

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[1] Abhi-ta-vib., *ch.* 42.

of the vihāras in Kashmir mentioned in Wu-k'ung's Itinerary were evidently of a date subsequent to that of our pilgrim, but several were much older. Then the pilgrim Süan-hui, already mentioned, visited the monastery of the Dragon-Tank Mountain where the 500 arhats were worshipped, and this monastery does not seem to have been known to our pilgrim. The reader will have noted also that Yuan-chuang when giving the numbers of the Monasteries and Brethren in Kashmir, does not tell to which "Vehicle" the Brethren were attached. But we know from other sources that they were mainly Hīnayānists of the Sarvāstivādin School, although as we learn from the Records and Life there were also Mahāyānists. At the capital the Brethren of the two "Vehicles" seem to have been living together, and the greatest among them, *Ch'êng* (or Yaśa?) was evidently a Hīnayānist. The other Brethren mentioned in the Life are Visuddhasimha and Jinabandhu who were Mahāyānists, Suga-(ta-)mitra and Vasumitra who were Sarvastivādins, and Suryadeva and Jinatrāta who were Mahāsangikas.

PAN-NU-TS'O.

From this (that is perhaps, the vicinity of the capital of Kashmir) the pilgrim travelled, he tells us, through a difficult mountainous district south-west for above 700 *li* to the *Pan-nu-ts'o* country. This region he describes as being above 2000 *li* in circuit, as abounding in hills and mountain valleys, with narrow areas of cultivation. The country yielded grain and flowers; sugar-cane and fruits, except grapes, abounded. The country produced the mango, the fig (here called the udumbara), and the plaintain, and these trees were grown in orchards near the dwelling-houses. The climate was hot, the people were daring and straight-forward, they wore chiefly cotton clothing, and they were sincere believers in Buddhism. The Buddhist monasteries, of which there were five, were in a ruinous condition, and the country was a dependency of Kashmir. In a monastery to the north of the capital were a few Brethren, and to the north of this was a wonder-working tope made of stone.

The *Pan-nu-ts'o* of this passage has been identified with the modern Panach, or Punats as the Kashmiris call it

according to Cunningham.[1] Instead of 2000 *li* as the circuit of the country given in some texts of the Records the old reading was 1000 *li*, and this agrees with Cunningham's statement of the size of the district. In some old texts of the Life the name is given as *Pan-nu-nu-tso* (半笯奴蹉) in which the second *nu* may be due to a copyist's carelessness, this character being one of the two characters given to indicate the sound of *nu* 笯.

RĀJAPURA.

Our pilgrim goes on to relate that from Punach a journey south-east of above 400 *li* brought him to the *Ho-lo-she-pu-lo* (Rājapura) country. This he describes as being above 4000 *li* in circuit its capital being above ten *li* in circuit. It was a difficult country to travel in as it was very hilly with narrow valleys, it was not fertile and it resembled Punach in products and climate, and like that country it had no sovereign of its own and was subject to Kashmir. There were ten Buddhist monasteries and the Brethren were few in number, there was one Deva-Temple, but the non-Buddhists were very numerous

The native annotator to our text here makes Rājapura to be in "North India", but the annotator to the Fang-chih represents it as a state outside of India. The country has been identified by Cunningham with "the petty chiefship of Rajaori, to the south of Kashmir".[2] In some texts of the Life the direction of Rājapura from Punach is south instead of the south-east of our text.

Here our pilgrim inserts the following interesting general observation about the countries through which he had lately been passing—

"From Lampa to Rājapura the inhabitants are coarse and plain in personal appearance, of rude violent dispositions, with vulgar dialects, and of scant courtesy and little fairness; they do not belong to India proper but are inferior peoples of frontier (i. e. barbarian) stocks."

As to this statement we may observe that the native editor of the Records has referred all these countries from

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[1] A. G. I. p. 128.
[2] A. G. I. p. 129.

Lampa to Rājapura to "North India". Moreover our pilgrim's remarks at the beginning of *Chuan II* seem to indicate that he regarded all these countries as being included in the great region called India. There, however, he was writing as a foreigner, and here he is writing from the point of view of a Indian. The summary character which he here gives of the inhabitants of these countries is not to be fully accepted, and it does not seem to agree with his own descriptions in the preceding pages.

CHAPTER IX.

(CHUAN IV.)

CHÊH-KA (ṬAKKA?) TO MATHURĀ.

From Rājapur the pilgrim proceeded south-east down a hill and across a river 700 *li* to the *Cheh-ka* country. This was above 10 000 *li* in circuit, it lay between the *P'i-po-she* (Bibas) river on the east and the Indus on the west, the capital was above 20 *li* in circuit. The crops of the country were upland rice and spring wheat, it yielded gold, silver, bell-metal (*t'u-shih*), copper, and iron, the climate was hot with much violent wind; the inhabitants had rude bad ways and a low vulgar speech; they wore glossy white clothing made of silk, muslin &c.; few of them believed in Buddhism, and most served the Devas; there were ten Buddhist monasteries, and some hundreds of Deva-Temples On from this country there were numerous Puṇyasāl's or free rest-houses for the relief of the needy, and distressed; at these houses medicine and food were distributed and so travellers having their bodily wants supplied, did not experience inconvenience.

In the Life we are told that our pilgrim on leaving Rājapur went south-east, and after a journey of two (or three) days crossed the Chandrabhaga (Chenāb) river to the city of Jayapur. Here he spent a night in a non-Buddhist monastery outside the west gate of the city. From this he went on to Śākala in the *Cheh-kal* (in one text *La-ka*) country, from that to the city Narasimha, and thence eastward to a palāśa wood. Here he had an encounter with brigands and narrowly escaped with his life. From the village beyond this wood he resumed his journey and reached the eastern part of the *Cheh-ka* country. Here he found a large city, and in a mango

grove west of it lived a brahmin 700 years old, looking like a man of thirty years, and having all his mental and bodily powers. He had been a disciple of the great Nāgārjuna, and he was well acquainted with the sacred lore of Brahmins and Buddhists. With him Yuan-chuang seems to have studied the "Pai-lun" and the "Kuang-pai-lun", the latter of which our pilgrim afterwards translated.

The clause in the above passage from the Records rendered "they wore glossy-white clothing made of silk, muslin, &c." is in the original *yi-fu-hsien-pai-so-wei-kiao-she-ye-yi-chao-hsia-yi* (衣服鮮白所謂憍奢耶衣朝霞衣等). This is translated by Julien "Ils s'habillent avec des étoffes d'une blancheur éclatante qu'on appelle *Kiao-che-ye* (Kaûçeya-soie), et portent des vêtements rouges comme le soleil levant, &c." But Kauśeya, with which we have met already, and *chao-hsia* are the materials of the white garments worn by the people. The words *chao-hsia-yi* cannot possibly be made to mean "et portent des vêtements rouges comme le soleil levant". *Chao-hsia* denotes the *light vapours of dawn*, the *eastern glow which heralds sunrise.* But it is the name given by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims and writers to certain fine transparent fabrics which they found in India and other foreign countries. Thus the dancing girls of Fu-nan are described as "using *chao-hsia* for clothing". This material was a very fine white gauze or muslin capable of being dyed; it was soft and transparent like the fleecy vapours of dawn. The images of the P'usas, and other Buddhist worthies, were often made to represent these beings as wearing *chao-hsia-chün* or skirts of transparent material. Such koa vestments may be seen on many of the Buddhist figures found in India and depicted in books. But *chao-hsia* as an article of clothing was evidently a kind of muslin simply fine and light.[1]

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[1] See the "T'ang-Shu, *ch.* 22, 197 et al.; Fo-shuo-t'ê-lo-ni-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 368. tr. 653). Cf.—

"And the far up clouds resemble
Veils of gauze most clear and white."

Further, in this passage we have the sentence beginning with—"On from this country there were numerous Punyaśālas". For this the original is *tzŭ-kuo-yi-wang-to-yu-fu-she* (此國已往多有福舍). Julien translates the whole sentence thus—"Il y avait jadis, dans ce royaume, une multitude de maisons de bienfaisance (Pounyaçālās), où l'on secourait les pauvres et les malheureux. Tantôt on y distribuait des médicaments, tantôt de la nourriture. Grâce à cette resource les voyageurs ne se trouvaient jamais dans l'embarras". This rendering quite spoils the author's statement which is to the effect that at the time of his travels Rest-houses, at which food and medicine were distributed gratis, abounded in Cheh-ka and the countries of India about to be noticed. These Rest-houses or *Fu-she* are called Punyaśālas in *Chuan XII*, but in the account of the present country the Life calls them Dharmaśālas. This latter word, in Pali Dhammaśāla, is the name given to the Hall for preaching, but it seems to be also used to designate the free Rest-houses

On his way to the capital of this country (which was probably also called Cheh-ka) and about fourteen *li* south-west from it Yuan-chuang came to the old capital called Śākala. Some centuries previously a king named Mo-hi-lo-ku-lo (Mahirakula), who had his seat of government at this city, ruled over the Indians. He was a bold intrepid man of great ability and all the neighbouring states were his vassals. Wishing to apply his leisure to the study of Buddhism, he ordered the clergy of this country to recommend a Brother of eminent merit to be his teacher. But the clergy found difficulty in obeying the command, the apathetic among them not seeking notoriety, and those of great learning and high intelligence fearing stern majesty. Now at this time there was an old servant of the king's household who had been a monk for a long time. Being clear and elegant in discourse and glib in talking, this man was selected by the congregation of Brethren to comply with the royal summons. This insulting procedure enraged the king who forthwith ordered the utter extermination of the Buddhist church throughout all his dominions. Now the king of Magadha at this time, Bālāditya by name, was a just and benevolent ruler and a zealous Buddhist and he rebelled against the order for the persecution of Buddhists. When Mahirakula proceeded to

invade the territory of Bālāditya to reduce him to obedience the latter accompanied by several myriads of his subjects withdrew to an island Mahirakula came in pursuit but he was taken prisoner. On the petition of Bālāditya's mother the prisoner was set free and allowed to go away. His younger brother having taken possession of the throne he took refuge in Kashmir, and here he repaid hospitality by treachery, and having murdered the King he made himself ruler. Then he renewed his project of exterminating Buddhism, and with this view he caused the demolition of 1600 topes and monasteries, and put to death nine koṭis of lay adherents of Buddhism. His career was cut short by his sudden death, and the air was darkened, and the earth quaked, and fierce winds rushed forth as he went down to the Hell of unceasing torment.

This passage reads like a romance founded on a basis of fact. The Mahirakula of our pilgrim has been identified with king Mihirakula of Kashmir, and his king Bālāditya of Magadha is supposed to be possibly the Nara Bālāditya of coins.[1] But there are difficulties in the way of accepting these identifications. There is first the difference in the forms Mahirakula and Mihirakula, but this is perhaps unimportant and need not be further noticed. The form Mahirakula seems to be confined to the pilgrim, and he may have used it to suit his erroneous rendering of the name by *Ja-tsu* or "Great Clan". But the Mihirakula of the Inscriptions began his reign in A. D. 515, while the king of whom Yuan-chuang tells lived "some centuries" before the pilgrim's time. Other authorities also seem to place Mikirakula at a date much before A. D. 515. Thus in the "Lien-hua-mien-ching" or "the sūtra of Lotus-flower-face" Mihirakula, a reincarnation of the Lotus-flower-face arhat, appears as the King who exterminates Buddhism in Kapin (Kashmir) and breaks the Buddha's bowl.[2] This sūtra must have been composed some time before A. D. 574 the date of its translation (according to one account), and the contents seem to indicate that it was

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[1] See Mr. Fleet on Mihirakula in Ind. Ant. Vol. XV p. 245 f., and the correspondence at p. 346 f.: J. R. A. S. Vol. XXI p. 114—5: J. P T. S. 1896 p.p. 87, 110: Lawrence's Valley of Kashmir p. 185.

[2] Lien-hua-mien-ching *ch.* 2 ((No. 465).

written long after the death of Mihirakula. It relate that after this event seven deva-putras became incarnat in succession in Kashmir, and that they restored Buddhisn The meaning of this evidently is that the king was succeec ed by seven sovereigns who were all patrons of Buddhisn Then in the "Fu-fa-tsang-yin-yuan-ching", translated A.D.47: a persecuting king called *Mi-lo-ku* (彌羅崛), that is ev dently Mihirakula, destroys the Buddhist sacred buildıng and slaughters the Brethren in Kapin (Kashmir).[1] H beheads the 23rd, and last (according to this work), of th great Buddhist Patriarchs, by name Shih-tzu (師子) tha is, Simha. This last event according to the "Chih-yue-lu occurred in A. D. 259.[2] No authority is given for this dat and it is not to be implicitly accepted, but it is interestin to note that the Rājatarangini makes twelve reigns inter vene between Kanishka and Mihirakula. If we allow a average of 15 years for these reigns we get A.D. 80 + 18 or A. D. 260 for the accession of Mihirakula.

The Life and Records leave the situation of the ruine city of Sākala rather uncertain. The latter work tells u that this city was 14 or 15 *li* south-west from the ne capital, of the situation of which, however, we are not tol anything. In the Life Sakala is three (or four) days' journe or about 300 *li* (about 60 miles) south-east from Rājapu and on the east side of the Chenāl. Then the *old capita* of the Records does not appear in the Life which on th other hand mentions a large city on the eastern confine of Che-Ka and this city does not appear in the Records Cunningham, against both the Life and the Records, place Sākala about 120 miles to the *south-west* of Rājapur. H identifies Yuan-chuang's Cheh-ka (or Tsekia), as nam of a city, with "the ruins of a large town, called *Asaru* which accord almost exactly with the pilgrim's descriptio of the new town of Tsekia". This Asarur is "exactl 112 miles distant from Rajaori (Rājapur) in a direct lin

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[1] Fu-fa-tsang-yin-yuan-ching, *ch.* 6 (No. 1340)
[2] Chi-yue-lu, *ch.* 3.

drawn on the map", that is, 112 miles to the south-west of Rājapur. But it is very evident that Yuan-chuangs journey from the latter to the capital of Cheh-Ka was a zig-zag one always, however, tending eastward, and Asarur cannot be the pilgrim's capital of that country.

In Sākala was a Buddhist monastery with above 100 Brethren all adherents of the Hinayāna system. In this Monastery P'usa Vasubandhu composed the "Shêng-yi-t'i-lun" (勝義諦論). A tope beside this monastery marked a place where the Four Past Buddhas had preached, and there were footprints where they had walked up and down.

The sāstra here ascribed to Vasubandhu does not seem to be known to the Buddhist collections. Julien restores the Sanskrit name as "Paramārtha satya śāstra", but this is only a probable conjecture.

The *Cheh-ka* (傑迦) of this passage is *Lih* (櫟)-*ka* in one text of the Life, and this latter form is found in other works. It is possible that the original for both transcriptions was a word like Ṭikka or Ṭekka, *ch* and *l* sounds being both used to represent the *ṭ* of Sanskrit. The term in our text has been restored as Tchēka, Takka and Ṭaki. It designated a country which was not in India, but was one of the foreign states which lay between Lampa and India, and should have been included in the pilgrim's general survey at the end of the last *chuan*.[1]

CHI-NA-P'UH-TI.

From the Che-ka (or Tekka) district Yuan-chuang continued his journey going eastward for above 500 *li* and came to the country which he calls *Chi-na-p'uh-ti* (至那僕底). This district was above 2000 *li* and its capital 14 or 15 *li* in circuit: it produced good crops of grain but did not abound in trees: the inhabitants had settled occupations and the national revenue was abundant: the climate was warm and the inhabitants had feeble timid ways. The learning of the people embraced Buddhism and secular knowledge, and orthodoxy and heterodoxy had each its adherents There were ten Buddhist monasteries and nine Deva-Temples.

[1] For this country see A. G. I. p. 179.

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The Chinese annotator here has translated the name of the country by *Han-fêng* (漢 封), and Julien, who reads the characters of the name as *Tchi-na-po-ti* gives the Sanskrit original as "Tchînapati", meaning "Lord of China". But Han-fêng means *China-fief* not *China-lord*, and the characters for *p'uh-ti* cannot be taken to represent *pati*. They evidently stand for *bhukti* which is translated by *fêng* in the sense of *possession, portion.*[1] So China-bhukti is the China-allotment, and the China-bhukti-deśa was the district assigned to China, that is to the China hostage according to Yuan-chuang's story.

One of the ten monasteries here mentioned was, according to the Life, called *T'u-she-sa-na*, which perhaps stands for Toshāsan meaning "Pleasure-giving". This monastery was apparently at the capital, and Yuan-chuang found in it a monk eminent for learning and piety. The name of this monk was Vinîtaprabha, and he was the son of an Indian prince. This monk was the author of two commentaries on Abhidharma works, and Yuang-chuang remained here fourteen months studying with him various Abhidharma treatises.

Going back to the narrative in the Records we have the pilgrim's explanation how the name China-bhukti came to be given to this region.

> When Kanishka was reigning the fear of his name spread to many regions so far even as to the outlying vassals of China to the west of the Yellow River. One of these vassal states being in fear sent a hostage to the court of king Kanishka, (the hostage being apparently a son of the ruler of the state). The king treated the hostage with great kindness and consideration, allowing him a separate residence for each of the three seasons and providing him with a guard of the four kinds of soldiers. This district was assigned as the winter residence of the hostage and hence it was called Chinabhukti. The pilgrim proceeds to relate how Peaches and Pears were unknown in this district and the parts of India beyond until they were introduced by the "China

[1] Sanskrit-Chinese Vocabulary. In the C text of the Life instead of -p'u we have -kin (僅), but this may be only a copyist's mistake.

hostage". Hence, he tells us, peaches were called "Chināni" and pears were called "China-rājaputra"

The Sanskrit names here given for the peach and the pear seem to be known only from this narrative. Later authorities tell us that these fruits are indigenous in the country, and the whole story of the hostage is possibly an invention. One Sanskrit name for the peach is given in a glossary as *āru* and this name is still in use: and a name for the pear is given as *tanasa* but this word does not seem to be known. Further the "Chīna" known to the people of India before the arrival of Chinese pilgrims and afterwards was apparently not the "Flowery Middle Country", but rather a region occupied by a tribe living to the west of the Chinese empire, far west of the Yellow River. This "Chīna" was watered by the rivers Sita and Chakshu and it was one of the countries in the north-east. The name was afterwards extended to the "Flowery Land" apparently by the Buddhist writers and translators of India and Kashmir. Our pilgrim tells his readers that the people of Chinabhukti had great respect for the "East Land" and that pointing to him they said one to another — "He is a man of the country of our former king".

Cunningham thinks that the capital of this country may be represented by the present Patti, "a large and very old town situated 27 miles to the north-east of Kasūr and 10 miles to the west of the Biās river".[1] But notwithstanding the presence of the ubiquitous brick-bats and old wells, this proposed identification need not be seriously considered. It is not at all probable that the name Chinabhukti was ever generally known or used for the district to which it is applied by the pilgrim. He seems indeed to be the only authority for the name. Not only so but a copyist's error in transcribing it has unfortunately been perpetuated. In the Life, and in one place in the old texts of the Records, the first syllable of the word was left out by mistake. It was evidently this mistake

[1] A. G. I. p. 200.

which led to the use of *Na-p'uh-ti* instead of *Chi-na-p'uh-ti* as the name for the country next to Tekka in the Fang-chih and in maps and treatises of later times.

TAMASÂVANA.

From the capital of Chinabhukti the pilgrim went south-east above 500 *li* to the *Ta-mo-su-fa-na* (Tamasāvana) Monastery. This had above 300 Brethren of the Sarvāstivādin School who led strict pure lives and were thorough students of the Hinayāna. Here each of the 1000 Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa assembles a congregation of devas and men and preaches the profound excellent Religion. Here also in the 300th year after Sakyamuni Buddha's nirvāṇa the Śāstramaster *Ka-to-yen-na* composed his "Fa-chih-lun". This monastery had an Asoka tope above 200 feet high beside which were the spots on which the Four Past Buddhas had sat and walked up and down. Small topes and large caves in unknown number succeeded each other closely, all having relics of arhats who since the beginning of this kalpa here passed away for ever. Surrounding the Hill-Monastery for a circuit of twenty *li* were hundreds and thousands of Buddha-relic topes very close together.

In the Life the distance from the capital of Chinabhukti to the Tamasāvana monastery in 50 *li* or only one tenth of the distance here given. Our pilgrim's *Ta-mo-su-fa-na* is undoubtedly the Tamasāvana (or Tāmasavana) or "Darkness-wood" of other authors. This was apparently the name both of the monastery and of the district in which it was situated. The monastery must have been at an early date a noted seat of Buddhism as Brethren from it were among the great Doctors invited by king Asoka to his Council. The description of the summoning of this Council is given in several treatises from one original apparently. It is interesting to note the agreement and difference of these treatises in the matter of the Tamasāvana. In the Divyāvadāna the reading is "Tamasāvane" and the A-yü-wang-ching in agreement with this has *An-lin* or "Darkness-wood", the interpretation given by our pilgrim. But the Tsa-a-han-ching instead of Tamasāvana has *To-p o-p'oh* which is evidently for Tapova, the original being probably Tapovana. In the A-yü-wang-chuan the

"dhirās Tamasāvane" is rendered by *Chou-ye-wu-wei* lit. "day-night fearless", that is, the brave of the Day-night.[1] The phrase in ordinary Chinese would mean "day and night without fear", but here the term *chou-ye* is used in the sense of "the darkness of day". It corresponds to the *chow-an* or "Day-darkness" of another treatise and both terms evidently stand for Tamasā.[2]

With reference to this Monastery we read that the Buddha accompanied by the faithful yaksha Vajrapāni passed over a dark green wood on his way through the air to convert the Dragon-king Apalāla. Addressing the Yaksha Buddha prophecied that in that place 100 years after his decease a vihāra would be erected to be called "Darkness-wood" which should be preeminent for absorbed meditation.[3]

The Śāstra-master here called *Ka-to-yen-na* (Katyāyana) was Kātyāyanīputra, and his śāstra here mentioned exists in two Chinese translations one of which is by our pilgrim.[4]

For the words in the text here interpreted as meaning— "Surrounding the Hill-monastery for a circuit of twenty *li* were hundreds and thousands of Buddha-relic topes very close together", Julien has— "Les couvents, qui s'élèvent tout autour de la montagne, occupent un circuit de vingt li. On compte par centaines et par milliers les *stoupas* qui renferment des *che-li* (Çariras-reliques) du Bouddha. Ils sont très-rapprochés et confondent mutuellement leur ombre". This rendering seems to be inadmissible and to give a meaning very different from what the author intended to convey. Yuan-chuang does not make the absurd statement that there were Buddhist monasteries for twenty *li* all round a hill, but he tells us that there were thousands of relic-topes all round the "Hill monastery". The "Hill

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[1] Divyāv. p. 399. A-yü-wang-ching, *ch.* 3. Isa-a-han-ching, *ch.* 23: A-yü-wang-chuan *ch.* 1 (chou-ye-wu-wei 晝夜無畏).

[2] Ta-chuang-yen-lun, *ch.* 5 (No. 1182), *chow-an* 晝闇.

[3] Sar. Vin. Yao-shih, *ch.* 9.

[4] Bun. No. 1273, 1275.

monastery" was the Tamasāvana; and it was so called by the pilgrim because it was isolated, and not subject to a superior establishment. This use of the word *shan* (山) in the senses of *wild, independent, rustic* is very common, and the phrase *shan-ka-lan* meets us again in these Records. The monastery Tamasāvana as our pilgrim describes it was a spacious comprehensive establishment. It had accommodation for 300 Brethren: it contained a tope and sacred places of the Buddhas, and the caves and memorial topes of numerous deceased arhats; and then all round it for twenty *li* were many thousand Buddha-relic topes. In other treatises the establishment is called a *Wood* or *Hill*, and it was evidently different in character from ordinary vihāras.

SHÊ-LAN-TA-LO (JĀLANDHARA).

From Tamasāvana a journey of obout 140 *li* north-east brought the pilgrim to the *She-lan-ta-lo* (Jalandhara) country. This country was above 1000 *li* east to west and 800 *li* north to south, and its capital was twelve or thirten *li* in circuit. The region yielded much upland rice with other grain, trees were widely spread, and fruits and flowers abounded; the climate was warm; the people had truculent ways and a mean contemptible appearance, but they were in affluent circumstances. There were above 50 Monasteries with more than 2000 Brethren who made special studies in the Great and Little Vehicles. There were three Deva-Temples with more than 500 professed non-Buddhists of the Paśupata sect. A former king of this country had been a patron of non-Buddhistic systems; afterwards he met an arhat and learning Buddhism from him became a zealous believer. Thereupon the king of "Mid-India" appreciating his sincere faith gave him sole control of matters relating to Buddhism in all India. In this capacity (as Protector of the Faith) the king of Jālandhara rewarded and punished the monks without distinction of persons and without private feeling. He also travelled through all India and erected topes or monasteries at all sacred places.

The *She-lan-ta-lo* of this passage was long ago restored as Jālandhara, the name of a city and district in the north of the Panjab.[1] But it may be noted that the Life here

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[1] A. G. I. p. 136.

and the Fang-chih have *She-lan-ta-na* as if for Jālandhana[1]; in another passage the Life has *She-lan-ta*, and this is the form of the name used by I-ching[2]. In the Sung pilgrim's itinerary the name is given Tso-lan-t-o-la (左攔陀羅) that is, Jālandhana[3].

Of the 50 Monasteries here mentioned one was doubtless the Nagaradhana vihāra mentioned in the Life. In it Yuan-chuang found the learned Brother named Chandravarma with whom he spent four months studying the "Chung-shih-fên-vibhāshā", or Commentary on the "Chung-shih-fên-Abhidharma-lun" already noticed.

Our pilgrim, it will be noticed, represents the Brethren in this district as "making special studies in the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna". His words are *ta-hsiao-ērh-shêng-chuan-mên-hsi-hsio* (大小二乘專門習學). These words are translated by Julien— "que l'étude particulière du *grand* et du *petit Vehicule* partage en deux classes distinctes". This is a very unhappy rendering and the interpolation of the words "partage en deux classes distinctes" is unwarranted and spoils the author's statement. What he wished us to unterstand was that the Brethren in the various Monasteries devoted themselves as they pleased to particular lines of study in the Mahāyānist and Hīnayānist books.

According to the Life our pilgrim revisited Jālandhara, and on that occasion was well treated by the king of "North-India" who had his seat of government in the city with this name. The king is called Wu-ti or Wu-ti-to (烏地多) restored as Udito. It was evidently the same king who treated courteously, and entertained hospitably, another Chinese pilgrim whose name was *Hsüan-chao* (玄照)[4] whom we have met already.

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[1] Life *ch.* 5 and J. I. p. 260—1.
[2] Hsi-yü-ch'iu, *ch.* 1 and Chavannes Mémoires pp. 14, 15 and notes.
[3] Ma I. l., *ch.* 338.
[4] Hsi-yü-ch'iu l. c.

KU-LU-TO.

From Jālandhara the pilgrim travelled north-east, across mountains and ravines, by hazardous paths, for above 700 *li*, and came to the country which he calls *Kulto*. This region, which was above 3000 *li* in circuit, was entirely surrounded by mountains. Its capital was 14 or 15 *li* in circuit. It had a rich soil and yielded regular crops, and it had a rich vegetation abounding in fruits and flowers. As it was close to the Snow Mountains it had a great quantity of valuable medicines. It yielded gold, silver, red copper, crystal lenses and bell-metal (*teu-shih*). The climate grew gradually cold and there was little frost or snow. There were in the country twenty Buddhist Monasteries with above 1000 Brethren of whom the most were Mahāyānists, a few adhering to the Schools (that is, belonging to the Hīnayāna system). Of Deva-Temples there were fifteen and the professed non-Buddhists lived pell-mell. On both sides of the steep mountain-passes were caves [which had been] the lodging-places of arhats and rishis. In this country was a tope erected by Asoka to mark the place at which the Buddha on his visit to the district had preached and received members into his church.

In the statement here made about the climate of the country the words "grew gradually cold" are in the original *chien-han* (漸寒). This is the reading of the A and C texts, but the B and D texts instead of *chien* have *yü* (逾) meaning, *passing*, *excessive*, which is manifestly wrong. The latter was the reading of Julien's text, and as it did not suit the words which follow— "there was little (*wei* 微) frost or snow", he decided to substitute *chêng* (徵) for the *wei* of his text. He then translates— "il tombe souvent du givre et de la neige" But this violent alteration seems to be unnecessary, and *wei* is the reading of all the texts.

In the Fang-chih the name of this country is given as *Ku-lu-to-lo* and also *Ku-lu-lo*. Cunningham considers that the distance and bearing of the district from Jālandhara correspond "exactly with the position of *Kullu*, in the upper valley of the Byas river", and he regards it as the Kulūtā of other writers[1]. This latter term is the name

[1] 'Ancient Geography of India' p. 142.

of a country in the north-west division of the Brihat Samhita[1]. As the Sanskrit word *kula* means, along with other things a *heap* or *collection* the *Ku-lu-to* country is perhaps the *Chi-chi* (積集) or "Accumulation" district of the Sarvata Vinaya. Buddha there goes from the Tamasāvana to the Chi-chi district where he converts and receives into his church a Yaksha who afterwards builds a monastery. The district also obtained a relic of the Buddha's body for which a tope was built called the *Chi-chi* Tope[2].

The pilgrim now tells us of two countries which he did not visit. Going north, he writes, from Kuluto for above 1800 *li* you come to the *Ko-hu-lo* country: still farther north above 2000 *li* was the *Mo-lo-so* (or-*sha*) country, the roads being very bad and cold.

Cunningham regards the Lo-hu-lo of this passage as "clearly the *Lho-yul* of the Tibetans and the Lāhul of the people of Kullu and other neighbouring states". The pilgrim's Mo-lo-so, Cunningham says— "must certainly be Ladāk." He regards the *so* of the name as a mistake for *p'o*, and Mo-lo-p'o, he says, would give us Mar-po "the actual name of the province of Ladāk". A note to our Chinese text here tells us that another name for Mo-lo-so was *San-p'o-ha*. The two countries here mentioned were of course outside of India.

SHE-TO-T'U-LU.

From Kuluto the pilgrim travelled south, over a high mountain and across a great river, for above 700 *li*, and reached the country called *She-to-t'u-lu*. This was above 2000 *li* in circuit, bounded on the west by a large river (supposed to be the Sutlej), and its capital was 17 or 18 *li* in circuit. It was an a agricultural and fruit-producing country, and yielded much gold, silver, and other precious substances. The inhabitants were in good circumstances and led moral lives, observing social distinctione and adhering devoutly to Buddhism. In and about the capital were ten monasteries, but they were desolate, and the Brethren were very few. About three *li* to the south-east of the capital was an Asoka

[1] Ind. Ant. Vol. XXII. p. 182.
[2] Sar. Vin. Yao-shih, *ch.* 9.

tope above 200 feet high, and beside it were traces of spots on which the Four Past Buddhas had sat and walked up and down.

Nothing seems to be known of the country and city here described, and the suggestions for identification requiring some tampering with the text are not of much value[1]. The restoration of the name as Satadru has been generally accepted, but the transcription seems to require rather Śatadure, and this is perhaps better than Śatadru which is the name of a river (the Sutlej): the characters, however, may represent Śatadru.

P'O-LI-YE-TA-LO (PĀRYĀTRA).

From Śatadru the pilgrim proceeded south-west, and after a journey of over 800 *li*, reached the country called *P'o-li-ye-ta-lo* (Pāryatra). This country was above 3000 and its capital about 14 *li* in circuit. It had good crops of spring wheat and other grain, including a peculiar kind of rice which in 60 days was ready for cutting. Oxen and sheep were numerous, and fruits and flowers were scarce: the climate was hot and the people had harsh ways, they did not esteem learning and were not Buddhists. The king, who was of the *Fei-she* (吠奢) (Vaiśya stock, was a man of courage and military skill There were eight Buddhist monasteries in a bad state of ruin: the Brethren, who were very few in number, were Hīnayānists. There were above ten Deva-Temples and the professed non-Buddhists were above 1000 in number.

The district here described has been identified by M. Reinaud "with Pāryatra or Bairāt" and this identification has been accepted.[2]

The rice of this country which grew and ripened in 60 days could not have been the ordinary upland or dry rice, as Jo thinks, for that was well known to the pilgrim as a product of his own country and of several lands through which he had recently passed. It must have been a special variety, as the Cochin-China rice, to which Julien refers, is a peculiar variety.

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[1] See Julien III. p. 335: A. G. I. p. 144.

[2] Julien III. p. 336: A. G. I. p. 337.

MATHURĀ.

From Pāryatra, the pilgrim continues, a journey of above 500 li eastwards brought him to the country called *Mo* (or *Mei*)-*t'u-lo* (or Mathurā).

This name is translated in some Chinese glossaries by "Peacock", as if Mayūra. It is also said to be derived from *madhu*, *honey*, as if the spelling of the name were Madhurā. Mr Growse considers that the word is probably connected with the Sanskrit root *math*, "to churn", "the churn forming a prominent feature in all poetical descriptions of the local scenery".[1] In connection with this it is interesting to observe that in a Buddhist scripture a sick bhikshu is represented as unable to obtain milk at Mathurā.[2] There was also a story of a great giant Madhu from whom the name of the city and district was derived. This also points to the form Madhurā.

Yuan-chuang describes the country of Mathurā as being above 5000 li in circuit. its capital being above twenty li in circuit. The soil, he says, was very fortile and agriculture was the chief business: mango trees were grown in orchards at the homesteads of the people: there were two kinds of this fruit, one small and becoming yellow when ripe and the other large and remaining green. The country produced also a fine striped cotton cloth and gold: its climate was hot: the manners and customs of the inhabitants were good: the people believed in the working of karma, and paid respect to moral and intellectual eminence. There were in the district above twenty Buddhist monasteries, and above 2000 Brethren who were diligent students of both "Vehicles". There were also five Deva-Temples and the professed adherents of the different non-Buddhist sects lived pell-mell.

When Fa-hsien visited this country he also found 20 monasteries but he estimated the number of Brethren as about 3000.[3]

We now come to a passage which presents some serious difficulties. It seems to be faulty both in form and sub-

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1 Growse's Mathurā p. 73 (2d ed.). See below p. 311.

2 A-yü-wang-ching, *ch.* 9.

3 Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 16.

stance and it has perplexed native scholars. For the present we may render it as follows.

> There are three topes all built by Asoka: very numerous traces left by the Four Past Buddhas: topes (or a tope) for the relics of the following holy disciples of Sakya Ju-lai, viz. Sāriputra, Mudgalaputra, Pūrṇamaitriyāniputra, Upāli, Ānanda, and Rāhula: topes for Mañjuśrī and the other P'usas. In the "Three Longs" of every year, and on the six Fastdays of every month, the Brethren with mutual rivalry make up parties, and taking materials of worship with many valuables, repair to the images of their special patrons. The Abhidharma Brethren offer worship to Sāriputra, the Samādhists to Mudgalaputra, the Sūtraists to Pūrnamaitriyāniputra, the Vinayists to Upāli, the bhikshunis to Ānanda, and the śrāmaṇeras to Rāhula, and the Māhāyanists to the various P'usas. On these days the topes vie with each other in worship: banners and sunshades are displayed, the incense makes clouds and the flowers are scattered in showers, sun and moon are obscured and the mountain-ravines convulsed: the king and his statesmen devote themselves to good works.

The difficulties of this passage begin with the first sentence, and a native scholar took from the paragraph a very different meaning from that here given. He understood the author to state that there were three Asoka topes, viz. one for the numerous traces left by the Four Past Buddhas, one for the holy disciples of the Buddha, and one for the P'usas. There is something to be said in favour of this interpretation, but it does not quite suit either the construction or the context. With the present interpretation we have the bald statement that there were three Asoka topes. The Fang-chih places these within the capital, but our text does not give any information as to their situation, or structure, or the purposes for which they were erected. So also the next clause— "very many traces of the Four Past Buddhas" —seems to require at its head either the — "viz. a tope for" of the Chinese scholar, or the "On montre" which Julien prefixes. Then as to the topes for the relics of the great disciples the term for relics is *i-shên* (遺身) lit. "left bodies", and Julien translates *i-shên stūpa* by "Divers stoūpas renfermant les corps". But *i-shên* here, as in other passages, means only the *ashes, bones* or other relics left after crem-

ation, *shên* being used as the equivalent of the Sanskrit word for *body*, Śarīra, which is also used in the sense of a "bodily relic". Then we have this difficulty, that not only was no one of the great disciples here named buried at Mathura, but also there is no authority for stating that the relics of any one of them were conveyed to this district Moreover, as the Fang-chih points out, Rāhula was supposed not to have tasted death. This treatise, accordingly suggests that the word for *body* (*shên*) should not be taken here in its ordinary sense, but should be unterstood as meaning a visible symbol, such as an image or other likeness. The reader will observe that our pilgrim represents the worshippers as paying reverence, not to the topes, but to images or pictures apparently set up for the occasion. Fa-hsien in his general survey of "Mid-India" including the Mathurā district, tells us that at the Buddhist vihāras there were topes to Śāriputra, Madgalyāyana (Yuan-chuang's Mudgalaputra), Ananda, and to the Sūtras, the Vinaya, and the Abhidharma. To some of these topes services were offered, but he describes the Śrāmaṇeras as making offerings to Rāhula not to his tope, and he describes the Mahāyānists as offering worship to "Prajñāparamitā, Mañjuśrī, and Kuan-shi-yin".[1]

Then our pilgrim is perhaps wrong in representing the Abhidharmists as worshipping Śāriputra, the Samādhists as worshipping Mudgalaputra, and the Sūtra Brethren as worshipping Pūrṇa-Maitriyāniputra. Sāriputra was distinguished among the disciples for his great spiritual wisdom or prajñā, but he had nothing to do with the Abhidharma, which did not come into existence until after his death. So Mahāmaudgalyāyana was great in magic, in his superhuman powers, but not in samādhi. Maitriyāniputra is sometimes praised as a good expounder of the Master's teaching but he is not specially associated with the sūtras.

Julien takes Manjuśrī to be one of the holy disciples of the Buddha, and the author of Fang-chih; and others

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Fo-kuo-chi.

have taken the same meaning out of the text. But Manjuśrī was not a human being: he was one of the great Bodhisattvas, often figuring as first or chief of all these Mahāyāna creations.

This passage tells us that the Brethren went in parties to offer worship to their respective patrons in the "Three Longs" of the year and the Six Fast-days of each month. By the "Three Longs" we are probably to understand the first, fifth, and ninth months of each year which were called the "Three Long Months" and the "Three Long Fasts". The Six Fast-days were the 8th, 14th, 15th of each half-month or the 8th, 14th, 15th, 23th, 29th, 30th of each month. This has been made known to us by Julien who obtained his information from a late Chinese Buddhist compilation. In this work under the heading "Nine Fast Days" we find the above three month-fasts and six monthly day-fasts given as making up the "Nine Fast-days". This seems to be rather a peculiar way of reckoning, and Julien gets over the difficulty by changing *month* into "in the month", and making the "nine Fast-days" literally nine days. But then, what is to be done with the Fasts called the "Three long months" or "Three long Fasts"? The reason for the religious observance of these periods by the Buddhist clergy and laity is given in several books. In the three months specified Indra (or according to some Viśvamitra, or according to others the four Devarājas) by means of secret emissaries made a careful examination into the conduct and modes of life of the inhabitants of Jambudvīpa (India). So all the people of that continent were on their best behaviour in these months, they abstained from flesh and wine, and even from food lawful in ordinary times, and they offered worship and practised good works. They also kept holiday and visited the shrines of their divinities to pray for earthly blessings. In these months there were no executions of criminals and no slaughter of animals was allowed.[1] Thus

[1] Fo-shuo-chai-ching (No 577); Shih-shih-yao-lan, *ch.* 3; Fo-tsu-t'ung-chi, *ch.* 33 (No. 1661)

the "Three Long Fasts" were evidently in their origin a popular rather than a Buddhistic institution, and Buddhism may have adopted them to a certain extent as a matter of expediency. They are never mentioned, however, in the canonical treatises.

The "Six Fast-days of every Month" were also popular religious holidays before the time of the Buddha. According to some accounts these days, like the three months, were devoted by Indra's messengers to a roving inspection of the moral and religious conduct of the people of India[1]. The people on their part were careful on these days to fast, and offer worship, and do good works, in the hope of receiving material recompense such as fine weather and good crops. This sort of observance was called the "Cowherd's Fast". But the Parivrājakas of the Tīrthikas devoted these six days to the public reading of their scriptures, and the Buddha followed their example. He ordained that on these days the Pratimoksha should be recited in a select congregation of the Brethren; and he seems also to have appointed the reading of the Dharma on these days, the Uposatha days, to the people[2]

Our pilgrim is apparently wrong in representing the Buddhist Brethren as spending the first, fifth, and ninth months in the manner here indicated. The fifth month was part of the Retreat from the rains, and the Brethren could not break up Retreat for a whole month and go away to a tope or a monastery to pay respect to their special patrons and enjoy themselves with their companions. Fa-hsien makes the festival of Patron-worship occur once a year after Retreat, each set having its own day, and this is more likely to be correct than Yuan-chuang's account. According to Fa-hsien also it was the people who provided the illuminations and flowers for the topes while the clergy preached. These topes, moreover, in his narrative throughout the region of which he is writing were apparently

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[1] Ssŭ-t'ien-wang-ching (No. 722): Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching, ch. 16

[2] 'Vinaya Texts' (S. B. E.) Vol. I. pp. 239, 240.

attached to or near monasteries, but the topes of our pilgrim's account do not seem to have been connected with any Buddhist establishment.

Returning to our pilgrim's description of this district we read that—

> going east from the capital five or six *li* one comes to a "hill-monastery" the chamber of which was quarried in a steep bank, a narrow defile being used to form its entrance. This monastery had been made by the venerable Upagupta and it enclosed a tope with a finger-nail relic of the Buddha. Through the north rock-wall of the monastery was a cave above 20 feet high by 30 feet wide, within which were piled up fine four-inch slips of wood (that is, tallies). When the Venerable Upagupta was preaching and converting, every married couple which attained arhatship put down a tally here, but for single members of families although they became arhats no record of the fact was kept.

The words for "a hill-monastery" in this passage are *yi-shan-ka-lan* and Julien translates them "un *kia-lan* situé sur une montagne". As has been seen a "hill-ka-lan" was a rural non-descript vihara not attached to any superior establishment. Then Julien makes the pilgrim locate the Tally-cave "dans une caverne qui est au nord de ce *kia-lan*" The text has *ka-lan-pei-yen-hsien-yu-shih-shih* (伽藍北巖間有石室) that is, in the steep rock on the north of the ka-lan is a cave. The word *yen* does not mean *une caverne* but a steep wall of rock, and the entrance to the Tally-cave was through the rock which formed the north side of the Vihāra-Cave. This interpretation of the text will be found to agree with descriptions given in other treatises.

The site of the Upagupta monastery, as we may call the Hill *ka-lan*, of our author's narrative was apparently the place called the Urumuṇḍa (or Urumaṇḍa or Rurumaṇḍa) Hill, and the Rimurunda of Mr. Rockhill's Tibetan text. The name Urumaṇḍa is rendered in Chinese by "Great Cream" (大醍醐), its literal signification[1], and near the hill there was a "Great Cream" town or village. To describe or indicate this hill various forms of ex-

[1] A-yü-wang-ching, *ch.* 9.

pression are used. Thus seen from a distance it was "an azure streak"; it was also a "line of green forest", and a "wood of green trees". On or at this hill, according to some authorities, the brothers Naṭa and Baṭa constructed the Naṭabaṭa-vihāra, to which they afterwards invited Upagupta when he came to live at Mathurā. This is supposed to be the "Hill ka-lan" of our pilgrim but it may have been a separate establishment. This "Hill ka-lan" was evidently the house or vihāra of Upagupta on the Urumaṇḍa hill, and it was probably a large natural cave improved by art to constitute a monastery. Connected with the monastery was the cave in which the disciples converted by Upagupta's teaching, on their attainment of arhatship deposited each a slip of wood or bamboo.[1] This cave is also represented as a "made house" but this is evidently a mistake[2]. Its dimensions vary in different books, one authority making it 18 *chou* long, by 12 *chou* wide, and 7 *chou* high[3]. In our pilgrim's description we should probably regard "above 20 feet high" as a mistake for "above 20 feet long" other writers giving the length as 24 or 27 feet, the height being about 9 or 10 feet. Then Yuan-chuang's statement, that tallies were kept only of married couples attaining arhatship is very silly and does not agree with the accounts in other Chinese books. According to these every one who through Upagupta's teaching and guiding became an arhat added his tally to the pile. Upagupta had marvellous success as a Buddhist missionary at Mathurā: he converted many thousands of lay people, and through him 18000 disciples attained arhatship. When he died all the tallies deposited by these arhats were taken away and used at his cremation[4]. Yet Yuan-chuang would have us believe that he saw them still filling up the cave.

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[1] Sar. Vin. Yao-shih, *ch.* 9.

[2] A-yü-wang-chuan, *ch.* 5.

[3] Sar. Vin. l. c. The sh'ou (肘) was about 1½ foot. See also A-yü-wang-ching, *ch.* 6.

[4] Sar. Vin. l. c.: Tār. S. 14 f.

In some books the hill on which was the Naṭabhaṭa-vihāra occupied by Upagupta is called Sira or Uśira, although we also have mention of the Usira hill without any reference to a cave or monastery[1]. This Uśira hill was at the side of the "Urumaṇḍa Hill" and the latter name may have included the two hills and the wood or forest adjoining.

General Cunningham considered the site of Upagupta's monastery to be that of the Id-gah or Katra of the present Muttra, and this opinion has been adopted by others. But it is undoubtedly wrong. A later investigator, Mr Growse, writes: "General Cunningham, in his Archæological Report has identified the Upagupta monastery with the Yasa vihāra inside the Katra· but in all probability he would not now adhere to this theory; for, at the time when he advanced it, he had never visited the Kankāli Tīlā and was also under the impression that the Fort always had been, as it now is, the centre of the city Even then, to maintain his theory, he was obliged to have recourse to a very violent expedient, and in the text of the Chinese pilgrim to alter the word 'east' to 'west', because, he writes, "a mile to the east would take us to the low ground on the opposite bank of the Jamunā, where no ruins exist", forgetting apparently Fa Hian's distinct statement that in his time there were monasteries on both sides of the river, and being also unaware that there are heights on the left bank at Isapur and Mahāban, where Buddhist remains have been found. The topographical descriptions of the two pilgrims may be reconciled with existing facts without any tampering with the text of the narrative. Taking the Katra, or the adjoining shrine of Bhutesvar, as the omphalos of the ancient city and the probable site of the great stupa of Śāriputra, a short distance to the east will bring us to the Kankāli Tīlā, i. e. the monastery of Upagupta".[2] This is very positive but not quite con-

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[1] Tār. l c.· Tu-pei-ching (No. 117)

[2] Growse op c. p 112

vincing, and where did Mr Growse get his "great stupa of Śáriputra"?

This Upagupta monastery is apparently the "Cream village" vihāra of a Vinaya treatise, one of the many Buddhist establishments mentioned as being in the Mathurā district.[1] It may also perhaps be the Guha vihāra of the Lion Pillar inscriptions.[2] We find it called the Naṭika sanghārama, and the Naṭabaṭa (or Naṭibaṭi)-vihāra, as already stated, and the Naṭabhaṭikāraṇyāyatana of the Divyāvadana.[3] It was evidently in a hill among trees and not far from the city of Mathurā, but Yuan-chuang seems to be the only authority for placing it about a mile to the east of the city. This would apparently put the Urumaṇḍa hill on the east side of the Jumna, and the situation assigned to the Monkey Tope in the next paragraph agrees with this supposition.

> The pilgrim's narrative proceeds to state that to the south-east of the cave (that is, the Cave monastery) and 24 or 25 *li* (about five miles) from it was a large dried up pond beside which was a tope. This was the place Yuan-chuang tells us, at which when the Buddha was once walking up and down a monkey offered him some honey. The Buddha caused the honey to be mixed with water and then distributed among his disciples. Hereupon the monkey gambolled with delight, fell into the pit (or ditch) and died, and by the religious merit of this offering was born as a human being.

The story of a monkey or a flock of monkeys (or apes) presenting wild honey to the Buddha is told with variations in several Buddhist scriptures. In some the scene of the story is laid near Vaiśāli[4] (and our pilgrim, it will be seen, tells of a troop of monkeys offering honey to the Buddha at this place), in some at Śrāvasti[5],

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[1] Sêng-chi-lü, *ch.* 8.

[2] J. R. A. S. for 1894 p. 526.

[3] Divyāv ch. XXVI and p. 385: Bur. Int. p. 378: Ta-pei-ching

[4] Chung-a-han-ching, *ch.* 8: Sar. Vin. Yao-shih, *ch.* 18. Cf. Records. *ch.* 7.

[5] Hsien-yu-ching, *ch.* 12: Der Weise u. d. T. S. 347.

and in some at the Natika village[1]. The following account of the whole matter is taken chiefly from the "Hsien-yü-ching". The Buddha was once visited at Śrāvasti by a Brahmin householder who was son-less and wished to know whether he was to die so. Buddha consoled him with promise of a son who should become a distinguished member of the church. In due time the son was born, and because it was observed that about the time of his birth the honey-vessels in the house became full of honey, he received the name "Honey-prevailing". In Chinese the name is Mi-shêng (蜜勝) and the Sanskrit original is written *Mo-t'ou-lo-se-chih*, that is, Madhuraśachi or "Sweet Influence", viz. born with the good omen of honey. This boy in time became a disciple of the Buddha who explained to Ananda that Mi-shêng in a long-past previous existence had been a bhikshu, that he had then once been disrespectful to a senior Brother. The senior rebuked him gently and Mi-shêng was penitent, but he had to suffer punishment for his thoughtless rude language by 500 births as a monkey. It was in the last of these births that the incident of the honey-offering occurred. The Buddha and his disciples had halted for rest one day under some trees by a tank not far from Śrāvasti Here a monkey came and took Buddha's bowl and soon after returned with it full of honey and offered it to the Buddha. The latter sent the monkey back first to remove the insects from the honey and afterwards to add water to it. When the honey was thus "pure", that is, fit for bhikshus' use Buddha accepted it and distributed it among his disciples. The monkey was now up a tree again, and seeing his honey accepted and distributed he frisked about with delight until he fell and was drowned in the pit below. But by the merit of the gift of honey he was immediately born again as a human creature and became the disciple Mi-shêng. In another treatise the name of the bhikshu

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[1] Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shih. ch. 12 This may be the Natika of Urumaṇḍa, the village and the monastery having the same name

is given as Madhu-Vasishtha, his family name being Vasishtha[1], and in another work he is called *Mi-hsing* or "Honey-nature".[2] In one book the monkey skips with delight but does not fall into the water[3], and in another he dies and is born again in Paradise.[4]

The story of the monkey and the honey, here repeated by the pilgrim, being told of Mathurā as an explanation of the name, must have arisen at a time when the form used was Madhurā. There is also another monkey or ape story connected with Mathurā. In a previous existence, the Buddha once explained, Upagupta was born as a monkey (or ape) and became the chief of a troop of monkeys living at Urumanda. As such he made offerings and shewed much kindness to 500 Pratyeka Buddhas who were living on another part of Urumaṇḍa. The merit of his conduct to these worthies brought the monkey birth as a human being in his next existence, and in it, as the bhikshu Upagupta, he rose to be a most successful preacher, a peerless saint, and a Buddha in all but the bodily signs.[5]

The pilgrim goes on to narrate that to the north of the dried-up pond, and not far from it, was a large wood in which were footsteps of the Four Past Buddhas, left by them as they walked up and down Hard by these were topes to mark the places at which Śariputra and the others of the Buddha's 1250 great disciples had practised absorbed meditation There were also memorials of the Buddha's frequent visits to this district for the purpose of preaching.

The "large wood" of this passage, which lay between the Upagupta Monastery and the Dried-up Pond, may be the forest generally mentioned in connection with Urumanda. But it is at least doubtful whether any of the 1250 disciples ever practised samādhi in this neighbour-

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[1] Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shih, *ch.* 12.

[2] Sar. Vin. Yao-shih, *ch.* 18.

[3] Chung-a-han-ching, *ch.* 8.

[4] Sêng-cni-lü, *ch.* 29.

[5] Fu-fa-tsang-yin-yuan-ching, *ch.* 3: Sar. Vin. Yao-shih, *ch.* 9: Divyāv. Ch. XXVI.

hood. The Urumanda district was a great resort of ascetics devoted to serenity of mind and prolonged meditation, but this was after the time of Upagupta. Then the Buddha's visits to the Mathurā district do not seem to have been numerous, even if we accept records of doubtful authenticity. We are told that he expressed a dislike to the country which had, he said, five defects. The ground was uneven, it was covered with stones and brick-bats, it abounded with prickly shrubs, the people took solitary meals, and there were too many women.[1] We find mention of the Buddha visiting the country on one occasion and lodging in a mango-tope near the Bhadra river.[2] On another occasion he lodged with his disciples in Ass Yaksha's palace (or the monastery of Ass Yaksha) which was apparently outside the capital.[3] He also passed through this country with Ananda when returning from his mission to "North-India", going among the *yung-chün-jen* (勇軍人) or Sūrasenas until he reached Mathurā city.

It is worthy of notice that in his account of Mathurā and the surrounding district the pilgrim does not give the name of any hill, or river, or town, or Buddhist establishment in the country. His information about the district is meagre and his remarks about the Buddhist objects of interest in it seem to be confused and to a certain extent second-hand. He apparently did not visit the capital, and made only a hurried journey across a part of the country. It seems very strange that he does not mention by name the famous Urumuṇḍa (or Urumanda) Hill, so intimately connected, as we have seen, with the introduction of Buddhism into the district, and evidently an old place of resort for contemplative ascetics of other religious

[1] Sar. Vin. Yao-shih *ch* 10

[2] Tsa-a-han-ching, *ch.* 2 and 24. The mango topes seem to have all disappeared from the Mathurā district.

[3] Sar Vin Yao-shih, *ch.* 10. This building was properly not a monastery, but a hall or temple. It was apparently on the occasion of the Buddha's returning from the north that he made the stay at Mathurā, converting the wicked Yakshinis, and preaching his religion.

systems. Nor does he mention the great river which flowed past the east side of Mathurā city. Fa-hsien mentions this river which he calls *Pu-na* (捕那) short for the Yao (搖)-pu-na (Yabuna) of his translations. Our pilgrim in his translations and in this *chuan* transcribes the name *Yen-mou-na* (Yamunā). Then he does not seem to have heard of such wellknown Buddhist establishments as the vihāra of the *Hsien-jen* (仙人)-*chu-lao* or Rishi village (or town), or the vihāra of the Grove the *Ts'ung-lin* (叢林) -*ssŭ*. The former was on the east and the latter on the west side of the Jumna.[1] *Ts'ung-lin* is supposed to be for the Sanskrit Pinda-vana: it could not have been Krishna's Vrinda-vana, which was on the opposite side of the river.

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[1] Sêng-chi-lü, *ch* 8

CHAPTER X.

CHUAN IV CONT^D.

STHÂNEŚVAR TO KAPITHA.

From the Mathurā country the pilgrim, according to his narrative, proceeded north east, and after a journey of above 500 *li*, reached the *Sa-t'a-ni-ssŭ-fa-lo* (Sthānesvara) country He tells us this country was above 7000 *li* in circuit, and its capital, with the same name apparently, was above twenty *li* in circuit. The soil was rich and fertile and the crops were abundant. the climate was warm: the manners and customs of the people were illiberal: the rich families vied with each other in extravagance. The people were greatly devoted to magical arts and highly prized outlandish accomplishments: the majority pursued trade, and few were given to farming rarities from other lands were collected in this country. There were (that is, at the capital apparently) three Buddhist monasteries with above 700 professed Buddhists, all Hinayānists There were also above 100 Deva-Temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous.

The capital, the pilgrim goes on to describe, was surrounded for 200 *li* by a district called the "Place of Religious Merit" — *Fu-ti* (福地) The origin of this name Yuan-chuang learned at the place to be as follows The "Five Indias" were once divided between two sovereigns who fought for mastery, invading each other's territory and keeping up unceasing war. At length in order to settle the question of superiority, and so give peace to their subjects, the kings agreed between themselves to have a decisive action. But their subjects were dissatisfied and refused to obey their kings' commands. Thereupon the king [of that part of India which included Sthānesvara] thought of an expedient. Seeing it was useless to let his subjects have a voice in his proposals and knowing that the people would be influenced by the supernatural, he secretly sent a roll of silk to a clever brahmin commanding him to come to the palace. On his arrival there the brahmin was kept in an inner chamber, and there he

composed (that is, by the King's inspiration) a Dharma-sūtra (that is, a treatise on Duty). This book the king then hid in a rock-cave, where it remained for several years until vegetation covered the spot. Then one morning the king informed his ministers at an audience that he had been enlightened by Indra, who told him in a dream about an inspired book hidden in a certain hill. The book was brought forth, and officials and people were enraptured. By the king's orders the contents of the scripture were made known to all, and the sum of them was briefly this—

Life and death are a shoreless ocean with ebb and flow in endless alternation: intelligent creatures cannot save themselves from the eddies in which they are immersed. I have an admirable device for saving them from their woes, and it is this—Here we have for 200 *li* round this city the place of religious merit for generations of the ancient sovereigns, but as its evidences have been effaced in the long lapse of time, people have ceased to reflect on the efficacy of the place, and so have been submerged in the ocean of misery with no one to save them from perishing. Now all who, being wise, go into battle and die fighting, will be reborn among men: slaying many they will be innocent and will receive divine blessings: obedient grand-children and filial children serving their parents while sojourning in this district will obtain infinite happiness. As the meritorious service is little, and the reward it obtains great, why miss the opportunity? Once the human body is lost there are the three states of dark oblivion: hence every human being should be diligent in making good karma, thus all who engage in battle will look on death as a return home—

The the king ordered an enrolment of heroes for battle, and an engagement took place on this ground. The bodies of those killed in battle were strewn about in confused masses, so great was the number of the slain, and the huge skeletons of these heroes still cover the district, which popular tradition calls the Place of Religious Merit.

The whole of this passage about the "Place of Religious Merit" is curious and interesting, giving, as has been pointed out by others, the story which our pilgrim heard on the spot about the wars of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas. It reads like an extract from the Bhagavadgītā. The passage which, in the present rendering of it, is treated as being the sum of the inspired teaching of the sūtra, is made by Julien, in his version, to be a proclamation by the king of

Sthāneśvara. The last clause of the passage is treated by him as a separate sentence and he translates it thus—"Là-dessus, tous les hommes combattirent avec ardeur et coururent joyeusement à la mort", that is, before the king called on the people to enlist in his service. This treatment of the text seems to be a very unfortunate one as Yuan-chuang makes a clear distinction between the counsel of the Dharmasutra (*Fa-ching* 法經), and the king's proceedings after the promulgation of the counsel.

Four or five *li* to the north-west of the capital, the pilgrim relates, was an Asoka tope made of bright orange bricks, and containing wonder-working relics of the Buddha. Above 100 *li* south from the capital was the *Ku-hun-t'u* (in some texts *-ch'a*) monastery this had high chambers in close succession and detached terraces: the Buddhist Brethren in it led pure strict lives.

The *Ku-hun-t'u* (or *ch'a*) of this passage may perhaps, as has been suggested, be for Govinda. Another restoration proposed is Gokantha, and this is the name adopted by Cunningham, but it does not seem possible that the Chinese characters are a transcription of this word. Govinda is a common name for Krishna, but it may have been the name of the village in which the monastery here described was situated.

The Sthaneśvara of this passage has been identified with the modern Thānesar (Tānesar, Tanessar) in Ambala. Cunningham seems to regard this identification as beyond question[1], although in perhaps no point of distance, direction or measurement do the two places correspond. Thānesar is about 180 miles to the north-north-west of Mathurā[2], and Sthaneśvar was about 100 miles to the north-east of that place: the area of the country as given by the pilgrim is too great by one fourth and that of the "holy land" (Yuan-chuang's Place of Happiness, that is Religious Merit) is too small by half. Moreover the *Fu-ti* of the Records cannot be regarded as a translation of

[1] A. G. I. p. 328· J. III. p. 339

[2] Alberuni Vol. I. p. 199.

Dharma-Kshetra, another name for the Kuru-Kshetra. Besides, this latter name designated a large plain above 100 miles to the south-east of Thanesvar, and the Fu-ti was all round the city Sthānesvara for only about 40 miles. Cunningham in his usual manner proposes to get over some of the difficulties by taking liberties with the pilgrim's text. It is better, however, to regard our pilgrim as being correct in his statement of distance and direction from Mathurā to Sthānesvara, and as deriving his information on other matters from the Brethren in the monasteries. He seems to represent himself as going to the great monastery 100 *li* (about 20 miles) south from the capital. Had he made a journey to the south of Thānesar, he would probably have told us of the celebrated Tank in the district about which Alberuni and Tavernier relate wonderful things.[1]

ŚRUGHNA.

The pilgrim continuing the story of his travels relates that—

> from this (that is apparently, Sthāneśvara) he went north-east for above 400 *li* and came to the country *Su lu-k'in-na*.

The Life, which calls this country *Lu-k'in-na*, makes it to be 400 *li* to the *east* of Sthāneśvara. Our pilgrim's transcription has been restored as Śrughna, but this does not seem to be right. Another transcription is *Su-lu-kie (ka)-k'ün*, and this and the transcription in the text seem to point to an original like Srukkhin or Srughin. Cunningham, taking the "from this" of the text to mean from the Govinda monastery, makes the 400 *li* to be counted from that monastery and accordingly gives the distance from Sthāneśvara to Śrughna as only 300 *li*.[2] But the Life, and the Fang-chih, make Yuan-chuang start from and count from Sthāneśvara, and as it seems likely that

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[1] Alberuni Vol. II. p. 145: Bernier's Travels (Constable's Or. Misc.) p. 302.

[2] A. G. I. p. 345.

Yuan-chuang did not go to the Govinda monastery, I think we should understand the "from this" of the text to mean from the capital. Cunningham identifies the city Śrughna with the modern village of Sugh which "is surrounded on three sides by the bed of the old Jumna". But as the measurements and distances given by Yuan-chuang, as usual, do not agree with those required by Cunningham, we may perhaps regard the identification as not quite established.

Proceeding with his description of Śrughna the pilgrim tells us that

> it was above 6000 *li* in circuit, bounded on the east by the Ganges and on the north by high mountains, and that through the middle of it flowed the river *Yen-mo-na* (Jumna) The capital, above 20 *li* in circuit, was on the west side of the Jumna, and was in a ruinous condition In climate and natural products the country resembled Sthanesvara. The inhabitants were naturally honest they were not Buddhists. they held useful learning in respect and esteemed religious wisdom. There were five Buddhist monasteries and above 1000 Buddhist ecclesiastics, the majority of whom were Hinayānists, a few adhering to "other schools". The Brethren were expert and lucid expounders of abstract doctrines, and distinguished Brethren from other lands came to them to reason out their doubts. There were 100 Deva-Temples, and the non-Buddhists were very numerous.

The statement here that the majority of the Buddhist Brethren in Śrughna "learned the Little Vehicle and a few studied other schools" is rather puzzling as all the Eighteen Schools (*pu*) belonged to the Hinayāna. All the texts, however, agree, and the Fang-chieh shews a wise discretion by omitting the difficult words. By the "other schools" Yuan-chuang may have meant the Sautrāntikas and other schools which had arisen in the later development of Buddhism, and were independent of the old schools and the two "Vehicles". The pilgrim heard expositions of the doctrines of the Sautrāntikas during his stay in the country. But we must also remember that he uses the terms Mahāyāna and Hinayāna in a manner which is apparently peculiar to himself.

The narrative proceeds — To the south-east of the capital and on the west side of the Jumna outside the east gate of a large monastery was an Asoka tope at a place where the Ju-lai had preached and admitted men into his church. Beside this tope was one which had hair and nail-relics of the Ju-lai. and round about were some tens of topes with similar relics of Śāriputra, Mudgalaputra, and the other great arhats. After the Buddha's decease the people of this country had been led astray to believe in wrong religions and Buddhism had disappeared. Then Śāstra-masters from other lands defeated the Tīrthikas and Brahmins in discussions, and the five monasteries already mentioned were built at the places where the discussions were held in order to commemorate the victories.

A journey of above 800 *li* east from the Jumna (that is, at Śrughna) brought the pilgrim to the Ganges. The source of this river, he adds, is three or four *li* wide: the river flows south-east to the sea, and at its mouth it is above ten *li* wide: the waters of the river vary in colour and great waves rise in it: there are many marvellous creatures in it but they do not injure any one: its waters have a pleasant sweet taste and a fine sand comes down with the current. In the popular literature the river is called *Fu-shui* or "Happiness-water" that is, the water (or river) of religious merit. Accumulated sins are effaced by a bath in the water of the river: those who drown themselves in it are reborn in heaven with happiness: if the bones of one dead be consigned to the river that one does not go to a bad place: by raising waves and fretting the stream (that is, by splashing and driving the water back) the lost soul is saved.

In the Life and the Fang-chih the pilgrim proceeds to the "Source of the Ganges" which is 800 *li* to the east of the Jumna and this is supposed to be what the pilgrim meant to state. But the context and the sequel seem to require us to take him literally as simply coming to the Ganges. It was apparently at a place to the south of the "Source of the Ganges" that he reached that river. This "Source of the Ganges" is supposed to be Gangādvāra or Hardwar, the place where the Ganges emerges from the Sivalik mountains into the plains. The expression here rendered "the waters of the river vary in colour" is *shui-sê-Tsang-lang* (水色滄浪) that is, "the water in colour is Tsang-lang", or clear and muddy. The allusion is to

the Tsang-lang river which, as we learn from a boy's song quoted in Mencius, ran sometimes clear and sometimes muddy.[1] Julien translates the words by "La couleur de ses eaux est bleuâtre", a rendering which is not correct from any point of view. Then as the original for *Fu-shui*, "River of religious merit" (lit. Religious merit water) Julien gives Mahābhadrā, which is a name for the Ganges but is not the equivalent of Fu-shui. This term is a literal rendering of the Sanskrit and Pali word Puṇyodaka, *merit-water*, and Puṇyodaka is the name of a river in the world beyond. The reason why the name was transferred to the Ganges is to be found in the next paragraph of our passage, in which the pilgrim describes the spiritual efficacy of the water of the river. In this paragraph the words rendered "by raising waves and fretting the stream the lost souls (or spirits) are saved" are *yang-p'o-chi-liu-wang-hun-huo-chi* (揚波激流亡魂獲濟). Julien connects these words with the preceding clause which states that if the bones of a dead person are consigned to the river that person does not go to a bad place, Julien making the author add — "pendant que les flots se gonflent et coulent en bondissant, l'âme du défunt passe à l'autre rive". The first clause of this is not a translation of the Chinese, and Julien's failure to understand his author has spoiled this passage and his rendering of the story about Deva P'usa which follows.

Our pilgrim, in connection with his remarks about the popular belief in the spiritual virtues of the water of the Ganges, that is presumably at Gangādvāra, relates the following annecdote—

> Deva P'usa of the *Chih-shih-tzŭ-kuo* (or Siṃhala country), profoundly versed in Buddhist lore and compassionate to the simple, had come hither to lead the people aright. At the time of his arrival the populace, male and female, old and young, were assembled on the banks of the river and were *raising waves and fretting the current*. The P'usa solemnly setting an example bent his head down to check and turn the stream. As his mode of

[1] Mencius, *ch.* 7. P. I.

procedure was different from that of the rest, one of the Tirthikas said to him—Sir, why are you so strange? Deva answered —My parents and other relatives are in the Siṁhala country, and as I fear they may be suffering from hunger and thirst, I hope this water will reach thus far, and save them. To this the Tirthikas replied — Sir, you are in error and your mistake comes from not having reflected—your home is far away with mountains and rivers intervening—to fret and agitate this water, and by this means save those there from hunger, would be like going back in order to advance, an unheard of proceeding. Deva then replied that if sinners in the world beyond received benefits from this water, it could save his relatives notwithstanding the intervening mountains and rivers. His arguments convinced his hearers; who thereupon acknowledged their errors, renounced them, and became Buddhists.

The *Chih-shih-tzŭ kuo* or Siṁhala country of this passage has been taken to be Ceylon, the country generally so designated, but it may be here the name of a country in India. Yuan-chuang, as will be seen hereafter, probably knew that Deva was a native of South-India and not of Ceylon.

According to the story here related, when Deva found the people on the river-side splashing the water, he set himself to lead them to right views. He assumed a grave air and an earnest manner, and while the others were merely going through a religious rite, he seemed to be making a serious effort to force the river back. As he evidently desired, his strange manner attracted attention; and he was able to turn the Tirthikas' criticism against themselves. Here Julien gives a rendering which seems to be against construction and context, and makes the story absurd. The Chinese for "giving an example" or "leading aright" here is *chi-yin* (汲 引) which Julien translates voulut puiser de l'eau". But the phrase is of common occurrence and generally in the sense of "lead by example" or "set in the right course".

In this Srughna (or Srughin) country, we learn from the Life, the pilgrim enjoyed the society of a learned Doctor in Buddhism, by name Jayagupta. The pilgrim remained here one winter, and half of the spring following; and "when

he had heard all the vibhāshā of the Sautrantika School" he continued his journey.

With reference to Yuan-chuang's mention of the Buddha having preached at the capital of this country, it may be stated that the story of the Buddha visiting Srughna and there meeting the Brahmin named Indra, who was proud of his youth and beauty, is told in the Divyāvadāna and in the Sarvata Vinaya.[1]

MO-TI-PU-LO (MATIPUR).

The pilgrim proceeds to narrate that crossing to the east bank of the river (that is, the Ganges) he came to the *Mo-ti-pu-lo* (Matipur) country. This was above 6000 *li*, and its capital above 20 *li* in circuit. It yielded grain, fruits, and flowers, and it had a genial climate. The people were upright in their ways: they esteemed useful learning: were well versed in magical arts: and were equally divided between Buddhism and other religions. The king, who was of the Śūdra stock (that is caste) did not believe in Buddhism, and worshipped the Devas. There were above ten Buddhist monasteries with above 800 Brethren mostly adherents of the Sarvāstivādin school of the Hinayāna. There were also above fifty Deva-Temples and the sectarians lived pell-mell.

The *Mo-ti-pu-lo* or Matipur of this passage has been identified by Saint-Martin and Cunningham with Madāwar or "Mandāwar, a large town in western Rohilkhand, near Bijnor".[2] But in Cunningham's Map No. X, to which he refers us, Madāwar is to the south-east of Srughna and to the south of Gangādvāra, whereas Matipur was to the east of Srughna and east of the "Source of the Ganges", if we are to regard that as the place at which the pilgrim halted before crossing the river. Then, as usual, the areas of the country and its capital do not agree with Cunningham's requirements.

Four or five *li* south from the capital, the pilgrim continues, was the small monastery in which the Śāstra-master Guṇaprabha composed above 100 treatises including the "*Pien-chên-lun*"

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[1] Divyāv. p. 74: Sar. Vin. Yao-shih, *ch.* 9.

[2] A. G. I. p. 348.

(辯眞論) or Truth-expounding Treatise. This Guṇaprabha, Yuang-chuang tells us, from being a very clever boy had grown up to be a man of great intellectual abilities, and of wide and varied learning. He had at first been a student of the Mahāyāna system, but before he had thoroughly comprehended the abstruse mysteries of that system, he was converted to the Hinayāna by the perusal of a Vaibhāsha treatise. After this he composed several tens of treatises in refutation of the Mahāyāna principles, and in defence of the Hinayāna tenets. He was also the author of some scores (several tens and more) of secular books: he set aside as wrong the standard treatises of his predecessors. But in his comprehensive study of the Buddhist canonical scriptures Guṇaprabha had experienced difficulties on above ten points, and of these his prolonged application did not bring any solution. Now among his contemporaries was an arhat named Devasena, who was in the habit of visiting the Tushita Paradise. This Devasena, by his supernatural powers, on one occasion took Guṇaprabha, at the request of the latter, up to the Tushita Paradise to have an interview with Maitreya Bodhisattva, and obtain from the Bodhisattva the solution of his spiritual difficulties. But when presented to Maitreya Guṇaprabha was too proud and conceited to give the Bodhisattva his due reverence, and accordingly Maitreya would not solve his difficulties. As Guṇaprabha remained stubborn in his self-conceit even after one or two unsuccessful visits, and as he would not be guided by the counsels of Devasena, the latter refused to take him any more into Maitreya's presence. Hereupon Guṇaprabha in angry disgust went into solitude in a forest, practised the "Penetration-developing samādhi", but, not having put away pride, he was unable to attain arhatship.

The Tushita Paradise, as is well known, is the Heaven in which the Bodhisattva Maitreya sojourns between his last incarnation on earth and his future advent as Buddha. The Śāstra-master Guṇaprabha in this passage considers himself, as a fully ordained Buddhist bhikshu, to be superior to the Bodhisattva who was enjoying the pleasures of a prolonged residence in Paradise; and accordingly Guṇaprabha persists in his refusal to show to Maitreya the reverence due to a great Bodhisattva, and consequently fails in his career.

The last clause in the above passage is given according to the correction of the Ming editors. This makes the

text to read *pu-tê-chêng-kuo* (不得證果), that is, "he could not realize the fruit", viz-of arhatship. The old reading of some texts was *pu-shih*(駃)*chêng-kuo*, meaning "he quickly realized the fruit". The D text has *pu-chêng tao-kuo*. which also means "he did not attain to arhatship", and this is doubtles the author's meaning.

In a note to the name of Guṇaprabha's treatise, the "Pien-chên-lun", mentioned in the above passage Julien restores the Sanskrit original as "Tattvavibhanga çâstra". This seems to show that he had forgotten the restoration of the name, given in translation and in Chinese transcription, which he had made in the Life. There he makes the name to be "Tattvasatya çâstra", and this restoration has been adopted by subsequent writers although it does not correspond to the translation of the name given by Yuan-chuang and the Chinese annotator. Now the characters which Julien makes to stand for *satya* are *san-ti-sho* (三諦鑠) for sandeśa, and the name of the treatise was evidently Tattvasandeśa or "Exposition of Truth", Yuan-chuang's *Pien-chên*, with the word for śāstra (*lun*) added.[1] This treatise, which at one time had some fame, expounded the views of the Sarvāstivādin school, but it is unknown to the existing collections.

The Guṇaprabha of Parvata here mentioned is not to be confounded with the great Vinaya master of the same name mentioned by Tāranātha.[2] Burnouf was of opinion that our Guṇaprabha might be the Gunamati, Master of Vasumitra, mentioned in the "Abhidharmakośa-vyākha", but there does not seem to be any ground for this unlikely supposition.[3] In the 8th *chuan* of our treatise we find a Guṇamati disputing with a great master of the Sañkhya system.

Three or four *li* north from Guṇaprabha's monastery, Yuan-chuang's narrative proceeds, was a monastery with above 200 Brethren, all Hinayānists. It was in this monastery that the

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[1] Life *Ch.* 2: J. I. p. 109.

[2] Tār. S. 126 et al.: Wass. Bud. S. 84.

[3] Bur. Int. p. 566: Le Lotus de la bonne Loi p. 358

Sāstra-Master Sanghabhadra ended his life. This Sanghabhadra, it is added, was a native of Kashmir, and a profound scholar in the Vaibhāsha śāstras of the Sarvāstivādin school.

In this passage it is especially important to avoid Julien's rendering. "[Le Traité] Vibhacha çāstra" as the treatise of Sanghabhadra to be presently noticed does not deal with the special work called "Vibhāshā-lun".

Contemporary with Sanghabhadra, Yuan-chuang continues, was Vasubandhu Bodhisattva, devoted to mystic doctrine, and seeking to solve what was beyond language. This man in refutation of the Vibhāshā masters composed the "Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra" ingenious in style and refined in principles. Sanghabhadra was moved by the treatise, and devoted twelve years to its study: then he composed a treatise which he called the "Kośa-pao" or "Bud-hail", śāstra. This work he entrusted to three or four of his cleverest disciples, telling them to use his unrecognized learning, and this treatise, to bring down the old man Vasubandhu from the preeminence of fame which he had monopolized. At this time Vasubandhu, at the height of his fame, was in Sākala the capital of Cheika; and thither Sanghabhadra and his chief disciples proceed with the view of meeting him. But Vasubandhu learning that Sanghabhadra was on the way to have a discussion with him, hastily packed up and went off with his disciples. To these he excused his conduct by alleging his age and infirmities, and he added that he wished to allure Sanghabhadra to Mid-India where the Buddhist pundits would shew the charater of his doctrines. Sanghabhadra arrived at the monastery at Matipur the day after Vasubandhu had left it, and here he sickened and died. On his deathbed he wrote a letter of regret and apology to Vasubandhu, and entrusted it, with his treatise, to one of his disciples. When the letter and book were delivered to Vasubandhu with Sanghabhadra's dying request, he was moved and read them through. He then told his disciples that Sanghabhadra's treatise though not perfect in doctrine was well written, that it would be an easy matter for him to refute it, but that out of regard for the dying request of the author, and as the work expounded the views of those whom he (Vasubandhu) followed, he would leave the work as it was only giving it a new name. This name was "Shun-chêng-li-lun", the Sāstra which accords with orthodox principles (Nyāyānusāra-śāstra). The tope erected over Sanghabhadra's relics, in a mango grove to the north-east of the monastery, was still in existence.

The above passage has been condensed from Yuan-chuang's text and the reader will observe that; according

to Yuan-chuang's information, Sanghabhadra was not, as Tāranātha represents him, the master of Vasubandhu. He is rather the young Doctor in Philosophy who is presumptuous enough to take up arms against the great chief renowned far and wide as peerless in dialectics. There is nothing in the text to shew that he and Vasubandhu were personal acquaintances, or that they ever met. So also in the Life of Vasubandhu the two men are apparently unknown to each other, and never meet.[1] Then as to the "Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra" it will be remembered that according to Yuan-chuang it was composed by Vasubandhu in Purushapur of Gandhāra, and this does not agree with the account in the Life of Vasubandhu. Yuan-chuang also tells us, and the statement has been often repeated, that Vasubandhu composed this treatise in order to refute the Vaibhāshikas. But, as has been stated already, this is not correct.[2] The original verses were compiled by him as a Sarvāstivādin Vaibhāshika, and the Commentary, still mainly Vaibhāshika, gives a development to certain questions from the Sautrantika point of view.

As to the treatise which Sanghabhadra wrote to demolish the Abhidharma-kośa according to Yuan-chuang the original title is given in the text as *Kośa-hail-lun*. In the name "Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra" the word kośa is used in the sense of a *bud*, the verses being buds in which were folded the flowers of Buddhist metaphysics awaiting development. So the Kośa-pao-lun, or Bud-hail-treatise, is to be understood as the work which was to spoil all the hope and promise of the *Kośa*. Vasubandhu, Yuan-chuang tells us, changed the name to "Shun-chêng-li-lun" the "Śāstra which follows Right Principles", and the Life of Vasubandhu gives the title as "Sui-shih-lun" or the "Śāstra which follows the True". These names are probably only different renderings of a name like Nyāyānusāra- or Anusāra-śāstra. But the story about the "Bud-hail" title must be

[1] Vasubandhu-chuan (No. 1463).

[2] See ch. VI. p.

discarded as the work itself shews that the author intended the title to be something like Nyāyānusāra-śāstra. Moreover in his subsequent treatise abridged from this he calls his large work "Shun-chêng-li-lun".[1] With the wicked title should go the statements about the author writing the book in a spirit of envious hostility against Vasubandhu. Nothing of this appears in the treatise; and on the contrary, as Vasubandhu stated, the work developes the views of Vasubandhu and those whom he followed. In its observations on the verses of the original treatise it sometimes uses the words of Vasubandhu's own commentary. The work condemns as heterodox certain opinions ascribed to the Sthaviras and the Sūtra-lords (*Ching-chu*), but Vasubandhu is not mentioned by name. Tāranātha mentions a treatise called "Abhidharmakośabhāshyaṭīkā-tattva" which he ascribes to Sthiramati. Another name for it is given as the "Thunder-bolt",[2] and it is perhaps not impossible that this may be the "Bud-hail" treatise ascribed by Yuan-chuang to Sanghabhadra.

The pilgrim's narrative proceeds to relate that beside the mango plantation which contained Sanghabhadra's tope was another tope erected over the remains of a Sāstra-Master named Vimala-mitra. This man, who was a native of Kashmir and an adherent of the Sarvata school, having made a profound study of canonical and heterodox scriptures, had travelled in India to learn the mysteries of the Tripiṭaka. Having gained a name, and finished his studies, he was returning to his home, and had to pass Sanghabhadra's tope on the way. At this place he sighed over the premature death of that great Master under whom he had studied. He lamented also that Vasubandhu's teaching was still in vogue, and he expressed his determination to write a refutation of the Mahāyana system, and to efface the name of Vasubandhu. But he in-

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[1] Abhidharma-tsang-hsien-tsung-lun (No. 1266). The word *tsang* in this title is evidently a translation of *kośa* and not of *piṭaka*. In the name of the original treatise the word *kośa* has been explained as meaning not only *bud* but also *core*, *sheath*, *integument*, and other things. Sanghabhadra, however, does not seem to have taken the word in the sense of *bud* either in the Anusāra-śāstra or in this abstract.

[2] Tār. S. 130 note, and S. 319 and note.

stantly became delirious, five tongues emerged from his mouth, and his life-blood gushed forth. He had time to repent, and to warn his disciples; but he died and went, according to an arhat, to the Hell which knows no intermission. At the time of his death there was an earthquake and a cavity was formed in the ground at the spot where he died. His associates cremated the corpse, collected the bones, and erected a memorial (that is, the tope) over them.

It is unusual for a tope to be erected in memory of a man reputed to have gone to Hell, and a Chinese annotator has suggested that *stupa* here is a mistake for *ti* (地) meaning "place". But the correction is not necessary, as the tope was erected by the personal friends of Vimalamitra, who did not think he had gone to Hell. As this man's dead body was cremated it seems strange that the arhat should have declared he had gone down into the Avichi Hell. It was evidently not the human being Vimalamitra who had so descended, but his *alter ego*, the embodied karma which had been formed and accumulated in successive births.

From the Life we learn that the pilgrim remained several months in this district studying Gunaprabha's *Pien-chên-lun* or "Tattvasandeśa śāstra", already mentioned, and other Abhidharma commentaries. He also met here the Bhadanta *Mi-to-se-na*, that is Mitasena (or Mitrasena), ninety years old who had been a disciple of Guṇaprabha and was a profound scholar in Buddhist learning.

In the north-west of Matipur, Yuan-chuang proceeds to relate, on the east side of the Ganges was the city *Mo-yü-lo* (or Mayura) above twenty *li* in circuit. It had a large population and streams of clear water: it produced bell-metal (*t'u-shih*), rock-crystal, and articles of jewelry Near the city and close to the Ganges was a large Deva-Temple of many miracles, and in its inclosure was a tank the banks of which were faced with stone slabs, the tank being fed by an artificial passage from the Ganges. This was called the Ganges-Gate and it was a place for making religious merit and extinguishing guilt: there were constantly many thousands of people from distant regions assembled here bathing. Pious kings erected Puṇyaśālas in the district for the free distribution of dainty food and medical requisites to the kinless and friendless.

The "Ganges-Gate" of this passage is said to be the Gangādvāra of Indian writers, the modern Hardwar (or Haridvār), the "Source of the Ganges" already mentioned. As Yuan-chuang apparently did not go to Mayūra, we should perhaps regard him as writing about Gangādvāra only from information given to him by others. Cunningham thinks that this Mayūra "must be the present ruined site of Māyāpura, at the head of the Ganges canal".[1] But *Mo-yü-lo* cannot be taken as a transcription of Māyāpura, and this town was on the west side of the Ganges whereas *Mo-yü-lo* (Mayūra) was on the east side of that river.

Our pilgrim proceeds to relate that going north "from this" above 800 *li* he came to the *Po-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo* country. This was more than 4000 *li* in circuit, with mountains on all sides, its capital being above twenty *li* in circuit. It had a rich flourishing population, and a fertile soil with regular crops: it yielded bell-metal (*t'u-shih*) and rock-crystal: the climate was coldish· the people had rough ways: they cared little for learning and pursued gain. There were five Buddhist monasteries, but there were very few Brethren: there were above ten Deva-Temples and the sectarians lived pell-mell.

The *P'o-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo* of this passage has been restored by Julien, who here transliterates *P'o-lo-ki-mo*, as Brahmapura; and the restoration, said by Cunningham to be correct, has been generally accepted. Although P'o-lo-hih-mo is not the usual transcription for Brahma, we may perhaps regard these sounds as standing here for this word. Brahmapura is the name of a city which is in the north-east division of the Brihat Samhitā[2], but in our author it is the name of a country. Cunningham, who treats the *north* of our text as a mistake for *north east*, finds the country in "the districts of Garhwāl and Kumaon".[3] It is not very clear whether the pilgrim meant us to understand that he started on his journey to this country from Mayūra, or from Matipura. The Fang-Chih took the former as the

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[1] A. G. I. p. 351.
[2] Ind. Ant. Vol. XXII. p. 172.
[3] A. G. I. p. 355.

starting-place, but it is perhaps better to regard Matipur as the "this" of the text from which the pilgrim goes north 300 *li*. This construction is in agreement with the Life which has no mention of Mayūra.

To the north of this country (Brahmapura), and in the Great Snow Mountains, was the Suvarṇagotra country. The superior gold which it produced gave the country its name. This was the "Eastern Woman's Country" (that is, of the Chinese) so called because it was ruled by a succession of women. The husband of the queen was king, but he did not administer the government. The men attended only to the suppression of revolts and the cultivation of the fields. This country reached on the east to T'u-fan (Tibet), on the north to Khoten, and on the west to San-p'o-ha (Malasa).

The Suvarnagotra country of this passage is perhaps the Suvarṇabhū or Gold-region in the north-east division of the Bṛihât-Saṇhitā, which Kern regards as "in all likelihood a mythical land".[1] Our pilgrim was taught to identify this district with the "Eastern Woman's-Country" of his countrymen, which is undoubtedly a mythical region. Further the situation of the Eastern Woman's Country is far away from the region in which Yuan-chuang places his Suvarṇagotra. This name is translated properly in a note to the text by "the Golds" that is, the Gold family, but the author evidently regarded the name as meaning "the land of gold".

KU-P'I-SANG-NA (GOVIŚANA).

From Matipur the pilgrim continued his journey, he goes on to state, travelling south-east for above 400 *li* to the country of *Ku-p'i-shuang*(or *sang*)-*na*. This country was above 2000 *li* in circuit, and its capital, which was 14 or 15 *li* in circuit was a natural stronghold. There was a flourishing population: everywhere was a succession of blooming woods and tanks: the climate and natural products were the same as those of Matipur. The people had honest sincere ways, they applied themselves to learning and were fond of religious merit: most of them were non-Buddhists, and sought the joys of this life. There

[1] Ind. Ant. Vol. XXII p. 190.

were two Buddhist monasteries with above 100 Brethren all Hīnayānists. Of Deva-Temples there were above 30, and the sectarians lived pell-mell. Close to the capital was an old monastery in which was an Asoka tope to mark the spot at which the Buddha preached for a month on religious essentials Beside this were sites of the sitting places and exercise grounds of the Four Past Buddhas, and two topes with hair and nail relics of the Julai.

For the *Ku-p'i-sang-na* of our pilgrim's text Julien suggests *Goviśana* as a possible restoration, and Saint-Martin proposes Goviśāna, but a word like Govisānna would be nearer the Chinese sounds. Cunningham thinks that the capital of this country was on the site of "the old fort near the village of Ufain which is just one mile to the east of the modern Kāshipur". The country he thinks, "must have corresponded very nearly to the modern districts of Kāshipur, Rāmpur, and Pilibhit".[1] The Fang-chih here agrees with the Records, but the Life does not mention the journey from Matipur to Govisana.

For the words "religious essentials" in the penultimate sentence of the above passage the original is *chu-fa-yao* (諸法要), which may also be translated "the essentials of things". These words are rendred by Julien— "les vérités les plus essentielles de la loi".

NGO-HI-CH'I-TA-LO (AHICHATRA?)

From Goviśana, our pilgrim proceeds to tell us, he travelled south-east above 400 *li*, and came to the country which he calls *Ngo*(or *O*)-*hi-ch'i-ta lo*. This country was above 3000 *li* in circuit: its capital, which was in a strong position, was 17 or 18 *li* in circuit. The country yielded grain, and had many woods and springs, and a genial climate. The people were honest in their ways, they studied abstract truth (*tao* 道) and were diligent in learning, with much ability and extensive knowledge. There were above ten Buddhist Monasteries, and more than 1000 Brethren students of the Sammitiya School of the Hīnayāna. Deva-Temples were nine in number, and there were above 300 professed adherents of the other systems Pāśupatas who worshipped Isvara (Siva). At the side of a Dragon Tank outside the capital was

[1] A. G. I. p. 357.

an Asoka tope where the Ju-lai preached to the Dragon for seven days. Beside it were four small topes at the sitting and exercise places of the Four Past Buddhas.

The first character for the name of the country here described is written 堊 in some texts and 惡 in others, and the sound of these characters is given as *Ngo* or *wo*, or *o* or *yo*. In the Life this syllable is omitted and the name is given as Hi-ch'i-ta-lo, apparently by mistake although it seems to be the reading of all the texts. The Life also makes the pilgrim go from *Brahmapura* south-east above 400 *li* to this country. Julien restores the name in our text as Ahikshetra, but the characters seem to require a word like Ahichitra. Cunningham adopts the account in the Records and writes the name Ahichatra which, he says, is still preserved although the place has been deserted for many centuries. The district of Ahichatra, he believes, occupied the eastern part of Rohilkhand.[1]

P'I-LO-SHAN-NA.

From Ahichitra, the pilgrim tells us, he went south (according to the other texts but according to D, east) about 260 *li* and crossing the Ganges went to the south (or according to the B text, south-west) into the *P'i-lo-shan-na* country. This was above 2000 *li* in circuit and its capital above ten *li* in circuit. It resembled Ahichitra in climate and products. The people were mainly non-Buddhists, a few reverencing Buddhism. There were two Buddhist Monasteries with 300 Brethren all Mahāyāna students. There were five Deva-Temples and the sectarians lived pell-mell. In the capital was an old monastery within the inclosure of which stood an Asoka tope at the pilgrim's time in ruins. It was here that the Buddha delivered during seven days the sūtra called *yun-chie-ch'u-ching* (蘊界處經). By its side were vestiges of the sitting and exercise places of the Four Past Buddhas.

The name of the country here described is restored by Julien tentatively Vīraśāna, but it may have been something like Vilaśāṇa or Bhilasana. *P'i-lo-shan-na* (鞞羅刪拏) is the reading in the A, B, and C texts of the Records,

[1] A. G. I. p. 359.

and in the Fang-chih, but in the D text of the Records and in the Life the reading is *P'i-lo-na*(那)*-na* which may be for a word lik Bhiladana.

Cunningham identifies the capital of the *P'i-lo-shan-na* of our text with "the great mound of ruins called *Atranji-khera* which is situated on the right or west bank of the *Kāli Nadi*, four miles to the south of *Karsāna*, and eight miles to the north of *Eyta*, on the Grand Trunk Road".[1]

The name of the sūtra which the pilgrim says the Buddha delivered at the capital of this country is given as *yun-chie-chcu-ching*. This means "the sūtra of the place of the elements of the skandha", and it may represent a Sanskrit name like Skandhadhātusthāna sūtra (B. Nanjio suggests "Skandhadhātuupasthāna sūtra"), the "sūtra of the basis of the elements of phenomena", that is, of the senses and their objects. No sūtra with a name like this seems to be known to the collections of Buddhist scriptures, and the Fang-chih merely states that the Buddha preached for seven days "the dharma of the elements of the skandha".

KAPITHA OR SĀNKAŚYA.

From P'i-lo-shan-na, the narrative proceeds, a journey of above 200 *li* south-east brought the pilgrim to the *Kah-pi-t'a* (Kapitha) country. This was more than 2000 *li*, and its capital above twenty *li* in circuit: the climate and products of the district were like those of P'i-lo-shan-na. There were four Buddhist monasteries (that is perhaps, at the capital) and above 1000 Brethren all of the Sammatiya School. The Deva-Temples were ten in number and the non-Buddhists, who lived pell-mell, were Saivites.

Above twenty *li* east (according to the A, B, and C texts, but in the D text, west) from the capital was a large monastery of fine proportions and perfect workmanship: its representations of Buddhist worthies were in the highest style of ornament. The monastery contained some hundreds of Brethren, all of the Sammatiya School, and beside it lived their lay dependents some myriads in number. Within the enclosing wall of the monastery were Triple stairs of precious substances in a row south to north, and sloping down to east, where the Julai descended from the

[1] A. G. I. p. 365.

Tayastimsa Heaven. The Ju-lai had ascended from Jetavana to Heaven and there lodged in the "Good-Law-Hall" where he had preached to his mother: at the end of three months he was about to descend. Then Indra by his divine power set up triple stairs of precious substances, the middle one of gold, the left one of crystal, and the right one of silver. The Buddha descended on the middle stair, Brahma holding a white whisk came down with him on the right stair and Indra holding up a jeweled sunshade descended on the left stair, while devas in the air scattered flowers and praised the Buddha. These stairs survived until some centuries before the pilgrim's time when they sank out of sight: then certain kings on the site of the original stairs set up the present ones of brick and stone adorned with precious substances and after the pattern of the original stairs. The present stairs were above 70 feet high with a Buddhist temple on the top in which was a stone image of the Buddha, and images of Brahma and Indra were at the top of the right and left stairs respectively and these images like the originals appeared to be descending.

By the side of these was an Asoka stone-pillar of a lustrous violet colour and very hard with a crouching lion on the top facing the stairs, quaintly carved figures were on each side of the pillar, and according to one's bad or good deserts figures appeared to him in the pillar. Not far from the Stairs was a tope where the Four Past Buddhas had sat and walked up and down: beside it was a tope where the Ju-lai had taken a bath beside this was a Buddhist temple where the Julai had gone into samādhi. Beside the temple was a large stone platform 50 paces long and seven feet high where the Julai had walked up and down, all his footsteps having the tracery of a lotus-flower: and on both sides of it were small topes erected by Indra and Brahma. In front was the place where the bhikshuni Lotus flower-colour (Uttpalavarṇī) wishing to be first to see the Buddha on his descent from Heaven transformed herself into a universal sovereign. At the same time Subhūti sitting meditating on the vanity of things beheld the spiritual body of Buddha. The Julai told Utpalavarṇā that she had not been the first to see him for Subhūti contemplating the vanity of things had preceded her in seeing his spiritual body. The Buddha's exercise platform was enclosed by a wall and had a large tope to the south-east of which was a tank the dragon of which protected the sacred traces from wanton injury.

The Life gives the direction in which the pilgrim travelled from *Pi-lo-shan-na* to *Kah-pi-t'a* as east instead of the souh-east of our text, but this may be a slip, the dis-

tance between the places being the same in the two books.

Our pilgrim's *Kah-pi-t'a* has naturally been restored as Kapitha, and we may retain the restoration for the present, although the word seems to be otherwise unknown. The transcription may, however, be for *Kalpita*, a word which has, with other meanings, that of "set in order". It was perhaps this name which the translator of a sūtra had before him when he gave *An-hsiang-hui* (安詳會), "Orderly arranged Meeting" as the name of the place of the Buddha's descent.[1] A note to our text here tells us that the old name of Kapitha was *Sêng-ka-she* (僧迦舍). This is a transcription of the name which is given as Sankāśya or Sāngkāśya (in Pali, Sankassa). It is the Sankasa of some, the Sakaspura of Spence Hardy, and the modern Sankisa.[2] The name Sankāśya or a variety of it seems to have been generally employed by the Buddhist writers of India, and the translators into Chinese and Tibetan usually contented themselves with transcriptions of the original. Another name for the place of the Buddha's Descent is that used in the Itinerary of Wu-k'ung. There it is designated *Ni-fo-wa-to* (泥嚩韈多), a puzzling word which the translators have taken to stand for the Sanskrit Devāvatāra.[3] This is doubtless correct, and the district obtained the name Devāvatāra or Devatāvataraṇam, in Chinese *T'ien-hsia-ch'ü* (天下處)[4], "Place of Devas' Descent", because Brahma, Indra, and hosts of inferior devas here appeared descending to earth with the Buddha. But as this name was not Buddhistic in appearance, the Deva

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[1] Fo-shuo-yi-tsu-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 674). But the *Kah-pi-t'a* of our text may be the Kapisthala of the Brihat saṅhita which the author of that work places in Madhyadeśa-see Ind. Ant. Vol. XXII p. 180 and Alberuni I. p. 300.

[2] For Sakaspura and the Cingalese version of the visit to Heaven and descent therefrom see M. B. p. 308. For Sankisa see A. G. I. p. 368.

[3] Shih-li-ching: J. A. T. VI. p. 358.

[4] Divyāv. p. 150: Tsa-a-han-ching, *ch.* 19.

or Devatā was probably dropt in popular use, and the name Avataraṇam employed to denote the Buddha's Descent. Mr Rockhill's Tibetan text in his Life of Buddha relates that Buddha descended to "the foot of the Udumbara tree of the Avadjaravana (sic) of the town of Sāmkaśya".[1] Here the Tibetan probably wrote Avajaravana by a slip for Avatāravana or Avataraṇam.

From a curious little sūtra[2] we learn that there had once been at the place afterwards called Sankāśya an old chaitya (or tope), built in honour of Kāśyapa Buddha by his father, and called *Sêng-ka-shih* (Sankāśya). Before the time of Gautama Buddha, however, this chaitya had sunk down until it was all underground. When the Buddha descended from Heaven at this place, he caused the Chaitya to emerge above ground as a memorial of his return to earth. Afterwards it was found that the chaitya as it stood interfered with the traffic of the city, and so the king ordered it to be demolished. But during the night the chaitya left its site to the north of the city, and passed over the city to a spot in a wood about twenty *li* south of it. The chaitya of this sūtra is elsewhere a temple; and is described as the model for the one which five kings on Buddha's suggestion erected near its site.[3] This temple, called the Gods' or Kings' Temple, was erected as a memorial of the Buddha's Descent, and was probably the temple of our pilgrim's description. In the old sūtra, it will be observed, the chaitya of Kāśyapa Buddha is called Sankāśya, and this name is transferred to the city. As such the name is interpreted in another work as meaning *kuang-ming* (光明) or "brightness", "clearness",[4] and this may indicate a reference to the legend of the chaitya of Kāśyapa Buddha.

The story of Gautama Buddha leaving Jetavana for the

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[1] Rockhill Life p. 81.

[2] Fo-shuo-ku-shu-ching (佛說枯樹經).

[3] Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching, *ch.* 28.

[4] A yü-wang-ching, *ch.* 3.

Trayastriṃśa Heaven, spending there the three months of Retreat expounding his religion to his mother and the devas, and of his glorious descent to earth again, is referred to in many Chinese Buddhist books, and with only few serious variations of detail. In some works the place of descent is near a sand, or a large tank, outside of Sankāśya city[1], and here the "tank" of the translation may represent *avatāra* in the original, this word having also the meaning of *tank* or *pond*. In some treatises the scene of the Descent is at Kanyākubja, which is placed in the Sankāśya country by one authority, and in the Andhra country by another[2]. The Tope of the Descent was the fifth of the Eight Great Topes connected with the Buddha's career, and it was at Kanyākubja. Wu-K'ung went to Devāvatāra to see this tope, but neither Fa-hsien[3] nor our pilgrim makes any mention of a great tope in their descriptions of the sights of the place, although Yuan-chuang, as we have seen, incidentally mentions a "great tope" afterwards.

The legend of the bhikshuṇī Utpalavarnā making herself a magic Chakravartī, or Universal Sovereign, by which to be the first to greet Buddha on his descent; and her rebuke by the latter, who told her that Subhūti, seeing the spiritual body of Buddha, had been before her, is in several Buddhist works. But it is not in the account of the Descent given in the Tsa-a-han-ching, and in another treatise we have the bhikshunī, but Subhūti is not mentioned by name. The words "transformed herself" in the statement that the nun "transformed herself into a Chakravarti" are for the terms *hua-tso* (化作) and *hua-wei* (化爲) of the text. But the former, which is apparently taken from the Fo-kuo-chi or some other work, means *create* or *produce the appearance of by magic*. Utpalavarṇā was an

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[1] A-yü-wang chuan, *ch* 2; Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching, l. c.

[2] Ta-chêng-pên-shêng-hsin-ti-kuan-ching, *ch.* 1 (No. 955); Pa-ta-ling-t'a-ming-hao-ching (No. 898).

[3] See Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 17

arhat, and so had supernormal powers. She thus, according to various accounts, produced the appearance of a chakravarti with his seven treasures, 1000 sons, and fourfold army, and transferring herself into her own magic Chakravarti, obtained the foremost place in front of the actual kings and all the crowd assembled to welcome Buddha.[1] Subhūti at this time was sitting, according to Yuan-chuang, in a cave (that is, on the Gridhrakūta mountain near Rājagaha), but another version makes him to be in his own house. Knowing that the Buddha was coming down from Heaven he reflected on the vanity of phenomena, and realizing in himself the nature of phenomena, he beheld, by the vision of spiritual wisdom, the spiritual body of Buddha, that is, the transcendental philosophy of Prajñāpāramitā.

The Utpalavarṇā (in Pali, Uppalavaṇṇā) of this passage was one of the greatest and most noted of the bhikshuṇis ordained by the Buddha. Her life as a laywoman had been extremely unhappy and, according to some legends, very immoral. She had two experiences which were especially distressing and produced on her a profound effect leading her, according to one account, to renounce the world. While living with her first husband she found him living in adultery with her mother, and her second husband brought home, as his concubine, her daughter by her first husband. Each of these experiences pierced her with sharp agony; and she left her home for ever.[2] When she became converted, and was admitted into the Buddhist church as a bhikshuṇī, she devoted herself to religion with enthusiasm, and attained arhatship. But

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[1] Ta-chih-tu-lun, *ch.* 10, Ta-shêng-tsao-hsiang-kung-tê-ching, *ch.* 1 (No. 288).

[2] Mi-sa-sai-lü, *ch.* 4 (No. 1122); Tib. Tales p. 206. A very different account of this lady's admission into his church by the Buddha is given in the Fa-chü-pi-yü-ching, *ch.* 1 (No. 1858) where she is called simply *Lien-hua* or Utpala. For the previous existences of Uppalavaṇṇā see Dr Bode's "Woman Leaders of the Buddhist Reformation" in J. R. A. S. for 1893 p. 582. For her misfortunes see also Therī-Gāthā p. 144 and p. 196 (P. T. S.).

even as a nun she was put to shame and had trouble. And her death was sad, for she was brutally attacked by Devadatta and died from the injuries inflicted by him.[1] Her name "Blue lotus colour" may have been given to her, as some suppose, because she had eyes like the blue lotus; but it is also said to have been indicative of her great personal beauty, or of the sweet perfume which her body exhaled.

Subhūti is interpreted as meaning "Excellent Manifestation" which is Yuan-chuang's translation, or "Excellent good auspices", and is rendered in several other ways. It was the name of the Disciple who is sometimes mentioned along with Mahākāśyapa, Aniruddha and other great disciples of the Buddha.[2] But he is best known as the exponent and defender of the doctrines of Prajñāpāramitā. He was a son of a learned brahmin of Śrāvasti, and was educated in the orthodox learning. Afterwards he became a hermit, and then was converted to Buddhism and ordained.[3]

[1] Sar. Vin. P'o-seng-shih, *ch.* 10 (No. 1123).

[2] Divyāv. p. 361, Saddharmapundarikā, *chs.* 1 and 4.

[3] Bud. Lit. Nep. p. 296, Ching-lu-yi-hsiang, *ch.* 13 (No. 1473).

CHAPTER XI.

CHUAN V.

KANYĀKUBJA TO VIŚOKA.

From the neighbourhood of Sankāśya the pilgrim went north-west for nearly 200 *li* to the *Ka-no-kü-she* (Kanyākubja) country. This he describes as being above 4000 *li* in circuit. The capital, which had the Ganges on its west side, was above twenty *li* in length by four or five *li* in breadth, it was very strongly defended and had lofty structures everywhere; there were beautiful gardens and tanks of clear water, and in it rarities from strange lands were collected. The inhabitants were well off and there were families with great wealth; fruit and flowers were abundant, and sowing and reaping had their seasons. The people had a refined appearance and dressed in glossy silk attire; they were given to learning and the arts, and were clear and suggestive in discourse; they were equally divided between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. There were above 100 Buddhist monasteries with more than 10,000 Brethren who were students of both the "Vehicles". There were more than 200 Deva-Temples and the non-Buddhists were several thousands in number.

The reading "north-west" at the beginning of this passage is that of the Common texts of the Records and Life; but the D text of the Records has "south-east". This agrees with Fa-hsien's narrative[1], confirms the correction proposed by Cunningham[2], and, as Kanauj is to the south-east of Sankassa, is evidently the proper reading. Moreover in the itinerary of the Sung pilgrim Kanyākubja is two stages (*ch'êng* 程) to the east of Sankāśya[3]. Fa-hsien

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[1] Fo-kuo-chi, ch. 18.

[2] Anc. Geog. Ind. p. 376.

[3] Ma T. L. ch. 338.

makes the distance between these two places to be seven yojanas or above 40 miles and this agrees roughly with Yuan-chuang's 200 *li*.

Yuan-chuang here gives to the capital and extends also to the country the correct name *Ka-no-kü-she* (羯若鞠闍) that is, Kanyākubja, while Fa-hsien, like some other writers, gives the name which was probably in use among the natives, viz. *Ka-nao-yi* or Kanoyi, that is, the modern Kanauj (or Kanoj). Another transcription of the classical name is *Kan-nà-ku-po-she* (羯拏究撥闍) which is wrongly translated by *êrh-ch'u* (耳出) or "Ear-emanation". In a note to our text the name is properly rendered by "Hunch-backed maidens", the translation which the pilgrim uses, and the story of the origin of the name is related by the pilgrim.

According to this story long ages ago when Brahmadatta was king, and men lived very many years the name of the city was Kusumapura (that is, Flower-Palace or city). King Brahmadatta was a mighty sovereign and a great warrior; he had also the full number of 1000 sons wise and valorous and 100 fair and virtuous daughters. On the bank of the Ganges there lived at this time a rishi the years of whose life were to be counted by myriads; he was popularly called the "Great-Tree-Rishi", because he had a banyan tree growing from his shoulders; the seed of the tree had been dropt on him by a bird, had taken root and grown to be a huge tree in which birds had been building their nests while the rishi remained unconscious in a trance of prolonged absorbed meditation (samādhi). When he had emerged from the trance, and moved about, he had glimpses of the king's daughters as they chased each other in the wood near the river. Then carnal affection laid hold on him, and he demanded of the king one of his daughters in marriage. But all the princesses refused to wed "Great-Tree-Rishi", and the king was in great fear and distress In this extremity, however, the youngest daughter made a sacrifice of herself by offering to marry the rishi in order to save her father and country from the effects of his displeasure. But when the circumstances were told to him the old rishi was very much enraged at the other princesses for not appreciating him properly, and he cursed them with immediate crookedness. In consequence of this the ninety nine princesses all became bowed in body, and the capital of the country was henceforth known as the city of the Hunch-backed Maidens.

This is a very silly story which probably has a good moral. The brahmins, it will be remembered, have a similar story to account for the name of the city of Kanauj. They relate that Vāyu, the Wind-god, also called a rishi, became enamoured of the 100 daughters of Kuśanābha, king of this country The princesses refused to comply with the god's lustful desires, and he in his ire made them all back-bowed, and from this circumstance the city got its name Kanyākubja.[1] Another name for the district or country is *Mahodayā*, explained as meaning "the land of great prosperity". It is sometimes described as being in the Andhra country, as we have seen, and it is also said to be in the middle of India, in Madhyadeśa.

It will be seen that in the description which Yuan-chuang gives of Kanyākubja in the above passage he represents the Ganges as being on its west side. Cunningham makes him place that river on the east side, but this is a mistake. Other old authorities place the Ganges on the east side of Kanauj, where it still is. The city is also described as being on the Kāli-nadi an affluent of the Ganges on its west side. Fa-hsien merely describes the capital as reaching to the Ganges, but this evidently was not on the west side, as he tells of a tope on the north bank of the river about six *li* to the west of the city.

Our pilgrim here gives the number of Buddhist establishments in and about the capital as 100. This number seems to point to a great increase of Buddhism in the district from the time of Fa-hsien, as when that pilgrim visited the Kanauj country there were apparently only two Buddhist monasteries at the capital. The "non-Buddhists", or *yi-tao* (異道), of our pilgrim who meet us so often in the Records, were evidently the priests or other professed ministers of the various non-Buddhist systems of religion. These must have increased and Buddhists decreased at Kanyākubja after our pilgrim's time, as when the Sung

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[1] Dowson's Cl. Dict. Ind. Myth. s. v. Vāyu.

pilgrim visited the district he found topes and temples numerous but there were no monks or nuns.

We have next an account of the sovereign ruling at Kanauj and his origin.

This sovereign was of the Vaiśya caste, his personal name was Harshavardhana, and he was the younger son of the great king whose name was Prabhākaravardhana. When the latter died he was succeeded on the throne by his elder son named Rāja- (or Rājya) vardhana. The latter soon after his accession was treacherously murdered by Śasangka, the wicked king of Karṇasuvarṇa in East India, a persecutor of Buddhism. Hereupon the statesmen of Kanauj, on the advice of their leading man Bāni (or Vāni), invited Harshavardhana, the younger brother of the murdered king, to become their sovereign. The prince modestly made excuses, and seemed unwilling to comply with their request.

When the ministers of state pressed Harshavardhana to succeed his brother and avenge his murder, the narrative goes on to relate, the prince determined to take the advice of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (whose name is here given correctly in translation *Kuan-tzŭ-tsai*, the "Beholding Lord"). An image of this Bodhisattva, which had made many spiritual manifestations, stood in a grove of this district near the Ganges. To this he repaired; and after due fasting and prayer, he stated his case to the Bodhisattva. An answer was graciously given which told the prince that it was his good karma to become king, and that he should, accordingly, accept the offered sovereignty and then raise Buddhism from the ruin into which it had been brought by the king of Karṇasuvarṇa, and afterwards make himself a great kingdom. The Bodhisattva promised him secret help, but warned him not to occupy the actual throne, and not to use the title *Mahārāja*. Thereupon Harshavardhana became king of Kanauj with the title Rājaputra and the style Śilāditya.

Continuing his narrative the pilgrim goes on to state that as soon* as Śilāditya became ruler he got together a great army, and set out to avenge his brother's murder and to reduce the neighbouring countries to subjection. Proceeding eastwards he invaded the states which had refused allegiance, and waged incessant warfare until in six years he had *fought* the Five Indias (reading *chü* 拒. According to the other reading *ch'ên* 臣, had brought the Five Indias under allegiance). Then having enlarged his territory he increased his army, bringing the elephant corps up to 60,000 and the cavalry to 100,000, and reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon. He was just in his administration, and punctilious in the discharge of his

> duties. He forgot sleep and food in his devotion to good works. He caused the use of animal food to cease throughout the Five Indias, and he prohibited the taking of life under severe penalties. He erected thousands of topes on the banks of the Ganges, established Travellers Rests through all his dominions, and erected Buddhist monasteries at sacred places of the Buddhists. He regularly held the Quinquennial Convocation; and gave away in religious alms everything except the material of war. Once a year he summoned all the Buddhist monks together, and for twenty one days supplied them with the regulation requisites. He furnished the chapels and liberally adorned the common halls of the monasteries. He brought the Brethren together for examination and discussion, giving rewards and punishments according to merit and demerit. Those Brethren who kept the rules of their Order strictly and were thoroughly sound in theory and practice he "advanced to the Lion's Throne" (that is, promoted to the highest place) and from these he received religious instruction; those who, though perfect in the observance of the ceremonial code, were not learned in the past he merely honoured with formal reverence; those who neglected the ceremonial observances of the Order, and whose immoral conduct was notorious, were banished from his presence and from the country. The neighbouring princes, and the statesmen, who were zealous in good works, and unwearied in the search for moral excellence, he led to his own seat, and called "good friends", and he would not converse with those who were of a different character. The king also made visits of inspection throughout his dominion, not residing long at any place but having temporary buildings erected for his residence at each place of sojourn, and he did not go abroad during the three months of the Rain-season Retreat At the royal lodges every day viands were provided for 1000 Buddhist monks and 500 Brahmins. The king's day was divided into three periods, of which one was given up to affairs of government, and two were devoted to religious works. He was indefatigable, and the day was too short for him.

Before proceeding to the next part of our pilgrim's narrative we may add a few notes to his very interesting account of the great Harshavardhana. At the beginning of the above passage we are told that this king was of the *Fei-she* (吠 奢) or Vaiśya caste (or stock). This statement Cunningham thinks is a mistake, the pilgrim confounding the Vaisa or Bais Rajputs with the Vaiśya caste. Cunningham may be right. But we must remember that Yuan-

chuang had ample opportunities for learning the antecedents of the royal family, and he must have had some ground for his assertion. Harshavardhana's father, Prabhākaravardhana, a descendant of Puṣpabhūti king of Sthāṇeśvara in Śrīkantha, "was famed far and wide under a second name Pratāpaśīla". To him were born two sons Rājyavardhana and Harshavardhana and a daughter Rājyaśrī, and he had also an adopted son Bhaṇḍi the son of his queen's brother[1]. The princess Rājyaśrī was evidently, as the "Harṣa-carita" represents her, an intelligent, accomplished lady, and she was apparently interested in Buddhism. She was present as a listener seated behind Harshavardhana when the Chinese pilgrim gave the latter a lecture on Buddhism. It may be noted here also that the Fang chih represents Harshavardhana as "administering the government in conjunction with his widowed sister", a statement which is not, I think, either in the Life or the Records. Very soon after Rājyavardhana succeeded his father on the throne he had to go away to avenge the murder of his brother-in-law, and to rescue his sister imprisoned in Kanyākubja. He was successful in battle, but he fell into a snare laid for him by the Gauḍa king, according to the "Harṣa-carita", and was treacherously murdered. Hereupon Harshavardhana became king, and at once proceeded to rescue his sister, take revenge, and make great conquests. This is the Śīlāditya of our pilgrim's narrative and of the Life, a very interesting and remarkable personage.

With Yuan-chuang's story of Harshavardhana going to consult Avalokiteśvara we may compare the statement in the "Harṣa-carita" that he "was embraced by the goddess of the Royal Prosperity, who took him in her arms and seizing him by all the royal marks on all his limbs, forced him, however reluctant, to mount the throne, — and this though he had taken a vow of austerity and did not swerve from his vow, hard like grasping the edge of a

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[1] Harṣa-carita, *ch.* IV. (Cowell and Thomas tr.)

sword".[1] It seems probable that Harshavardhana in the early part of his life had joined the Buddhist church and perhaps taken the vows of a bhikshu, or at least of a lay member of the Communion. His sister, we learn from the Life, had become an adherent of the Sammatiya school of Buddhism.[2] Our pilgrim's sympathetic and generous praise of king Harshavardhana may be compared with the pompous, fulsome, and feigned panegyric of the king by Bāṇa.

In the above transcript from the Records the words rendered "reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon" are in Julien's translation— "Au bout de trente ans, les armes se reposèrent". The text is *Ch'ui-san-shih-nien-ping-ko-pu-ch'i* (垂三十年兵戈不起). Here the word *ch'ui* is employed, as frequently, to denote "don the imperial robe", that is, to reign gently and happily. Thus the pilgrim tells us that there were thirty years of Śīlāditya's reign in which there were peace and good government. Our pilgrim has expressly stated that the king's conquests were completed within six years, and it is against text and context to make him represent the king as fighting continuously for thirty or thirty-six years. When his wars were over Śīlāditya (the style of Harshavardhana as king) proceeded to put his army on a peace footing, that is, to raise it to such a force that he could overawe any of the neighbouring states disposed to be contumacious. We shall presently see how a word from him was enough for the king of one of those states. Having thus made himself strong and powerful Śīlāditya was able to live in peace, and devote himself to the duties and functions of a pious but magnificent sovereign. He was now as fond of the solemn pomps and grand processions of religion as he had been of the marshalling of vast hosts, the "magnificently stern array" of battle, and the glories of a great victory.

We find two dates given for the death of king Śīlāditya,

[1] Harṣa-carita, *ch.* IV. (Cowell and Thomas tr.) p. 57.

[2] Life, *ch.* 5.

Chinese history placing it in the year A. D. 648 and the Life in 655[1]. Taking thirty-six years as the duration of his reign we thus have 612 or 619 as the date of his accession. The latter date agrees with a Chinese statement that the troubles in India which led to Śīlāditya's reign took place in the reign of T'ang Kao Tsu (A. D. 618 to 627). But the date 648, or rather 647, is perhaps the correct one. It must have been in 641 or 642 that, in conversation with our pilgrim, Śīlāditya stated that he had then been sovereign for above thirty years. This also gives 612 for the year of his accession, and the addition of six years to the thirty gives 648 as the date of his death. But the Chinese envoy despatched in the early part of that year found, on his arrival in the country, the king dead, and a usurper on the throne. Moreover it was in 648 that Yuan-chuang submitted his Records to T'ai Tsung, and Śīlāditya must have been dead before this work was drawn up in its present form.

For the words rendered in the above passage by "advanced to the Lion's Throne" that is, promoted to be chief bhikshus, the Chinese is *t'ui-shêng-shi-tzŭ-chih-tso* (推昇師子之座). This Julien understood to mean "caused them to go up on the throne". The words might probably have this meaning in other places, but no good bhikshu would mount a rāja's throne, and it seems better to take *shi-tzŭ-chih-tso* here in its Buddhist sense as the throne of the head of the Order. The term, we know, does mean *a king's throne*, but Śīlāditya did not use a throne; and the other use of the term seems to be here more correct and suitable. The Lion's Throne of the Buddhists was originally the seat reserved for the Buddha, as leader of the congregation, in the chapels and Halls of the Monasteries; and afterwards it became the throne or seat of the chief bhikshu of a place. Promotion to the Lion's Throne was given locally by pious kings, and did not inter-

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[1] See Ma T. l., *ch.* 338; T'ung-chien-kang-mu, *ch.* 40 (T'ang T'ai Tsung Chên-kuan 22 y.); Life, *ch.* 5.

fere with precedence among the Brethren. Here Śilāditya promotes the most deserving bhikshus at his court, and makes them his private chaplains, personally receiving from them religious instruction.[1]

By the term "good friend" *shan-yu* (善友), which the pilgrim here tells us was applied by the king to devout princes and statesmen, we are to understand the *kalyāna-mitra* of Buddhist use. This term means *good* or *auspicious friend*, and it is also employed in the sense of *spiritual adviser*, or *good counseller in matters of religion*.

Returning again to our text we have now an episode which belongs to a date five or six years later than the visit of which the pilgrim is here telling. To be understood properly the narrative must be read in connection with the account of Kāmarūpa in *Chuan* 10 and with the story given in the corresponding passage of the Life.

The pilgrim, we learn from these texts, was on his way back to China, and had gone again to the great monastery of Nālandā in Magadha. Here he wished to remain for some time continuing his studies in Buddhist philosophy which had been begun there some years before. But Bāskaravarma, styled Kumāra, the king of Kāmarūpa (that is, Assam), had heard of him and longed to see him. So he sent messengers to Nālandā to invite and urge the pilgrim to pay him a visit. Yuan-chuang at first declined and pleaded his duty to China, but his old Buddhist teacher Śīlabhadra convinced him that it was also his duty to go to Kāmarūpa on the invitation of its king who was not a Buddhist. The pilgrim at length yielded, travelled to that country, and was received by the king with great honour. In the course of a conversation His Majesty said to Yuan-chuang.— "At present in various states of India a song has been heard for some time called the "Music of the conquests of Ch'in (Tsin) wang" of Mahāchina—this refers to Your Reverence's native country I presume". The pilgrim replied— "Yes, this song praises my sovereign's excellences".

At this time king Śilāditya was in a district the name of which is transcribed in our Chinese texts in several ways. Julien calls it "Kadjoughira", and Cunningham identifies it with the

[1] A special seat or pulpit, called a "Lion's Throne", was sometimes given by a king to the Brother whom he chose to be Court preacher.

modern Kānkjol). He had been on an expedition to a country called *Kung-yü-ta*, and was on his way back to Kanauj to hold a great Buddhist assembly there. Hearing of the arrival of the Chinese pilgrim at the court of king Kumāra he sent a summons to the latter to repair to him with his foreign guest. Kumāra replied with a refusal, saying that the king could have his head but not his guest. "I trouble you for your head", came the prompt reply. Thereupon Kumāra became submissive, and proceeded with the pilgrim and a grand retinue to join Śilāditya.

When this sovereign met Yuan-chuang, our text here relates, having made a polite apology to the pilgrim (literally, having said— I have fatigued you) he made enquiry as to Yuan-chuang's native land, and the object of his travelling. Yuan-chuang answered that he was a native of the great T'ang country, and that he was travelling to learn Buddhism. The king then asked about this great T'ang country, in what direction it lay, and how far it was distant. Yuan-chuang replied that his country was the Mahāchina of the Indians and that it was situated some myriads of *li* to the north-east of India. The king then relates how he had heard of the *Ch'in(Tsin)-wang-T'ien-tzŭ* (秦王天子), that is, the Deva-putra Prince Ch'in, of Mahāchina, who had brought that country out of anarchy and ruin into order and prosperity, and made it supreme over distant regions to which his good influences extended. All his subjects, the king continues, having their moral and material wants cared for by this ruler, sing the "song of *Ch'in-wang's* conquests", and this fine song has long been known here. The king then asks the pilgrim whether this was all true, and whether his Great T'ang country was the country of the song.

In reply the pilgrim states that *Chi-na* (至那) that is, Chin was the designation of a former dynasty in his native land, and that Ta T'ang denoted the present dynasty, that the sovereign then reigning, T'ai Tsung, had been styled Ch'in-wang before he came to the throne, the title Emperor (*T'ien-tzŭ*) having been given to him on his accession. He then adds a compendious description of Ch'in-wang as Prince and Emperor.

The musical composition about which our pilgrim here represents the two Indian rulers as enquiring was known in China as the *Ch'in-wang-p'o-ch'ên-yao* (秦王破陣樂) or the "Music of Ch'in-wang's victory". Its history is briefly as follows.[1] In the year A. D. 619 T'ang Kao Tsu's

[1] See T'ung-chien-kang-mu, *ch.* 39 (T'ang T'ai Tsung 1st y.); T'ang-Shu, *ch.* 2 and 21; Ma T. L. *ch.* 129.

second son Ch'in-wang, or Prince of Ch'in, by name Shih-min succeeded in suppressing the serious rebellion of Liu wu-chow (劉武周) who ultimately fell into the hands of the Turks and was killed by them. In commemoration of Ch'in-wang's military achievments in suppressing this rebellion his soldiers got up a musical performance with song and dance. This musical composition was entitled "*Ch'in-wang-p'o-ch'ên-yao*" and also "*Shên-kung* (神功) *-p'o-ch'ên -yao*", but it came to be generally known by its short name "P'o-ch'ên-yao". The dancing or posture-making performance was called Ch'i-tê-wu (七德舞) or "Dance of the Seven Virtues", the name containing a classical allusion. The dancing was performed by a company of 128 men in silver hauberks and armed with spears. The emperor Kao Tsu ordered that the "P'o-ch'ên-yao" should be given when a victorious general returning from a successful campaign entered the capital. At the banquet which T'ai-Tsung, formerly Ch'in-wang, gave on his accession to the throne the dance and music were both performed. It is interesting to find that the fame of T'ang T'ai-Tsung's glory and achievments had reached the two Indian rulers if we can rely on our pilgrim's statements. It is also very remarkable that neither of Yuan-chuang's translators had read of Ch'in-wang, and it is pitiful to find Beal telling his readers that the Ch'in-wang of this passage is Ch'in-Shi-Huang-ti of B. C. 221.

The Records and the Life next go on to relate how the kings Śīlāditya and Kumāra, with their distinguished Chinese guest, proceeded by land and river in grand procession to the city of Kanyākubja where Śīlāditya had convoked a great Buddhist assembly From this city, when the functions were over, the kings, we learn from the Life, with their Chinese guest, and attended by magnificent retinues, went on to Prayāga for the great periodical distribution of religious gifts and alms which was to be made there by Sīlāditya; and at that place our pilgrim bade his hosts farewell.

Before we take up again the thread of our pilgrim's

account of Kanyākubja we may add a few words about the great king who treated him with such marked distinction and kindness. This king, Śilāditya or Śrī-Harshadeva or Harsha, "the Akbar of the 'Hindu period' of Indian history", was not only a great and successful warrior and wise and benevolent ruler: he was also an intelligent devoted patron of religion and literature, and he was apparently an author himself. His father had been a sun-worshipper; but he himself, while retaining publicly the religion of his father, and tolerant and liberal to other sects, was evidently strongly attached to Buddhism. As to his literary tastes we learn from I-ching that the king once called for a collection of the best poems written: of the compositions sent in to him 500 were found to be strings of jātakas (Jātakamālā). According to this author also Śilāditya put together the incidents of the Cloud-riding (Jimūta-vāhana) Bodhisattva giving himself up for a nāga, into a poem to be sung, that is, he composed the "Nāgānanda". An accompaniment of instrumental music was added, and the king had the whole performed in public, and so it became popular.[1] The king was also a great traveller, and a seeker after knowledge of various kinds. His information about the martial fame and exploits of the Chinese emperor T'ai-Tsung may have been acquired on one of his expeditions to distant provinces. In the year 641 he sent an envoy to the Chinese Court, and apparently he sent another soon after. His title in the documents connected with the former embassy seems to have been "king of Magadha".

We return now to the pilgrim's description of Kanyākubja, and an abridgment of his account of the Buddhist memorials of the neighbourhood is all that is given in these pages.

To the north-west of the capital was an Asoka tope where the Buddha had preached excellent doctrines for seven days; beside it was a tope where the Four Past Buddhas had sat and walked for exercise; and there was a small tope over hair- and nail-relics

[1] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, sec. 32 and Takakusu p. 163.

of the Buddha. South of the Preaching Tope and close to the Ganges were three Buddhist monasteries enclosed by a common wall but each having its own gate. These vihāras had beautiful images, the Brethren were grave and reverend, and there were thousands of lay Buddhists to serve them. The shrine or temple (*ching-she*) of the three-fold vihāra had a casket containing a wonder-working tooth of the Buddha an inch and a half long, which was exhibited to crowds of visitors for a charge of one gold coin each. There were other sacred Buddhist buildings near the city, and there were also splendid temples to the Sun-god and to Maheśvara respectively.

From Kanyākubja, the pilgrim tells us, a journey of above 100 *li* south-east brought him to the city *na-fo-t'i-p'o-ku-lo* (Navadevakula). This city which was on the east bank of the Ganges, was above twenty *li* in circuit, with flowery groves and clear ponds giving interchange of sunshine and shadow. To the north-west of it, and also on the east bank of the Ganges, was a magnificent Deva-Temple. Five *li* to the east of the city were three Buddhist monasteries enclosed within one wall but with separate gates: in these monasteries were above 500 Brethren all Sarvāstivādins. Near the monasteries were the remains of an Asoka tope where the Buddha had preached for seven days. Three or four *li* north of the monasteries was another Asoka tope. This marked the spot at which 500 hungry demons, having come to the Buddha and attained an understanding of his teaching, exchanged the demon state for that of devas.

The *Na-fo-t'i-p'o-ku-lo* of this passage, restored as Navadevakula, means "New Deva-Temple", and the site of the city so called is supposed to be represented by the present Nohbatgang.[1] This city has also been identified with or declared to be near the village (in one text, but in the other texts, wood) of *A* (or *Ho*)-*li* (阿 or 呵 梨) which Fa-hsien places three yojanas south of Kanauj and on the other side of the Ganges. Our pilgrim's *city* may have been in the district of the wood (or village) but it cannot be identified with the latter. In the Life this city is not mentioned, and the Fang-chih calls it "Nava-deva city". It is not unlikely that it was from the splendid Deva-temple which Yuan-chuang here describes very briefly that the city obtained its name. This temple, which

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[1] See Julien III. p. 350; A. G. I. p. 382.

was evidently of recent date, may have been devoted to the worship of Vishnu whose name Hari may be the word transribed by Fa-hsien's A (or *Ho*)-*li*.

Instead of "500 Hungry (餓) Demons" in this passage, the reading of the D text and the Fang-chih, the common texts have "more than (餘) 500 Demons". This latter is doubtless a opyist's error and the D reading is the correct one. From another source we learn that the Five Hundred Hungry Demons came to the Buddha and implored his pity: he thereupon requested Maudgalyayana to feed them. The Buddha had to enlarge their needle-throats to enable them to swallow the food: having eaten they burst, died, and went to Heaven. The Buddha explained that these creatures had once been so many lay Buddhists, and in that capacity had spoken rudely to bhikshus, calling them "Hungry Demons" when the bhikshus called on their morning rounds begging their daily food. The karma of this sin produced the rebirth of the upāsakas 500 times as Hungry Demons, and their faith in the Buddha, and prayer to him, obtained their release from misery and their birth in Heaven.[1]

The pilgrim, as we learn from the Life, remained at Kanyākubja three months, being lodged in the Bhadra-vihāra. Here he studied with the learned Buddhist monk *P'i-li-ye-se-na* (Vīryasena) the vibhāshā (or expository) treatise by *Fo-shih* (佛 使), "Buddha's Servant" or Buddhadāsa, called the *Chou* (胄)- or "Varma-vibhāshā." Julien, who apparently had a different text here, represents the pilgrim as reading the vibhāshā of Buddhadāsa "et le mémoire du maitre *ching-tcheou* (Ārya-varma) sur le *Pi-p'o-cha* (le vibhāchā)". A Buddhadāsa will be found mentioned in Yuan-chuang's account of "Hayamukha" as the author of a mahā-vibhāshā-śāstra. As this work was a book of the Sarvāstivādin school of the Hīnayāna its author cannot have been the Buddhadāsa who was a contemporary of Vasubandhu and a disciple of his brother Asanga.

[1] Sar. Vin. Yao-shih, *ch.* 2.

Very little seems to be known about any śāstra-writer with the name Buddhadāsa, and there is no author with this name in the catalogues of Buddhist books as known in China and Japan

A-YU-T'Ê (AYODHYĀ).

From the neighbourhood of Navadevakula city, according to the Records, the pilgrim continued his journey, going south-east; and after travelling above 600 *li*, and crossing the Ganges to the south, he reached the *A-yü-t'ê* (Ayudha or Ayodhyā) country.

According to the account in the Life it was from Kanauj that Yuan-chuang went 600 *li* south-east to Ayudha. The capital of this country, which was about a mile to the south of the river, has been identified with the Ayodhyā of other writers, the old capital of Oudh. On account of difficulties of direction and distance Cunningham proposes a different site for Yuan-chuang's Ayudha[1]. But it seems to be better to adhere to Ayodhyā, and to regard Yuan-chuang's *Ganges* here as a mistake for a large affluent of the great river. The city was on the south bank of the river, and about 120 miles east-south-east from Kanauj. Its name is found written in full *A-yü-t'ê-ye* (阿喩陀也), Ayudhya (Ayodhyā), and the city is said to have been the seat of government of a line of kings more or less mythical.[2] We know also that to the Hindus Ayodhyā was the old capital of Rāma and the Solar race. It is possible that an old or dialectic form of the name was Ayuddha, and the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit word, which suits either form, means *invincible* or *irresistable*. Moreover we find that Yuan-chuang makes his Ayudha the temporary residence of Asanga and Vasubandhu, and other authorities represent Ayodhyā as a place of sojourn for these two illustrious brothers. Then the Ayudha of Yuan-

[1] A. G. I. p. 385. As will be seen there are serious difficulties in the identification of Yuan-chuang's Ayudha with the Sha-ki of Fa-hsien and with the Ayodhyā of other writers.

[2] Chung-hsü-ching, *ch.* 1 (No. 859).

chuang is apparently the *Sha-ki* or Saket, that is Ayodhyā, of Fa-hsien; this was ten yojanas south-east from the Ho-li village which was three yojanas south from Kanauj. Alberuni makes Ayodhyā to have been about 150 miles south-east from Kanauj, being 25 farsakhs down the Ganges from Bāri, which was 20 farsakhs east from Kanauj.[1] It is the Sāketā or Oudh of the Brihat-sanhitā which merely places it in the "Middle country".[2] It may be mentioned in passing that there is no reference to Ayudha in the account of king Śīlāditya's progress from Kanauj by land and river to Prayāga.

The Ayudha country, the Records proceeds to tell us, was above 5000 *li* in circuit, and the capital was above twenty *li* in circuit. The country yielded good crops, was luxuriant in fruit and flower, and had a genial climate. The people had agreeable ways, were fond of good works, and devoted to practical learning. There were above 100 Buddhist monasteries, and more than 3000 Brethren who were students of both "Vehicles". There were ten Deva-Temples, and the non-Buddhists were few in number.

Within the capital, the author continues, was the old monastery in which Vasubandhu P'usa in the course of some scores of years composed various śāstras Mahāyānist and Hinayānist. Beside this monastery were the remains of the Hall in which Vasubandhu had expounded Buddhism to princes and illustrious monks and brahmins from other countries. Four or five *li* north from the capital, and close to the Ganges, was a large Buddhist monastery, with an Asoka tope to mark a place at which the Buddha had preached to devas and men for three months on the excellent doctrines of his religion. Four or five *li* west from this monastery was a Buddha-relic tope, and to the north of the tope were the remains of an old monastery. Here *Shih-li-lo-to* (restored by Julien as Śrīlabdha), a śāstra-master of the Sautrantika School, composed a sautrantika vibhāshā-śāstra.

In a mango plantation five or six *li* to the south-west of the city was the old monastery in which Asanga P'usa had learned and taught. By night the P'usa went up to the Tushita Heaven, and there received from Maitreya the materials of three treatises which he taught by day to his disciples. These treatises, Yuan-chuang tells us, were the "*Yü-ka-shih-ti-lun*" (瑜伽師地論),

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[1] Alberuni Vol. I. p. 200.

[2] Ind. Ant. Vol. XXII. p. 174, 189.

the "*Chuang-yen-ta-shêng-ching-lun*" (莊嚴大乘經論), and the "*Chung-pien-fên-pie-lun*" (中邊分別論).

The large Buddhist Monastery and tope, which in this passage are placed four or five to the *north* of the capital, are described in the Life as being to the *north-west* of the city, the distance being the same.

Our pilgrim's Śrīlabdha, whose name is translated by Shêng-shou (勝受) "Received from the Victorious", may perhaps be Tāranātha's "Sūtra-āchārya-Bhadanta Srīlābha", a Kashmirian and the founder of a School[1].

The three Buddhist treatises which Yuan-chuang here states were communicated to Asanga by Maitreya require a short notice. The name *Yü-ka-shih-ti-lun* most likely stands for "Yogāchārya-bhūmi-śāstra", as in Julien's re-translation, but it is possible that this was not the original name of the Sanskrit treatise. We have the work in Yuan-chuang's translation, made with the help of several Brethren, and with an interesting introduction by the pilgrim's friend, the distinguished scholar and official Hsü Ching-tsung (許敬宗), whose name has a bad mark against it in history. The treatise, which is a very long one, was *uttered*, we are told, by Maitreya. It is a metaphysical religious work on the basis of Buddhism, but it is not a *yoga* treatise as the term *yoga* came to be understood, nor is the word *shih* to be taken here in its ordinary sense of "master". The *yoga-shih* is merely a disciple who devotes himself to profound continued meditation in the seventeen *ti* (bhūmi) or provinces of faith and knowledge. It is not unlikely that the name which Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio gives as the second name of this treatise, viz. "Saptadasa-bhūmi-(or bhūmika)-śāstra-yogāchāryabhūmi", is the correct or original title.[2]

The "Chuang-yen-ta shêng-ching-lun" is evidently, as Julien restores the name, the "Sūtrālankāra-ṭīkā", the word *Mahāyāna*, which is required by the Chinese trans-

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[1] Tār. S. 4, 67.

[2] Bun. No. 1170.

lation, being omitted from the title. We find the name also given as "Ta-shêng-chuang-yen-ching-lun", and a treatise so designated composed by Asañga was translated by Prabhāmitra, a kshatriya of Magadha and a contemporary of our pilgrim. This translation is evidently a work of great merit, and the treatise is interesting as giving Asanga's exposition and defence of Mahāyānism. It is a work in verse with a prose commentary throughout, but there is no reference to Maitreya as author or inspirer either of verses or commentary.[1]

The third treatise here said to have been communicated by Maitreya to Asanga is called by our pilgrim "Chung-pien-fên-pie-lun", the Sanskrit original name being "Madhyānta-vibhāga-śāstra". But this treatise, of which there are two Chinese translations, is represented as the work of Vasubandhu. The Chinese name which Yuan-chuang here uses for it is that given to Paramārtha's translation, his own translation having a name slightly different. The treatise in both translations gives the "Pien-chung-pien-lun-sung" by Maitreya, with a running commentary on it by Vasubandhu. Maitreya's work is a very short one in seven poems on seven subjects; and it was this work apparently which Maitreya, according to Yuan-chuang in this passage, communicated to Asanga. The term Madhyānta-vibhāga seems to mean, as translated into Chinese, "distinguishing between the mean and the extremes", that is, holding the mean between the negation and the assertion of existence.[2]

Above 100 paces to the north-west of the Mango Grove was a Buddha-relic tope, and beside it were old foundations at the place where Vasubandhu P'usa descended from Tushita Paradise to have an interview with his elder brother Asanga P'usa. Our pilgrim here represents these two brothers as natives of Gandhāra, and as having lived in the millenium succeeding the Buddha's decease (that is, according to the Chinese reckoning, before the third century of our era). Asanga, he tells us, began his Buddhist religious career as a Mahīśāsika and afterwards became a Mahāyānist: and Vasubandhu began his religious career in

[1] No. 1190.

[2] Nos 1244, 1245, and 1248.

the school of the Sarvāstivādins. Yuan-chuang here tells a curious story about the two brothers and a great scholar who was a friend and disciple of Asanga, by name *Fo-t'ê-sêng-ha*, translated by *Shih-tzŭ-chiao* or "Lion-intelligence", the Sanskrit original being Buddha-siṁha. These three Brethren made an agreement that when one of them died and went to Heaven he should come back to earth at the first opportunity to enlighten the survivors as to his circumstances. The first to die was the disciple Buddhasiṁha, but in Heaven he forgot his promise. Then three years afterwards Vasubandhu died and went to Tushita Heaven. He had been dead six months, and no message had come from him, so the heretics declared that he and Buddhasiṁha had gone to a bad place. But at length Vasubandhu remembering his agreement found it in his power to keep it. So in the form of a Deva-rishi he descended to earth and visited his brother, telling him how he and Buddha-siṁha had fared in Maitreya's Paradise.

The story here given about the death of Vasubandhu is at variance with the accounts of the brothers given in the Life of Vasubandhu, and other works, according to which the elder brother dies first, leaving the younger brother still living and writing.

The pilgrim next tells of an old monastery 40 *li* north-west from Asanga's chapel, and having its north side close to the Ganges. Within this a brick tope marked the place at which the conversion of Vasubandhu to Mahāyānism began. According to the version of the story here given Vasubandhu, having come from North India to Ayudha, heard a portion of the Mahāyāna treatise *Shih-ti-ching* (十地論) recited by a disciple of Asanga, and was thereby led to reflect. He became convinced that he had been wrong as a Hīnayānist opponent of Mahāyānism, and was ready to cut out his tongue as the offending member which had reviled the "Great Vehicle". But his elder brother, who had wished to bring about Vasubandhu's conversion, interfered and taught him to use his tongue in the praise and preaching of his new creed.

In other works Asanga uses the pretext of fatal sickness to bring his brother from Ayodhyā to visit him at Purushapura, and there reasons with him and converts him to Mahāyānism. After the death of Asanga, his brother composed several treatises all expounding and defending Mahā-

yānism; and he died in Ayodhyā at the age of eighty years.[1] The Shih-ti-ching or "Sūtra of the Ten Lands" of this passage is doubtless the work called Shih-chu-ching (No. 105), the Daśabhūmika-sūtra. One of Vasubandhu's numerous treatises is a commentary on this sūtra entitled *Shih-ti-ching-lun* (No. 1194).

A-YE-MU-K'A.

From Ayudha the pilgrim travelled east, he writes, above 300 *li*, and crossing the Ganges to the north, arrived in the *A-ye-mu-k'a* country. This country he describes as being 2400 or 2500 *li* in circuit with its capital, situated on the Ganges, above 20 *li* in circuit. In climate and natural products the country resembled Ayudha: the character of the people was good, they were studious and given to good works. There were five Buddhist monasteries with above 1000 Brethren who were adherents of the Sammatiya School, and there were more than ten Deva-Temples. Not far from the capital on the south-east side, and close to the Ganges, were an Asoka tope at a place where the Buddha had preached for three months, traces of a sitting and walking place of the Four Past Buddhas, and a dark-blue-stone tope with Buddha-relics. Beside this last was a monastery with above 200 Brethren, and in it was a beautiful life-like image of the Buddha: its halls and chambers rose high, and were of exquisite workmanship. It was in this monastery that the Śāstra-Master Buddhadāsa composed his great vibhāshā treatise of the Sarvāstivādin School.

The name of the country here transcribed *A-ye-mu-k'a* was restored by Julien in his translation of the Life as *Ayamukha*, but in the present passage he makes these syllables stand for Hayamukha. This latter restoration seems to be inadmissible; and as *A-* is the first syllable of the name in all the texts of the Life and Records, and in the Fang-chih, we must regard Ayamukha as the name which the pilgrim transcribed. It is not impossible that the correct form may have been Hayamukha or Āyamukha, the former word meaning "Horse-face" and the latter meaning a *creek* or *channel*. Cunningham, who finds Yuan-

[1] Vasubandhu-chuan (No. 1465).

chuang's Ayudha in the present Kākāpur, thinks that Ayamukha may be represented by "Daundia-khera on the northern bank of the Ganges". But these identifications are mere conjectures and are of little use.[1]

In the corresponding passage of the Life we are informed that the pilgrim left Ayudha in a boat along with a party and proceeded east down the Ganges towards Ayamukha. When about 100 *li* on the way, in a wood of asoka trees, the boat was attacked by Thugs who robbed the party When these Thugs saw that the Chinese pilgrim was an uncommonly fine-looking man they decided to sacrifice him to their cruel deity Durgā. From this terrible fate the pilgrim was preserved by a providential hurricane which put the wicked Thugs in fear, and made them release their doomed victim, treat him with awe and reverence, and under his teaching give up their wicked profession, and take the vows of lay-Buddhists. After recording this episode the Life goes on to state that the pilgrim "from this went above 300 *li* east and crossed to the north of the Ganges into the Ayamukha country". The "this" here may be taken to mean the place of the encounter with the Thugs, and the distance from Ayudha to Ayamukha would then be 400 *li*. But the words "from this" in the above extract from the Life should perhaps be treated, in accordance with the text of the Records, as indicating Ayudha city as the point of departure. The pilgrim apparently travelled by land eastwards from the place where the boat was seized by the Thugs, and he crossed to the north side of the river near Ayamukha city. This river cannot have been the Ganges and it may have been the Sai. We may even doubt whether the river in the Asoka wood on which the Thugs had their piratical boats was the Ganges proper.

The great vibhāshā treatise, which Yuan-chuang here tells us was composed by Buddhadāsa in a monastery of this country, is probably the "Varma-vibhāshā" already

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1 A. G. I. p. 387.

mentioned, above p. 353, in connection with the pilgrim's account of Kanauj.

PRAYĀGA.

From Ayamukha the pilgrim went south-east, he tells us, and after a journey of more than 700 *li*, crossing to the south of the Ganges and the north of the Jumna he came to the *Po-lo-ya-ka* (Prayāga) country.

There is evidently something wrong in the accounts which our pilgrim has given of his journeys in these districts. He applies the name "Ganges", apparently to more than one river, and it seems probable that his Ayudha and Ayamukha were on an affluent or affluents of the Ganges proper. From Kanauj he may have made an excursion to these two cities. From Ayamukha he apparently returned to the Ganges somewhere near Navadevakula, which was 20 miles to the south-east of Kanauj. From the neighbourhood of this place to Prayāga, going south-east, is about 140 miles or 700 *li*. Cunningham seems to take no notice of the statements in the Records and Life that Ayamukha was to the east of Ayudha. Moreover he wrongly represents Yuan-chuang as going by boat all the way down the Ganges south-east from the latter city to Ayamukha. So we cannot wonder that he finds it impossible to make distances agree.[1]

The pilgrim goes on to state that the Prayāga country was above 5000 *li* in circuit, and the capital above 20 *li* in circuit. This city, which apparently had the same name, he places at the junction of two rivers (viz. the Ganges and the Jumna). He praises the country, the climate, and the people. He tells us there were only two Buddhist establishments and very few Brethren all Hīnayānists. There were some hundreds of Deva-Temples and the majority of the inhabitants were non-Buddhists.

In a champaka grove to the south-west of the capital was an old Asoka tope to mark the spot at which the Buddha once overcame his religious opponents (that is, in controversy). Beside it were a Buddha-hair-and-nail relic tope and an Exercise ground. Near the relic tope was an old monastery in which Deva P'usa

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[1] A. G. I. p. 388.

composed the "Kuang-pai-lun" for the refutation of the Hinayānists and the conquest of the Tīrthikas.

Prayāga, the capital of this country, corresponds, as has been shown by others, to the modern Allahabad. The word *Prayāga* means *sacrifice*, or a *holy ground set apart for sacrifices*.

The Deva P'usa of this passage has been already met with at the Sources of the Ganges. His treatise here mentioned, the "Kuang-pai-lun", which we have in Yuan-chuang's translation, is a very short one in verse arranged under eight headings. It denounces the belief in individual permanence and argues against brahmins and others.[1]

In the capital, the pilgrim goes on to relate, was a celebrated Deva-Temple in front of which was a great wide-spreading umbrageous tree. In this tree once lodged a cannibal demon, hence the presence of numerous bones near the tree. Visitors to the temple, under the influence of bad teaching and supernatural beings, had continuously from old times all lightly committed suicide here. Lately, however, a very wise and learned brahmin of good family had tried to convert the people from their evil belief and stop the practice of suicide. He accordingly went up to the temple and in the presence of friends proceeded to kill himself in the usual way by mounting the tree to throw himself down from it. When up the tree, addressing the spectators he said — "I am dying (lit. have death); formerly I spoke of the matter as an illusion, now I have proof that it is real; the devas with their aerial music are coming to meet me, and I am about to give up my vile body from this meritorious spot." As the Brahmin was about to throw himself down from the tree to be killed his friends tried to dissuade him from the act, but their counsels were in vain. They then spread their garments below the tree; and when the Brahmin fell he was unhurt, but was in a swoon. When he recovered he said to the by-standers—"What is seen as the devas in the air summoning one is the leading of evil spirits, not the acquisition of heavenly joy".

The story here told leaves somewhat to be supplied in order to make it as intelligible to us as it was to Yuan-chuang's Chinese readers. For some reason not explained in the story it had long been an article of popular belief

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[1] Bun. No. 1189.

that suicide at this Deva-Temple led to birth in Heaven. Then those who "threw away their lives" here were evidently left unburied and were supposed to be devoured by the man-eating demon who lived in the great tree. This tree was undoubtedly a banyan, and Cunningham thinks that "there can be little doubt that the famous tree here described by the pilgrim is the well-known *Akshay-Bat*, or "undecaying Banian tree", which is still an object of worship at Allahabad".

Not long before the time of Yuan-chuang's visit, he tells us, a brahmin "of good family" had tried to convert the people from their folly in committing suicide here. The Chinese rendered by "of good family" is *tsu-hsing-tzŭ* (族姓子) lit. "Son of a clan". This expression is one of very common use in Buddhist books and means simply "a gentleman". Yet Julien here translates it by "dont le nom de famille était *Fils* (Pouttra)".[1]

This brahmin gentleman, when up in the banyan tree, hears music and sees beings; and he thinks (or pretends to think) that these are the harbingers of a happy death giving an entrance into Heaven. But when he recovers from his swoon he recognizes, and declares, that he only saw in the air devas summoning him, that these were evil deities coming to meet him, and that there was no heavenly joy. The language here used belongs partly to a popular Chinese belief or fancy. The Chinese generally believe that dying persons often receive intimation or indication of what is to be their lot after they depart this life, and the information is supposed to be often conveyed by the appearance of a certain kind of emissary from the other world. These messengers from the world beyond are said to *chie-yin* (接引) or to *yin* the dying individual, that is to *welcome* or *introduce* him. It is these terms which are

[1] The phrase *tsu-hsing-tzŭ* is the equivalent of the Indian term *kulaputra*, "son of a family", that is, clansman, and the clansmen were regarded as well-born. In the Buddhist books *tsu-hsing-tzŭ* is applied to eminent laymen, and also to bhikshus, who moreover use it in speaking of themselves.

here translated by "coming to meet" and "leading". The Brahmin mistook the character of the *welcome* to be given. We are probably to understand that he taught his friends, and the people generally, that the music and angels of the suicides were in all cases harbingers of posthumous misery, not of bliss in Heaven.

On the east side of the capital and at the confluence of the rivers, the pilgrim proceeds, was a sunny down about ten *li* wide covered with a white sand. This down was called in the popular language "The Grand Arena of Largesse". It was the place to which from ancient times princes, and other liberal benefactors, had come to make their offerings and gifts. Yuan-chuang then proceeds to describe how king Śilāditya acted on the occasion to which reference has already been made. The king, as we have seen, went in state from Kanauj to this place for his customary quinquennial great distribution of gifts, and alms, and offerings. He had come prepared, and he gave away all the public money, and all his own valuables. Beginning with offerings to the Buddhist images on the first day, Yuan-chuang here tells us, the king went on to bestow gifts on the resident Buddhist Brethren, next on the assembled congregation, next on those who were conspicuous for great abilities and extensive learning, next on retired scholars and recluses of other religions, and lastly on the kinless poor. This lavish distribution in a few (according to the *Life* in 75) days exhausted all the public and private wealth of the country, but in ten days after the Treasury was emptied it was again filled.

At the junction of the rivers and to the east of the Arena of Largesse, Yuan-chuang continues, every day numbers of people arrived to die in the sacred water, hoping to be thereby reborn in Heaven. Even the monkeys and other wild creatures came to this place, some bathed and then went back, others fasted here until they died. In connection with this statement Yuan-chuang tells a story of a monkey which lived under a tree close to the river, and starved himself to death at the time of Śilāditya's visit. He adds that this occurrence led to the following curious and trying austerity-performance on the part of the local devotees given to austerities. High poles were erected in the Ganges at this place, each with a projecting peg near the top; at sunrise a devotee mounted a pole; holding on to the top with one hand and one foot, and supported by the peg, he stretched out his other arm and leg at full length. In this posture he followed keenly with his eyes the sun's progress to the right; when the sun set the devotee came down from his perch to

resume it next morning. This painful austerity was practised with the view of obtaining release from mortal life, and it was carried on for several tens of years without relaxation.

This story of our pilgrim seems to be rather silly and not very intelligible. One cannot see the connection between the monkey's suicide and the devotees' practice on the poles. But if we regard the date given for the monkey's death, viz. the time of Śīlāditya's visit, as an accidental mistake (which the context seems to show it must be) then we probably have here a fragment of some old story told to account for absurd austerities still practised at the time of Yuan-chuang's visit. According to the Fang-chih the monkey of the pilgrim's story was a husband, and his wife was attacked and killed by a dog. The husband found the dead body of his wife, and with pious care carried it to the Ganges, and consigned it to that sacred river; then he gave himself up to grief, would not take any food, and after a few days died. It is probable that the original story also told how the bereaved monkey every morning went to the top of one of the poles at the bank of the river, and sat there gazing intently at the sky; that he came down at evening, and spent the night in his lonely home, and that when he died he rejoined his wife in Heaven. When the history of this pious uxorious monkey became generally known, seekers after Heaven were moved to adopt the means which they had seen the monkey use. So they set up poles in the river, and sat perched on these after the manner of monkeys, as the pilgrim describes, craning their necks to watch the sun through all his course from east to west. This is what they thought the pious intelligent monkey had been doing.

KOŚĀMBI.

From Prayāga the pilgrim went, he tells us, south-west through a forest infested by wild elephants and other fierce animals, and after a journey of above 500 *li* (about 100 miles) he reached the *Kiao-shang-mi* (that is Kauśāmbī or Kosambī) country. This is described by the pilgrim as being above 6000 *li* in circuit, and

its capital (evidently named Kośāmbī) as being above 30 *li* in circuit. It was a fertile country with a hot climate: it yielded much upland rice and sugar-cane; its people were enterprising, fond of the arts, and cultivators of religious merit. There were more than ten Buddhist monasteries, but all in utter ruin; and the Brethren, who were above 300 in number, were adherents of the Hīnayāna system. There were more than fifty Deva-Temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous.[1]

In the corresponding part of the Life distance and direction of Kosambī from Prayāga are also given as above 500 *li* to the south-west. This agrees with the statement, in a subsequent part of the Life, that the pilgrim on leaving Prayāga journeyed south-west through a jungle for seven days to Kosambī Cunningham, (who was misled by Julien's slip in writing 50 *li*, instead of 500, in his translation of the Life) identifies the city of Kosambī here described with the modern Kosam, which is only 38 miles by road south-west from Allahabad.[2] M. Saint-Martin could not offer any identification for our pilgrim's Kosambī, and seems to think that it lay to the north-west not south-west of Prayāga.[3] Cunningham's identification has been conclusively shown to be untenable by Mr Vincent A. Smith, whose studies on the subject have led him to the conclusion that "the Kauśāmbī twice visited by Hiuen Tsiang is to be looked for, and, when looked for, will be found, in one of the Native States of the Baghelkhaṇḍ Agency, in the valley of the Tons River, and not very far from the East Indian Railway, which connects Allahabad with Jabalpur. In short, the Satnā (Sutna) railway station marks the *approximate* position of Kauśāmbī".[4] But this identifica-

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[1] There is reason for suspecting the genuineness of the passage in the 5th *chuan* of the Life which seems to be a remembrance of the passage in the 3rd *chuan*. In transcribing the name Ghoshila the author uses characters different from those in the 3rd *chuan* and from those in the Records. This passage also makes the pilgrim go back from Prayāga to Kośambi south-west, and continue his journey from the latter going north-west.

[2] A. G. I. p. 391.

[3] J. III. p. 362 and see Map in J. II.

[4] J. R. A. S. for 1898. [See now Dr Yost's article, ibid. 1904.]

tion also is beset with difficulties which seem to me insurmountable. For the pilgrim to go south-west from Prayaga was to go out of his line of travel, and although this detour might be necessary for one visit it would be unnecessary on the return journey. Mr Smith has noticed the discrepancy between Yuan-chuang's location of Kosambī and that given by Fa-hsien, and he thinks the latter's *north-west* is a clerical mistake for *south-west*, but, on the other hand, Yuan-chuang's *south-west* may be an error for *north-east*. Mr Smith, moreover, has not noticed the important difference between the Life and the Records as to the distance and direction of Viśākhā from Kosambī, and this difference increases the difficulty of identification.

Now our pilgrim's statements here, as to the bearing and distance of Kosambī from Prayāga and other places, are not in agreement with other accounts of the situation and bearings of Kosambī. Thus the Life, which in one place reproduces the words of the Records, in another passage makes *Pi-so-ka* (Viśoka), on the way to Śrāvasti, to be 500 *li* east of Kosambī, while the Records, as we shall see presently, puts it about 880 *li* to the north-north-east of the city. Again, Fa-hsien places the Kosambī country thirteen yojanas (about 90 miles) to the north-west of the Deer Park to the north of Benares.[1] This would make the city of Kosambī lie to the north of Prayāga. Then in the Vinaya we find that in going from Rajagriha to Kosambī one went by boat up the river, that is, the Ganges.[2] Further we read of the Buddha on his way from Śrāvasti to Kosambī passing through the town of Bhaddavatikā, and this was the name of the swift elephant of the king of Kosambī.[3] In some books the Kosambī and Kosala countries are adjacent, and the bhikshus of Sravasti and Kosambi keep Retreat at the same town in

[1] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 34

[2] Vin. Chul. XI. 1.

[3] Jātaka Vol. I. p. 206 (Chalmers tr.)

the Kosambi country.[1] So also when a hermit's life is threatened by the king of Kosambi in the Udayana Park the hermit flies to Śrāvasti.[2] Further in the Sutta Nipāta the deputation from the Brahmin Bavari going to visit the Buddha at Śrāvasti proceed to "Kosambi and Sāketa and Śrāvasti".[3] From all these it would seem that Kosambi, instead of being 500 *li* to the south-west of Prayāga, was rather to the north of that place, and it evidently was not very far from Śrāvasti. It was the capital of the Vatsa (in Chinese *Tu-tzŭ* 犢子 "Calf") country, and the land of of the Vatsas was in the Middle Region of the Brihat Samhitā.[4]

Within the old royal inclosure (*kung*) of the capital, the pilgrim relates, was a large Buddhist temple (*ching-shê*) over sixty feet high in which was a carved sandal-wood image of the Buddha with a stone canopy suspended over it. This image made miraculous manifestations, and no power could move it from its place. so paintings made of it were worshipped, and all true likenesses of the Buddha have been taken from this image. It was the one made for king Udayana by the artist conveyed to the Trayastrimśa Heaven by Mudgalaputra at the king's request When the Buddha descended to earth near Sankāsya the image went out to meet him and the Buddha put it at ease saying—"What I want of you is that you convert those distressed by error and and that you teach posterity".

The Udayana of this passage was the prince born to the king of Kosambi on the day on which the Buddha was born. His name (in Pali books Udena) is translated into Chinese in a note here by *ch'u-ai* (出愛), "yielding affection"; but it is also rendered by *ch'u-kuang* (光), "yielding brightness", by *jih-tzu* (日子) "the Sun", by *jih-chu* (初) or *jih-ch'u* both meaning "Sunrise". He is represented as originally a cruel wicked king with a very bad temper, and as an enemy to the Buddhists. But he took

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[1] Sêng-ki-lü, *ch.* 28

[2] Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih, *ch.* 3.

[3] Sutta Nipāta p. 185 (P. T. S.).

[4] Divyāv p. 528: Yiu-kuo-ching, *ch.* 1 (No. 666); Ind. Ant. Vol. XXII. pp. 170, 181.

into his harem the peerless beauty whose father, when the Buddha refused to take her to wife, gave her to the king. This concubine was wicked and ambitious; and she poisoned the king's mind against the queen, whom she s. ndered as unfaithful to him. Her influence with the king was so great that he ordered the queen to be put to death. She, however, was innocent, and was a pious Buddhist, and her good karma turned aside the weapons of death and preserved her life.[1] Greatly moved by this miracle, the king repented, joined the Buddhists, and became an enthusiast in the new religion (as we see by the passage under consideration). The image, according to one statement, was taken to China, and according to the Life it went of itself through the air to Khoten. A copy of the image had been brought to China as early as the time of Han Ming-Ti.

After mentioning certain memorials of the Four Past Buddhas and of the Buddha at this part of the capital the pilgrim proceeds— *In the south-east corner of the city are the ruins of the house of the Elder Ku-shih-lo* (具史羅) or Ghoshila. *Here also were a Buddhist Temple*, a Hair-and-Nail-relic tope, and the remains of the Buddha's bath-house. Not far from these but outside the city on the south-east side was the old Ghoshilârâma, or Monastery built by Ghoshila, with an Asoka tope above 200 feet high. Here, writes Yuan-chuang, the Buddha preached for several years. Beside this tope was a place with traces of the sitting and walking up and down of the Four Past Buddhas, and there was another Buddha Hair-and-nail relic tope.

The Ghosila of this passage was a great man of very small stature: he was one of the three chief ministers of state of Kosambi in the time of the Buddha, who converted him and admitted him as a lay-disciple. Then Ghoshila, within his own grounds, set up an ârâma or Monastery for the Buddha; and it was in it that the Buddha usually lodged on his visits to Kosambi. These, apparently, were not very frequent, and we do not know Yuan-chuang's autho-

[1] Divyâv. *ch.* XXXVI: Dh. p. 172 ff., Fo-shuo-yu-tien-wang-ching (No. 38): Yu-t'ê-yen-wang-ching (No. 23 (No. 29)).

rity for his statement that the Buddha preached here for several years. In Pali literature this Ghosila is called Ghosita the seṭṭhi, and his monastery is the Ghositārāma. His name is translated in some of the Chinese versions of Buddhist books by *Mei-yin* (美音) or "Fine Voice", In his infancy and childhood this Ghosita had a long series of the most exciting escapes from attempts to murder him.[1]

> To the south-east of the Ghoshilārama, Yuan-chuang proceeds, was a two-story building with an old brick upper-chamber; and in this Vasubandhu lodged and composed the *Wei-shih-lun* (唯 or 惟識論) for the refuting of Hīnayānists and the confounding of non-Buddhists

The Sanskrit original of the name given here, as in other passages of the Life and Records, as *Wei-shih-lun* is restored as "Vidyāmātra siddhi śāstra" by Julien, Mr Bunyiu Nanjio gives "Vidyāmātrasiddhi" as the Sanskrit name, and applies it to several other works, such as the "Ch'êng-wei-shih-lun".[2] This last is a commentary by Dharmapāla, Sthiramati, and eight other P'usas on Vasubandhu's "*Wei-shih-san-shih-lun (or with sung)*". The little treatise Wei-shih-lun is called in the Ming collection "Ta-shêng-Lêng-ka-ching-wei-shih-lun" that is "Mahāyāna-Lankā-sūtra-vidyāmātra śāstra", a name which does not appear in the old texts, and is perhaps unauthorized.[3] Some of the old texts give the title as "Ta-shêng-wei-shih-lun", and this is warranted by the contents. There are three Chinese translations of this treatise, bearing different names, and with variations in the matter. The first translation is by Gautamaprajñāruchi (or according to some, by Bodhiruchi.) A. D. 520[3], the second is by Paramārtha about A. D. 560[4], and the third

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[1] See J. R. A. S. 1898 p. 741; Divyāv. p. 529.
[2] Bun. No. 1197.
[3] No. 1238.
[4] No. 1239.

by our pilgrim in the year 661.[1] The treatise has another title— "*P'o-sê-hsin-lun* (破色心論)", that is, "the śâstra which refutes matter and mind". The book is a small philosophical poem with an explanatory commentary on the relations of mind and matter. It teaches the unreality of phenomena, and consequently of our sense-perceptions apart from the thinking principle, the eternal mind unmoved by change and unsoiled by error. This work was regarded by its author as an exposition of the Buddha's views and teaching on the relation of mind to matter. It quotes and refutes tenets of the non-Buddhist Vaiseshikas and of the Buddhist "Vibhāshā masters of Kashmir". Some of the author's tenets are to be found in the "Laṇkāvatāra sūtra", but we cannot properly describe the Wei-shih-lun as a commentary on that sūtra.

In a mango wood east of the Ghosilārāma were the old foundations of the house in which Asanga P'usa composed the "Hsien-yang-shêng-chiao-lun".

The translation of the title of Asañga's work here given means "the śāstra which developes Buddhism" that is, developes Buddha's teaching. The treatise, which we have in Yuan-chuang's translation[2], is an exposition and developement of the "Yogāchāryabhūmi śāstra" already mentioned.

At a distance of eight or nine *li* south-west from the capital, Yuan-chuang proceeds, was a venomous dragon's cave in which the Buddha had left his shadow after subduing the venomous dragon. This was a matter of record, but the shadow was no longer visible. Beside the Dragon's Cave was an Asoka-built tope, and at the side of it were the traces of the Buddha's exercise-ground, and a hair-and-nail-relic tope at which in many cases the ailments of devotees were cured in answer to prayer. This Kosambī country is to be the last place in which the Śakya-[muni] religion will cease to exist; hence all, from king to peasant, who visit this land feel deeply moved, and return weeping sadly.

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1 No. 1240.
2 No. 1177.

According to the Mahāsaṅgika Vinaya the malicious dragon of Kosambī, An-p'o-lo (菴婆羅) by name, was subdued by the bhikshu *Shan-lai* (善來) or Svāgata.[1] Mr Cockburn, who does not accept the situation of the Dragon's cave given by our pilgrim, is disposed to identify the cave with one now called "Sītā's Window". This is "an ancient Buddhist Hermit's cave, cut into the vertical face of a precipice 50 feet high. This precipice forms the scarp of the classic hill of Prabhāsa, Allahabad District".[2] But this description, it will be observed, does not suit the pilgrim's account of the neighbourhood of the cave.

Our pilgrim here, it will be noticed, speaks of the *Shih-ka-fa* or Sakya dharma, that is, the dispensation of Sakyamuni, the system of belief and conduct which he established. The final extinction of this system which was to take place in Kosambī is predicted by the Buddha in the "Mahāmāya sūtra". At the end of 1500 years from the Buddha's decease a great bhikshu at this city was to kill an arhat: the disciples of the latter would avenge the murder of their master by the slaughter of the bhikshu. The troubles caused by these crimes would lead to the destruction of topes and vihāras, and finally to the complete extinction of Buddhism.[3] As the 1500 years were at the time of the pilgrim's visit about at an end, pious Buddhists were distressed at the signs of the near fulfilment of the prophecy.

From the Dragon's cave, the pilgrim tells us, he proceeded in a north-east direction through a great wood and, after a journey of above 700 *li*, he crossed the Ganges to the north, to the city of *Ka-she-pu-lo* (that is, Kāśapura or Kājapura). This was above ten *li* in circuit, and its inhabitants were in good circumstances. Close to the city were the ruins of an old monastery where Dharmapāla had once gained a great victory over the non-Buddhists in a public discussion. The discussion had been brought about by a former king who wished to destroy Buddhism in the

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[1] Sêng-ki-lü, *ch.* 20.

[2] J. Ben. A. S. Vol LVI. p. 31.

[3] Mo-ha-mo-ya-ching, *ch.* 2 (No 382)

country. Beside these ruins was an Asoka tope, of which 200 feet still remained above ground, to mark the place at which the Buddha had once preached for six months, and near this were traces of the Buddha's exercise ground and a tope with his hair-and-nail relics.

The name of this city, which is not mentioned in the Life, is restored by Julien as Kaśapura.

P'I-SHO-KA.

From Kāsapura, the pilgrim narrates, he went north 170 or 180 *li* to the country which he calls *Pi* (or *Ping*, or *Pi* or *Fo*)-*sho-ka* (that is, perhaps, Viśoka). This country was above 4000 *li* in circuit and its chief city was sixteen *li* in circuit. The grain crops of the country were very plentiful, fruit and flowers abounded, it had a genial climate, and the people had good ways, were studious and given to good works. It had above twenty Buddhist monasteries and 3000 Brethren who were all adherents of the Sammatiya School. There were above 50 Deva-Temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous.

On the east side of the road south of the capital was a large monastery. In it the arhat Devasarman composed his "Shih-shên-lun" in which he denied the Ego and the non-Ego. At this place there had also been another arhat by name Gopa, who wrote the treatise "Shêng-chiao-yao-shih-lun" (or "Śāstra on the essential realities of Buddhism"), affirming the existence of the Ego and the non-Ego. The opposite doctrines of these two great religious philosophers led to serious controversies in the church.

The Life, which as we have seen makes Viśoka to be 500 *li* to the east of Kosambi, places the large monastery of this passage on "the left side (east) of the south-east road", but *tung*, "east" is possibly a clerical error for *ch'êng*, "city". The Life also gives the name of Devaśarman's treatise as "Shih-shên-tsu-lun (識身足論)", "the śāstra of the Foot of the Perception Body". We have the work in Yuan-chuang's translation, the title being as in the Life with the word Abhidharma prefixed.[1] Its Sanskrit title has been restored as "Abhidharma Vijñānakāyapāda

[1] No. 1281. See Bur. Int. p. 448; Tār S. 56 and 296.

śāstra", but its short title, is "Vijñānakāya śāstra" as in our pilgrim's translation here. The treatise is one of the Six Pāda (*Tsu*) called Abhidharma sūtra of the Sarvāstivādin School, and it was considered by the Vaibhāshikas as canonical, but by the Sautrantikas as only the work of a bhikshu. Yuan-chuang, it will be noticed, calls the author an arhat, but in other places he is merely a bhikshu or sthavira. The work is a tedious argumentative treatise combating the views of a Moginlin who denied the reality of the Past and the Future, and arguing against other tenets apparently held by other early Buddhists. Our pilgrim's statement that it denied the Ego and the non-Ego, or "I and men", is a very unsatisfactory one.

The treatise by Gopa mentioned in the present passage does not seem to be in the Chinese collections of Buddhist works, and nothing is known apparently about the author or his work. As Devaśarman is supposed to have lived about 400, or, according to some, about 100 years after the Buddha's decease Gopa must have lived about the same time.

At this large monastery also, Yuan-chuang proceeds to narrate, *Hu-fa* (Dharmapāla) P'usa once held a discussion for seven days with 100 Hīnayāna śāstra-masters and utterly defeated them. In this district, moreover, the Buddha lived for six years preaching and teaching. Near the tope which commemorated his stay and work and which stood near the large monastery was a marvellous tree; it was six or seven feet high. This tree had been developed from a tooth-stick which the Buddha after using it had cast down. The tooth-stick took root and grew and flourished, and it still remained a tree in spite of the persistent efforts of heretics to cut it down and destroy it.

The Tooth-stick tree of this passage was above 70 feet high according to the Life and the Fang-chih. Fa-hsien, it will be remembered, has a similar story about his city of Sha-ki, and there the tree, as in our text, was only seven feet high

Cunningham thinks he proves that the *Pi-sho-ka* or Viśoka (?) of Yuan-chuang is the Sha-ki (or Sha-ti, of

Fa-hsien, and the Saketā or Ayodhyā of Indian literature.[1] But in his arguments he seems to quite ignore the fact that Fa-hsien places Shaki thirteen (not as Legge has by a slip, three) yojanas or nearly 100 miles in a south-east direction from Kanauj and so either at or near Yuan-chuang's Ayudha which was 100 miles south-east from Kanauj. Then Cunningham makes the name of this city to be the same as that of the lady Visākhā: but Yuan-chuang, like others, transcribes the lady's name by three characters different from those which he uses for writing the name of this city. Further, from Shaki to Śrāvasti the direction was south and the distance eight yojanas or less than 50 miles, while from Viśoka to Śrāvasti it was 500 *li* or about 100 miles in a north-east direction. Moreover the Life, as has been stated, places Viśoka 500 *li* to the east of Kosambī. So, unless we agree with Mr V. Smith in treating Fa-hsien's distances and directions as mistakes, we cannot make Yuan-chuang's Viśoka to be Fa-hsien's Shaki, but the former may perhaps be taken to represent the Sāketa of the Buddhist scriptures.

The precisely similar stories about the Buddha's tooth-stick becoming and remaining a miraculous tree are in favour of the identification of Sha-ki and Viśoka. But they are not enough to prove that the two names denoted one city, as such stories were probably invented for several places. We have already met with a tooth-stick tree in the early part of the Records, and we are to meet with a third in a future chapter.

It is not impossible that Yuan-chuang made an excursion from Kosambī to Kaśapura, returned to Kosambī, and from the latter continued his journey going east to Viśoka. This would agree with the account in the Life which does not mention Kaśapura. Mr V. Smith thinks that Yuan-chuang's Kaśapura "may very plausibly be identified with the group of ruins centreing round Mohanlālganj" fourteen miles south of Lucknow. He adds— "Kursī, in the Bāra-

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[1] A. G. I. p. 401.

banki District, about 27 miles in a direct line from Mohanlàlganj, corresponds admirably in position with Viśākhā [that is Viśoka] which was 170 or 180 *li* (less than 30 miles) from Kāśapura".[1] But these proposed identifications are not given as strictly accurate, and, as Mr Smith admits, the identifications must await further researches.

[1] op. c. p. 522.

CHAPTER XII.

CHUAN VI.

ŚRĀVASTI TO KUSINĀRĀ.

From the Viśoka district the pilgrim travelled, he tells us, above 500 *li* (about 100 miles) north-east to the *Shih-lo-fa-si-ti* (Śrāvasti) country. This country was above 6000 *li* in circuit: its "capital" was a wild ruin without anything to define its areas; the old foundations of the "Palace city" were above twenty *li* in circuit, and although it was mostly a ruinous waste yet there were inhabitants. The country had good crops, and an equable climate: and the people had honest ways and were given to learning and fond of good works. There were some hundreds of Buddhist monasteries of which the most were in ruins: the Brethren, who were very few were Sammatiyas. There were 100 Deva-Temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous. This city was in the Buddha's time the seat of government of king Prasenajit and the foundations of this king's old palace remained in the old "Palace city". Not far east of these was an old foundation on which a small tope had been built: this was the site of the large chapel (Preaching Hall) which king Prasenajit built for the Buddha. Near the site of the chapel was another tope on old foundations: this marked the site of the nunnery (*ching-shê*) of the Buddha's foster-mother, the bhikshunī Prājapatī, erected for her by king Prasenajit. A tope to the east of this marked the site of the house of Sudatta the Elder (chief of the non-official laymen). At the side of this was a tope on the spot where Angulimāla gave up his heresy. This Angulimāla, whose name denotes Finger-garland, was a wicked man of Śrāvasti who harried the city and country, killing people and cutting a finger off each person killed, in order to make himself a garland. He was about to kill his own mother in order to make up the required number of fingers, when the Buddha in compassion proceeded to convert him. Finger-garland on seeing the Buddha was delighted, as his Brahmin teacher

had told him that by killing the Buddha and his own mother he would obtain birth in Heaven. So he left his mother for the moment, and made a motion to kill the Buddha. But the latter kept moving out of reach, and by admonishing the murderer led him to repentance and conversion. Finger-garland then was admitted into the Order, and by zealous perseverance he attained arhatship.

In this passage the pilgrim, according to his usual practice, gives the Sanskrit form of the name of the country he describes, viz—Śrāvasti. This was properly not the name of the country, which was Kosala, but of the capital of that country. Fa-hsien uses the old and generally accepted transcription *She-wei* (舍衛), perhaps for Sāvat or Sāvatthi, and he makes the city so called the Capital of Kosala, and eight yojanas south from his *Sha-k'i*[1]. This last name, which may have been Sha-k'i, or Sha-ch'i, or Sha-ti, is supposed to represent Sāketa, but the restoration of the name and the identification of the place are uncertain. Mr V. Smith would change Fa-hsien's *south* here to *north-east* and his *eight* yojanas to *eighteen* or *nineteen* yojanas, changes which seem to be quite inadmissible as the pilgrim evidently made the journey.[2] In the Vinaya we find the city of Śrāvasti stated to be six yojanas from Sāket, and the former is apparently to the east of the latter.[3]

The site of the Śrāvasti of the present passage was long ago confidently identified by Cunningham with that of "the great ruined city on the south bank of the Rapti, called *Sahet-Mahet*" in which he discovered a colossal statue of the Buddha with an inscription containing the name "Śravasti". This identification has been accepted and defended by other investigators, but there are several strong reasons for setting it aside.[4] These are set forth

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[1] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 20.

[2] J. R. A. S. 1898. p. 523

[3] Vin. Mah. VII. In another Vinaya treatise (Sêng-ki-lü, *ch.* 11) from Śrāvasti to *Sha-ki* is a two days' journey for Upali.

[4] Arch. Sur. India Vol. I. p. 330, XI. p. 78. A. G. I. p. 409. Set Mahet by W. Hoey, J. A. S. Bengal Vol. LXI (Extra number): An an-

by Mr V. Smith who, after careful study and personal examination of the districts, has come to the conclusion that the site of Śrāvasti is in the district of Khajūrā in Nepāl, a short distance to the north of Bālāpur and not far from Nepālganj in a north-north-east direction.[1] But this proposed identification also has its difficulties, and must await further developments. No discoveries have been made to support the identification, but there seems to be the usual supply of mounds and ruins.

The terms rendered in this passage by "capital" and "palace-city" are respectively *tu-ch'êng* (都 城) and *kung-ch'êng* (宮 城). But by the term *tu-ch'êng* here we are to understand "the district of the capital", what is called in other books "the Śrāvasti country" as distinguished from "the Kosala country". *Kung-ch'êng* here is taken by Julien to mean "the palace", and by Beal to mean "the walls enclosing the royal precincts". But we must take the term in this passage to denote "the walled city of Śrāvasti". That this is its meaning in our text is clear from what follows, and from the corresponding passages in the Life and the Fang-chih, and the description in the Fo-kuo-chi. In these treatises the words *tu*, *tu-ch'êng*, and *ch'êng*, all used in the sense of *capital*, are the equivalents of our pilgrim's *kung-ch'êng*. His usual term for the chief city of a country is *ta-tu-ch'êng*, and he seems to use *tu-ch'êng* here in a peculiar sense. It has been suggested by a learned and intelligent native scholar that the *tu-ch'êng* of this passage denotes the towns and cities of Kosala which were inferior and subordinate to the capital, the *kung-ch'êng*. The *tu-ch'êng* of ancient China were the cities which were the official residences of the subordinate feudal chiefs whose sovereign reigned at the royal capital. According to this interpretation the pilgrim states that the other cities of the country were in such utter de-

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cient inscribed statue from Srāvasti, by Th. Bloch Ph.D. (J.A.S Bengal Vol. LXVII. p. 274.)

[1] op. c. p. 527, and J. R. A. S. 1900 Art I.

solation that their boundaries could not be defined; but the capital, though also in ruins, had old foundations by which its area could be ascertained. But it is perhaps better to take *tu-ch'êng* here as meaning "the Śrāvasti district".

The pilgrim here tells us that Śrāvasti had some hundreds of Buddhist monasteries, very many of which were in ruins. This statement as to the number of Buddhist monasteries in the district is not in agreement with other accounts which represent Śrāvasti as having only two or three Buddhist establishments. It will be noticed that Yuan-chuang mentions by name only one monastery, viz— the great one of the Jetavana. Fa-hsien however, tells of 98 (in some texts 18) monasteries, all except one occupied, being round the Jetavana vihāra. The translation which our pilgrim gives for the name Prasenajit (in Pali, Pasenadi) is *Shêng-chün* (勝軍) or "Overcoming army". I-ching, who transcribes the king's name as in the text and also by *P'o-se-ni* (波斯匿), gives our pilgrim's translation and another rendering, *shêng-kuang* (勝光).[1] The latter means "Excelling brightness", and the name is said to have been given to the son born to Brahmadatta king of Kosala on the morning of the birth of the Buddha, on account of the supernatural brightness which then appeared. Another rendering for the name transcribed *P'o-se-ni* is *Ho-yue* (和悅) which means *cheerful, happy-looking.*[2] The two latter translations seem to require as their original a derivative from *prasad* (the Pali pasidati), and the transcription *P'o-se-ni*, which is the one in general use, seems to point to a dialectic variety like *Pasenid.*

Of the old sites in Śrāvasti of which our pilgrim here tells us, the nunnery, the house of Sudatta, and the place of Aṅgulimāla's conversion are mentioned by Fa-hsien. But the earlier pilgrim does not seem to have known of

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1 Sar. Vin. Tsa shih, *ch.* 20; Rockhill's Life p. 16.

2 Shih-érh-yu-ching (No. 1374)

or seen the remains of the king's palace or those of the chapel built by the king for the Buddha.

In Julien's translation of the last paragraph in the above account of the ancient sites of Śrāvasti city we have one of his mischievous glosses, which has been, as usual, followed and adopted by others. He translates— "Ce fut en cet endroit qu'[un des sectaires appelés] *Yang-kiu-li-mo-lo* (Añgouli-mālyas), abjura ses erreurs". There is nothing in the text to warrant the words which I have put within square brackets. If Julien had known the story, he would not have written thus, nor of "les Añgoulimālyas", and "des scélérats du royaume de Çrāvasti" in the continuation. The pilgrim's narrative tells of only one man who had obtained the ill-sounding nick-name Angulimāla or Finger-garland. As the pilgrim knew the story this man was only a cruel murderer of Śrāvasti who cut off a finger from each person he killed, and strung the fingers into a garland. He also wanted to kill his own mother and the Buddha to secure him rebirth in Heaven.

The story of this terrible murderer is told more fully and with several variations of detail in other books. In some versions of the story the original name of the man was Ahimsaka or Innocent, in Chinese *Wu-nao* (無惱) or Inoffensive. He was at first a brahmin student of marvellous bodily and mental powers, and he was the disciple of a celebrated master. This master had a wife fair and frail, and Ahimsaka was falsely accused by her of having made an attack on her virtue. Fearing to lay violent hands on the troublesome clever disciple the jealous master thought to get rid of him by a terrible task. So he enjoined on Ahimsaka the necessity of attaining to immortality by abstinence from all food for a week, and within that period collecting 1000 fingers from as many human beings, whom he was to slay with a certain sword. The disciple very reluctantly undertook the task, and went about killing people and cutting off a finger from each person he killed, until he had obtained 999 fingers. At this stage his mother having come to him with food he

was about to kill her, in order to complete his tale, when the Buddha appeared on the scene. The misguided youth soon yielded to Buddha's power, was converted and ordained, and rapidly attained arhatship.[1] In some of the Buddhist Scriptures Finger-garland is merely a cruel highwayman robbing and murdering, and rendering the roads impassable. The Buddha goes to the district infested by the murderer, and he goes unattended moved by great compassion: he meets with the murderer, calls on him to stay in his evil course and give way to his good karma.[2]

Our pilgrim and Fa-hsien, we have seen, found within Śrāvasti city a memorial of the place where this Finger-garland had been converted, and sanctified, and beatified. But this is against the general testimony of the Buddhist writings. According to these the murders were committed and the sudden conversion effected in the country beyond Śrāvasti[3], or at a place very nearly ten yojanas from that city[4], or in the Angutala country[5], or in the land of Magadha.[6]

The pilgrim proceeding with his description relates as follows—

> "Five or six *li* south of the city is the *She-to* wood (Jetavana) which is the *kei-ku-tu-yuan* (Anāthapiṇḍadārāma) the temple which king Prasenajit's great Minister Sudatta erected for the Buddha: formerly it was a saṅghārāma (monastery), now it is in desolate ruin."

According to Fa-hsien the Jetavana vihāra was 1200 *pu* (paces) outside the south gate of Śrāvasti, on the west side of the road, with a gate opening to the east, that is,

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[1] M. B. p. 257. Hsien yü-ching, *ch.* 11, and Der Weise u. d. T. S. 300: Ang-ku-mo ching (No. 621) where the student has to collect 100 fingers: Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching, *ch.* 31.

[2] Rhys Davids Questions of Milinda in S. B. E. Vol XXXVI, p. 355: J. P. T. S. for 1888 p. 2. Fo-shuo-Ang-ku-chi-ching (No. 622).

[3] Fo-shuo-ang-ku-chi-ching.

[4] Ang-ku-mo-lo-ching (No. 434)

[5] Tsa-a-han-ching, *ch.* 38 (Ang-ku-to-lo 央瞿多羅).

[6] Pie-yi-tsa-a-han-ching, *ch.* 1.

toward the highway. The 1200 *pu* of this account made above 5000 feet, and so the two pilgrims are in substantial agreement as to the situation of the Jetavana monastery. In other accounts this establishment is represented as being at a convenient distance from the city of Śrāvasti[1], but Nāgārjuna seems to describe it as having been within the city.[2] The term here, as before, rendered "temple" is *ching-shê*, and Yuan-chuang seems to use it in this passage in the sense of "vihāra". This is the sense in which the term is commonly used by the early Chinese Buddhist writers and translators. Thus Fa-hsien calls the great establishment now under notice the *C'hi-huan* (for Jetavana)-*ching-shê*. In our text this term is evidently used as the equivalent of *ārāma*, in the sense of *monastery*, and covers all the buildings of the great establishment.

The name "Sudatta" is translated by our pilgrim *Shan-shih* (善施) or "Well-bestowed" (also interpreted as "Good-giver"), and his *kei-ku-tu* is the old and common rendering for Anāthapiṇḍada. Yuan-chuang here calls Sudatta a "high official" (ta-ch'ên 大臣), and this title is applied to the man by other writers[3], but he was only a seṭṭhi or Householder. He had been engaged in trade, and had enormous wealth; he is said to have been a butcher, but this is probably a late invention.

> At the east gate of the Jetavana monastery were two stone pillars, one on each side of the entrance: these, which were 70 feet high, had been erected by king Asoka; the pillar on the left side was surmounted by a sculptured wheel and that on the right side by an ox.

The statement in this paragraph agrees precisely with Fa-hsien's account of the two pillars. Julien's rendering of it is inexplicable and Beal's is not correct.

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[1] See the She-wei-kuo-Ch'i-huan-ssŭ-t'u-ching (舍衛國祇洹寺圖經); Ssŭ-fên-lü, *ch.* 50; Sêng-ki-lü, *ch.* 23.

[2] Fu-kai-chêng-hsing-so-chi-ching, *ch.* 4: Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching, *ch.* 33.

[3] e. g. in Hsien-yü-ching, *ch.* 10.

On the site of the Jetavana monastery the pilgrim found only one building standing in solitary loneliness. This building was the brick shrine which contained the image of the Buddha made for king Prasenajit. This image, which was five feet high, was a copy of that made for king Udayana of Kosambī already mentioned.

This shrine was also the only building which Fa-hsien found in the Jetavana, and according to him it was the image in it which came from its pedestal to meet the Buddha on his return from the Trayastriṃśa Heaven, and which was to serve as a model for all future images of the Buddha.

We have next Yuan-chuang's version of the oft-told story how the Jetavana, and the Anāthapiṇḍada ārāma came into the possession of the Buddhists.

The seṭṭhi Sudatta, noted for his munificent charity, wished to build a vihāra for the Buddha whom he invited to visit him at his home in Śrāvasti. Buddha sent Śāriputra as an expert to act as manager in the matter for Sudatta. The only suitable site that could be found near Śrāvasti was the Park of Prince Jeta. When the Elder asked the prince to sell his park the prince said joking— "Yes, for as many gold coins as will cover it". This answer delighted Sudatta, and he at once proceeded to cover the ground with gold coins from his treasury (not as Julien has it, from the *trésor royal*). When all the ground except a small piece was covered the prince "asked Sudatta to desist, saying— "The Buddha truly is an excellent field, it is meet I sow good seed": so on the uncovered ground he erected a temple". Then the Buddha said to Ananda that as the ground of the park had been bought by Sudatta, and the trees had been given by Prince Jeta, the two men having like intentions, their merits should be respected and the place spoken of as "Jeta's trees Anāthapiṇḍada's ārāma".

In Julien's rendering of this passage he makes the pilgrim represent Sudatta as *unable* to cover all the Park with gold, but this is not in the text. Then Julien translates the words *Fo-ch'êng-liang-t'ien* (佛誠良田) by— "C'est, en vérité, l'excellent champ du *Bouddha*", but this is not at all the meaning of the expression. The words state plainly that the Buddha is an "excellent field" or generous soil, and this sort of expression is of very com-

mon occurrence in the Buddhist Scriptures. To give alms of food or clothing, or do any service to Buddhas, P'usas, or eminent monks or nuns, was to sow good seed in good ground, the crop to be reaped either in this life or in one to come. Hence the beings to whom such meritorious services are rendered are called "excellent fields", and of these the most "excellent field" always is the Buddha. In the present case the Prince wished to share in the reward which Sudatta would have, and in order to secure this result he remitted a portion of the price for the ground and built a "temple" (*ching-shê*) for the Buddha on the space unoccupied by gold coins. Some other accounts represent Jeta as refusing to sell even for as many gold coins as would cover the park; and when Sudatta claims that the mention of a sum makes a bargain, and Jeta maintains it does not, the Judges to whom the matter is referred decide against the Prince. This last is also represented as contributing a porch or vestibule to Sudatta's vihāra, and in no case is he described as building the whole monastery.[1] The statement which Yuan-chuang here makes the Buddha address to Ananda about the trees having been given by the Prince, and the ground purchased by Sudatta, is a stupid invention to account for the common way of designating the vihāra in Chinese translations. It was not the pilgrim, however, who invented the story, as it is found in other accounts of the transaction.[2]

The original Jetavana monastery, which was probably neither very large nor substantial and was not well protected, was destroyed by fire in the Buddha's lifetime.[3] After the death of Sudatta the place was neglected as there was no one to look after the grounds and buildings. A new vihāra was afterwards built on a greater scale but this also was burnt to the ground. At one time, we read,

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[1] Ssŭ-fên-lü l. c.; Chung-hsü-ching, ch. 11 (No. 859).

[2] e. g. in Fo-shuo-Po-ching-ch'ao (No. 379).

[3] Shih-sung-lü, *ch.* 61.

the place was utterly abandoned by the Buddhist Brethren and was used as the king's stables, but the buildings were again rebuilt and reoccupied by Buddhist monks. In its palmy days, before its final destruction and abandonment, the Jetavana monastery must have been a very large and magnificent establishment. We may believe this without accepting all the rather legendary descriptions of it still extant. Some authorities give the extent of the Park as 80 *ching* or about 130 square acres.[1] Others tell us that the grounds were about ten *li* (or two miles) in length by above 700 *pu* (paces) in with, and that they contained 120 buildings, or even several hundred houses of various kinds.[2] There were chapels for preaching and halls for meditation, messrooms and chambers for the monks, bathhouses, a hospital, libraries and reading-rooms, with pleasant shady tanks, and a great wall encompassing all. The Libraries were richly furnished, not only with orthodox literature but also with Vedic and other non-Buddhistic works, and with treatises on the arts and sciences taught in India at the time. The monastery was also well situated, being conveniently near the city, and yet away from the distracting sights and noises of the streets. Moreover the Park afforded a perfect shade, and was a delightful place for walking in during the heat and glare of the day; it had streams and tanks of clear cool water; it was also free from noxious stinging creatures; and it was a favourite resort of the good and devotional people of all religions. The native beauties and advantages of the place had been greatly improved by its first Buddhist occupants, for the Buddha directed his disciples to plant trees in the grounds and by the roadside. He also caused the grounds to be protected from goats and cattle, and had a supply of water brought in by artificial means.[3]

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[1] Fo-shuo-Poh-ching-ch'ao.

[2] Shê-wei-kuo-Ch'i-huan-ssŭ-t'u-ching: Shih-êrh-yu-ching (No. 1374 tr. A. D. 392).

[3] Ssŭ-fên-lü, *ch.* 50.

Continuing his description Yuan-chuang tells us that at the north-east of the Anāthapiṇḍadārāma was a tope to mark the spot at which the Buddha washed a sick *bhikshu*. This was a Brother who was suffering pain and living in isolation. The Master seeing him asked him what was his malady and why he was living alone. The Brother replied— I am of an indolent disposition and intolerant of medical treatment, so I am now very ill and have no one to attend on me. Then the Buddha was moved with pity and said to him— Good sir, I am now your medical attendant. Thereupon he stroked the patient with his hand, and all the man's ailments were cured. The Buddha then bore him outside the chamber, changed his bed, washed him and dressed him in clean clothes, and told him to be zealous and energetic. Hearing this the Brother felt grateful and became happy in mind and comfortable in body.

This story is related in several of the Buddhist Scriptures with some variations of detail. According to the Vinaya, and some other authorities, the Buddha and Ānanda one day going the rounds of the Jetavana establishment found a Brother lying in a chamber apart from all the others, and suffering from a troublesome and unpleasant malady. The sick man, who was apparently quite helpless, explained to Buddha that the Brethren left him to himself because he had been useless to them. This means that he had been a selfish lazy man refusing to help others or do his proper share of work. In the Vinaya the incident is made the occasion of the Buddha drawing up rules for the care to be taken of a sick bhikhshu by the Brethren.[1] In one book the Buddha is represented as telling the neglected sick Brother that his present misfortunes were the result of ill conduct in a previous existence.[2] In two treatises the scene of the incident is laid at Rājagaha, and these have other differences of detail.[3]

To the north-west of the ārāma, we are next told, was a small tope which marked the spot at which Maudgala-putra (Maud-

[1] In. Mah. VIII. 26: Sêng-ki-lü, *ch.* 28. See also the story in Vibhāshā-lun, *ch.* 11 (scene not given).

[2] Fo-shuo-shêng-ching, *ch.* 3 (No. 669 tr. A. D. 285).

[3] Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching, *ch.* 40; P'u-sa-pên-shêng-man-lun, *ch.* 4 (No. 1312 tr. cir. A. D. 970).

galyāyana or Moggallāno) made an ineffectual attempt to raise the girdle (or belt) of Śāriputra against the will of the latter. Once, the pilgrim relates, when the Buddha was at the Anavatapta Lake with a congregation of men and devas he discovered that Śāriputra was absent, and he sent Maudgalaputra through the air to summon him to the meeting. In a trice Maudgalaputra was in the Jetavana Vihāra where he found Śāriputra mending his canonical robes. When the Master's request was communicated to him Śāriputra said he would go as soon as his mending was finished, but Maudgalaputra threatened to carry him off by his supernormal powers. Śāriputra then cast his girdle on the floor and challanged his friend to lift it. Maudgalaputra tried all his magical powers; but although he produced an earthquake he could not move the girdle. So he went back alone through the air to Buddha, and on his arrival found Śāriputra already seated in the congregation. Thereupon Maudgalaputra declared that he had learned from this occurrence that the potency of *riddhi* (possession of supernormal physical powers) was inferior to that of *prajñā* (spiritual intuition or transcendental wisdom).

This little story is told in several Buddhist treatises with considerable additions. In the "Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching"[1] it is the Dragon-king of the Anavatapta Lake who misses Śāriputra from the congregation, and asks Buddha to send for him. Here the legend is given with ridiculous wild exaggerations and, as in Yuan-chuang's version, there is the presence of an unfriendly feeling between the two great disciples. In the "Ta-chih-tu-lun"[2] the Buddha and his arhats are assembled at the Anavatapta Lake for the purpose of hearing jātakas told, and Śāriputra is missed. Maudgalyāyana is sent to bring him, and in order to hasten matters he finishes the mending of Śāriputra's garment by magic, a procedure which suggests to Śāriputra the idea of the trial of prajñā against riddhi. When Maudgalyāyana saw that he could not even lift his friend's girdle from the ground against the owner's will, he knew it was useless to think of taking the man himself by the ear, or the shoulder, through the air to the Anavatapta

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1 *Ch.* 29.

2 *Ch.* 45

Lake. The Buddha used this incident, as he used certain other events, to teach the superiority of high spiritual attainments over the possession of great magical powers.

Near the "Raising-the girdle Tope", the pilgrim proceeds, was a well from which water had been drawn for the use of the Buddha. Close to it was an Asoka tope containing a relic of the Buddha, and there were in the vicinity, at places where he took exercise and preached, memorial topes at which there were miraculous manifestations with divine music and fragrance. At a short distance behind the Jetavana monastery was the place at which certain non-Buddhist Brāhmachārins slew a harlot in order to bring reproach on the Buddha. These men, as Yuan-chuang's story goes, hired this harlot to attend the Buddha's discourses and thus become known to all. Then they secretly killed her and buried her body in the Park. Having done this they proceeded to appeal to the king for redress, and he ordered investigation to be made. When the body was discovered at the monastery the heretics exclaimed that the great Śramana Gautama, who was always talking of morality and gentleness, after having had illicit intercourse with the woman had murdered her to prevent her from talking. But thereupon the devas in the air cried out that this was a slander of the heretics.

Fa-hsien and other authorities give the name of the unfortunate harlot of this story as Sundarī. This, it will be remembered, was the name of the fair charmer who once led astray a wise and holy ascetic. The word means *beautiful woman*, and it is rendered in some Chinese translations by *Hao-shou* or "Good-Head".[1] The woman of our story is also called Sundaranandī,[2] which is the name of a nun in the primitive Buddhist church. She is represented as the disciple (and apparently, the mistress) of one of the old non-Buddhist teachers of Kosala (or of another district). Seeing these teachers distressed at the growing preeminence of Gautama Buddha, she suggested to them the expedient here described for ruining Gautama and restoring her master and the other teachers to their former position of influence. But some authorities like Yuan-chuang and Fa-hsien represent the harlot as having

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[1] Fo-shuo-yi-tsu-ching, *ch.* 1 (No. 674).

[2] P'u-sa-ch'u-t'ai-ching, *ch.* 7 (No. 433).

been forced by the Brahmins to attend the Buddha's sermons, and afterwards submit to be murdered. According to one account the Buddha had in ages before been an actor and the woman a harlot at the same time and in the same place: the actor had then killed the harlot for her ornaments, and buried her body at the hermitage of a Pratyeka Buddha.[1] In another old story this Sundarī had been in a former birth a wicked queen, and the Buddha had been the wise and faithful servant of the king her husband.[2]

Continuing his narrative the pilgrim states that above 100 *paces* to the east of the Jetavana monastery was a deep pit through which Devadatta, for having sought to kill the Buddha by poison, went down alive into Hell. Devadatta, the son of *Hu-fan-wang* ("Peck-food-king"), had in the course of twelve years by zealous perseverance acquired the 80,000 compendia of doctrine; and afterwards, for the sake of its material advantages, he had sought to attain supernormal power He associated with the irreligious (lit wicked friends) and reasoned with them thus— "I have all the outward signs of the Buddha except two, a great Congregation attends me, and I am as good as the Ju-lai". Putting these thoughts in practice he broke up the Brotherhood (that is, by alluring disciples from the Buddha to himself). But Maudgalyaputra and Śāriputra, under Buddha's instructions and by his power, won the strayed Brethren back. Devadatta, however, kept his evil mind, put poison in his finger-nails with a view to kill Buddha in the act of doing him reverence, and fared as in the story.

The temporary "breaking up" of the Brotherhood instituted by Gautama Buddha by the schism caused by his cousin Devadatta is a famous incident in the history of the primitive Buddhist Church. The story of the schism is narrated in several books at greater or less length and with a few variations of detail.[3] According to some accounts there were 500 weak young Brethren seduced from the Buddha by Devadatta, and after a short time

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[1] Hsing-ch'i-hsing-ching (No. 735).

[2] Fo-shuo-Poh-ching-ch'ao.

[3] Vin. Chul. VII. 3; Rockhill Life p. 94; Dh. p. 145; Saŭ-fên-lü, ch 46.

brought back again by Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. These 500 men then misled by the great schismatic had been his dupes many ages before. In one of their former births they had all been monkeys forming a band of 500 with a chief who was Devadatta in his monkey existence. On the advice of their chief these simple monkeys set themselves to draw the moon out of a well, and were all drowned in the attempt by the breaking of the branch by which they were swinging.[1]

It is worthy of note in connection with Yuan-chuang's description that Fa-hsien did not see any *pit* here. The latter describes the spots at which the wicked woman and Devadatta went down into Hell as having marks of identification given to them by men of subsequent times. The design and attempt to murder the Buddha by poison here described by Yuan-chuang are mentioned also by Fa-hsien, and they are found in the Tibetan texts translated by Mr Rockhill,[2] but they are not in all the accounts of Devadatta's proceedings. The great learning and possession of magical powers here ascribed to Devadatta are mentioned in some of the canonical works, and his claim to be the equal of his cousin in social and religious qualifications is also given.[3] But his abrupt bodily descent into Hell is generally ascribed to other causes than merely the abortive attempt to poison the Buddha.

Our pilgrim here, as we have seen, calls Devadatta's father *Hu-fan-wang* which is a literal rendering of Dronodanarāja. This Dronodanarāja was a brother of king Suddhodana the father of Gautama Buddha. By a strange slip of the pen Julien makes the pilgrim here describe Devadatta as "le fils du roi *Ho-wang*", and the mistake is of course repeated by others. We are to meet with this troublesome man Devadatta again in the Records.

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[1] Sêng-ki-lü, *ch.* 7.

[2] Rockhill Life p. 107.

[3] Shih-sung-lü, *ch.* 36; Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching, *ch.* 47; Abhi-ta-vib., *ch.* 116.

To the south of Devadatta's fosse, Yuan-chuang continues, was another pit through which the bhikshu *Ku-ka-li* (Kokālika) having slandered the Buddha went down alive into Hell.

This man Kokālika is better known as a partisan of Devadatta than as an enemy of the Buddha. He was, we learn from other sources, an unscrupulous friend and follower of Devadatta, always praising his master and calling right wrong and wrong right in agreement with him. They had met in a former state of existence when Kokālika was a crow and Devadatta a jackal. The latter had scented the corpse of an unburied eunuch, and had nearly devoured its flesh, when the hungry crow, eager to get bones to pick, praised and flattered the jackal in fulsome lying phrases. To these the latter replied in a similar strain, and their feigning language brought on them a rebuke from a rishi who was the P'usa.[1]

Still farther south above 800 *paces*, the pilgrim proceeds, was a third deep pit or trench. By this *Chan-che*, the Brahmin woman, for having calumniated the Buddha, passed alive into Hell. Yuan-chuang then tells his version of the story of Chan-che whom he calls a disciple of the Non-Buddhists. In order to disgrace and ruin Gautama, and bring her masters into repute and popularity, she fastened a wooden basin under her clothes in front. Then she went to the Jetavana monastery and openly declared that she was with child, illicitly, to the preacher, and that the child in her womb was a Sakya. She was believed by all the heretics; but the orthodox knew she was speaking slander. Then Indra, as a rat, exposed the wicked trick, and the woman went down to "Unremitting Hell" to bear her retribution.

The loyal bad woman of this story, called by the pilgrim "Chan-che the Brahmin woman", is the *Chincha-mānavikā* of the Pali Scriptures[2]. This Pali name may also be the original for the *Chan-che-mo-na* of Fa-hsien and others, another form of transcription of the name being *Chan-che-mo-na-k'i* with *nü*, "woman", added.[3] But we find the original name translated by *Pao-chih* (暴志) or

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[1] Fo-shuo-shêng-ching, *ch.* 3; Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shih, *ch.* 18.
[2] Dh.p. 388; Jāt 3.298; 4.187. Chinchī in Hardy M. B. p. 284.
[3] P'u-sa-ch'ü-t'ai-ching, *ch.* 7.

"Fierce-minded", that is, Chaṇḍamanā, which was apparently the early form of the name.[1] In a Chinese translation of a Buddhist work the woman is designated simply the "Many-tongued Woman".[2] According to one authority she was a disciple of the Tirthika teacher Keśakambala, and it was at the instigation of this teacher that she pretended to be with child to the Buddha in the manner here described. Another version of the story, and perhaps the earliest one, makes Chan-che (or Chaṇḍā) a Buddhist nun led astray by evil influences. When her trick with the basin is discovered she is sentenced to be buried alive, but the Buddha intercedes for her, and she is only banished. Then the Buddha gives a very satisfactory explanation of the woman's conduct. She had come in contact with him long ago in his existence as a dealer in pearls, and he had then incurred her resentment. They had also met in another stage of their previous lives when the P'usa was a monkey, and *Chanche* was the relentless wife of the Turtle (or the Crocodile) and wanted to eat the monkey's liver. So her desire to inflict injury on the Buddha was a survival from a very old enmity.[3] The Pali accounts and Fa-hsien agree with Yuan-chuang in representing Chan-che as going down alive into Hell, but, as has been stated, Fa-hsien differs from Yuan-chuang in not making mention of the pit by which she was said to have passed down.[4]

The narrative next tells us that 60 or 70 *paces* to the east of the Jetavana Monastery was a temple (*ching-shê*) above sixty feet high which contained a sitting image of the Buddha with his face to the east. At this place the Julai had held discussion with the Tirthikas (*wai-tao*). To the east of this *ching-shê* was a Deva-Temple of the same dimensions which was shut out from the western sun in the evening by the Buddhist temple, while

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[1] Fo-shuo-shêng-ching, *ch.* 1 (Here *Chan-che* is a nun)

[2] Hsing-ch'i-hsing-ching, *ch.* 1.

[3] Fo-shuo-shêng-ching, *ch.* 1: Jātaka (tr. Chalmers) Vol. I. p. 142.

[4] In some of the books e. g. in the Ch'ū-t'ai-ching and the Fo-shuo-shêng-ching the woman does not undergo any punishment, in the former treatise moreover the occurrence takes place at Vesāli.

the latter in the morning was not deprived of the rays of the sun by the Deva-Temple.

Fa-hsien also saw these two temples, and he has given a similar account of them. But he applies the name *Ying-fu* (影覆) or "Shadow Cover" to the Deva-temple while Yuan-chuang gives it to the Buddha-temple: in the former case the term means *Overshadowed* and in the latter it means *Overshadowing*.

Three or four *li* east from the Overshadowing Temple, Yuan-chuang continues, was a tope at the place where Sāriputta had discussed with the Tīrthikas. When Sāriputta came to Śrāvasti to help Sudatta in founding his monastery the six non-Buddhist teachers challenged him to a contest as to magical powers and Sāriputta excelled his competitors.

The contest of this passage took place while Sāriputta was at Śrāvasti assisting Sudatta in the construction of the great monastery. But the competition was not with the "six great teachers": it was with the chiefs of the local sects, who wished to have the young and successful rival in religion excluded from the district. In our passage it will be noted that the pilgrim writes of Sāriputta discussing with the non-Buddhists, and this seems to be explained as meaning that he fought them on the point of magical powers. This is in agreement with the story as told in some of the Buddhist books. All the leading opponents of the Buddha were invited to meet Sāriputta at an open discussion: they came and when all were seated the spokesman of the Brahmins, Red-eye by name, was invited to state the subject of discussion.[1] He thereupon intimated that he wished to compete with Sāriputta in the exhibition of magical powers: this was allowed and the result was that Sāriputta came off conqueror.

Beside the Śāriputra Tope was a temple (*ching-she*) in front of which was a tope to the Buddha. It was here that the Buddha

[1] Chung-hsü-ching, *ch.* 12; Rockhill Life p. 48. This tope to Śāriputra is not mentioned by Fa-hsien; it is perhaps the tope to Śāriputra in the Jetavana pointed out to Asoka in the Divyāv. p. 394; A-yü-wang-chuan, *ch.* 2.

worsted his religious opponents in argument, and received Mother Visākhā's invitation.

The spot at which the Buddha silenced his proud and learned opponents at Śrāvasti was supposed to have been marked by a special tope. This was one of the Eight Great Topes, already referred to, associated with the Buddha's career. We cannot regard the tope of this paragraph, or the temple of a previous passage, as the celebrated Great Tope of Śrāvasti.[1]

Of the lady here called "Mother Visākhā" we have to make mention presently. The *invitation* or request here mentioned was probably connected with the Hall she made for the Buddha and his disciples.[2]

To the south of the Accepting-invitation Tope, the pilgrim proceeds, was the place at which king Virūḍhaka, on his way to destroy the Sakyas, saw the Buddha, and turned back with his army. When Virūḍhaka ascended the throne, Yuan-chuang relates, he raised a great army and set out on the march [from Śrāvasti to Kapilavastu] to avenge a former insult. A bhikshu reported the circumstance to the Buddha; who thereupon left Śrāvasti, and took his seat under a dead tree by the roadside. When the king came up he recognized Buddha, dismounted, and paid him lowly reverence. He then asked the Buddha why he did not go for shade to a tree with leaves and branches. "My clan are my branches and leaves", replied Buddha, "and as they are in danger what shelter can I have?" The king said to himself— "The Lord is taking the side of his relatives — let me return". So he looked on Buddha moved with compassion, and called his army home.

Near this place, the pilgrim goes on, was a tope to mark the spot at which 500 Sakya maidens were dismembered by this same king's orders. When Virūḍhaka had taken his revenge on the Sakyas he selected 500 of their maidens for his harem. But

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[1] Dr. Hoey proposes to identify the *ching-shê* with its tope of this passage with "the ruins named Baghaba Bari" near Sahet Mahet, and he thinks that this may be the site of "Visākha's Pūrvarāma". But this is quite impossible, and the pilgrim does not note, as Dr. Hoey says he does, that the *ching-shê* was "in strict dependence on the Saṅghārāma (of the Jetavana)", op. c. p. 88.

[2] Or the request which the Buddha accepted may have been Mother Visākhā's petition to be allowed to present robes to the Brethren.

these young ladies were haughty, and refused to go, "abusing the king as the son of a slave" (*li-ch'i-wang-chia-jen-chih-tzŭ* 詈其王家人之子). When the king learned what they had done, he was wroth, and ordered that the maidens should be killed by mutilation. So their hands and feet were cut off, and their bodies were thrown into a pit. While the maidens were in the agonies of dying they called on the Buddha, and he heard them. Telling his disciples to bring garments (that is, for the naked maidens) he went to the place of execution. Here he preached to the dying girls on the mysteries of his religion, on the binding action of the five desires, the three ways of transmigration, the separation from the loved, and the long course of births and deaths. The maidens were purified and enlightened by the Buddha's teaching, and they all died at the same time and were reborn in Heaven. Indra in the guise of a Brahmin had their bodies and members collected and cremated, and men afterwards erected the tope at the place.

Not far from this tope, the pilgrim tells us, was a large dried-up pond, the scene of Virūḍhaka's extinction. The Buddha had predicted that at the end of seven days from the time of the prophecy the king would perish by fire. When it came to the seventh day the king made up a pleasure party by water and remained in his barge with the ladies of his harem on the water in order to escape the predicted fate. But his precautions were in vain, and on that day a fierce fire broke out on his barge, and the king went alive through blazes into the Hell of unintermitting torture.

We are to meet with this king Virūdhaka again presently in connection with his sack of Kapilavastu. Fa-hsien, without mentioning the dead tree, makes the place at which the Buddha waited for Virūḍhaka to have been four *li* to the south-east of Śrāvasti city and he says there was a tope at the spot. In Buddha's reply to the king about his kindred being branches and leaves there was probably in the original a pun on the words śākkhā, *a branch*, and Śākya. By the answer of the Buddha the king knew that he was speaking from an affectionate interest in his relatives, and the king was accordingly moved to recall his army. The Buddha repeated the interview with the king twice and then left the Sākyas to the consequences of their karma.

The number of Sākya maidens carried off by Virūdhaka

is reduced to six in the Vibhāshā-lun[1], but some other treatises have the 500 of our text.[2] In one treatise the number of the maidens is raised to 12 000, and they are all made whole by Buddha, and become bhikshunīs.[3]

The Chinese words here rendered "abusing the king as a son of a slave" are translated by Julien— "accablèrent d'injures les fils de la famille royale". But this cannot be accepted; and the meaning seems clearly to be that the young ladies called their king insultingly "son of a slave", that is, of a slave mother. Virūḍhaka's mother, we know, had actually been a household slave, but "son of a female slave" seems to have been among the Sakyas a favourite term of abuse for the king of Kosala.

By the "three ways of transmigration" of Buddha's address to the maidens the pilgrim probably meant us to understand the way of pain, the way of perplexity, and the way of moral action. These three "ways" are the agents which by their constant interaction produce the ceaseless revolutions of life and death.[4] But the term *san-t'u* (or its equivalent *san-tao*) is also used by the Buddhists in several other senses.

Continuing his narrative the pilgrim relates that three or four *li* to the north-west of the Jetavana Vihāra was the "Wood of obtained eyes (*Tê-yen-lin* 得眼林) in which were traces of an exercise-place of the Buddha, and scenes of arhats' samādhi, all marked by memorial topes. The story was that once 500 brigands had harried this country. When these criminals were arrested king Prasenajit caused their eyes to be torn out, and the men to be abandoned in a deep wood. Here they cried in their sufferings on the Buddha who, in the Jetavana monastery, heard their cry, and was moved with pity. A genial breeze blew healing from the Snow-Mountains, and the men regained eyes and sight. When they saw the Buddha before them they became converted, paid joyful homage to the Buddha, and went away leaving their sticks which took root.

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[1] Ch. 11.

[2] Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching, *ch.* 26; Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih, *ch.* 9; Rockhill Life p. 121.

[3] Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching, *ch.* 14 (No. 114).

[4] Ta-ming-san-tsang-fa-shu, *ch.* 12 (No. 1621).

Fa-hsien, who also places the "Wood of obtained eyes" four *li* to the north-west of the Jetavana Vihāra, does not know of brigands, and the 500 who receive their sight and plant their sticks were blind men resident at the monastery. Julien suggests "Āptanetravana" as possibly the Sanskrit original for "Wood of obtained eyes", but we know that the name was Andhavana. This means the *dark* or *blind wood*, and it was translated by *An-lin* (闇林) with the same meaning, or by *Chou*(晝)-*an-lin*, the "Wood of day-darkness". "Obtained Eyes" and "Opened Eyes" (*k'ai-yen*) are names which must have been given long after the Buddha's time, and it is possible that they exist only in translations. The Andhavana, as we learn from the pilgrims and the Buddhist scriptures, was a favourite resort of the Buddhist Brethren for meditation and other spiritual exercises. Here the early bhikshus and bhikshunīs spent a large portion of their time in the afternoons sitting under the trees on the mats which they had carried on their shoulders for the purpose. The Wood was very cool and quiet, impervious to the sun's rays, and free from mosquitoes and other stinging torments.[1]

Before we pass on to the next city in our pilgrim's narrative we may notice some of the more important omissions from his list of the interesting sights of the Śrāvasti district. There were two mountains in this district, one called the *T'a-shan* or Pagoda Hill, that is perhaps, Chaityagiri, and the other called the *Sa* (in some texts P'o)-*lo-lo* or Salar (?) mountain, and of neither of these have we any mention.[2] Some of the serious Brethren in the early church resorted to these mountains, and lived on them for several months. Then our pilgrim does not notice the *A-chi-lo* (阿脂 (or 耆) 羅) or Aciravatī River

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1. See Sêng-ki-lü, *ch.* 9; Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching, *ch.* 38; Vibhāshā-lun, *ch.* 13; Sam. Nik. Vol. I. p. 128, 135 (P. T. S.). In the Sêng-ki-lü (*ch.* 29) we find the rendering "opening eyes wood", and so in other places.

2 Sêng-ki-lü, *ch.* 32 (*T'a-shan*); Chung-a-han-ching, *ch.* 8 (*So* or *P'o-lo-lo shan*).

which flowed south-eastwards past the Srāvasti city: nor does he mention the Sundara (or *Sun-t'ê-li*) or Sundarikā River. We read in other books also of the "Pond of Dismemberment", and this is not mentioned by the pilgrim. It was the basin of water near which the Sakya maidens were mutilated and left to perish. This is apparently the *Pu-to-li*, the "celebrated water of Śravasti", also called Patali and Paṭala. The Tibetan translators apparently had Pātali which they reproduce literally by "red-coloured". But the original was perhaps Pātala which is the name of a Hell, and it will be remembered that Yuan-chuang places the pond or lake through which Viruḍhaka went down into Hell close to the spot at which the maidens were mutilated. Then the lake is said to have received a name from this dismemberment. In the Avadāna Kalpalata it is called the Hastagarbha or "Hand-containing" Lake, and this is apparently the meaning of the Tibetan name which Rockhill seems to translate "the pool of the severed hand".[2] Then that one of the Eight Great Topes of the Buddha which was at Srāvasti is not mentioned, unless we are to regard it as the tope at Buddha's shrine already noticed. But the strangest and most unacocountable omission is that of the Purvarama or East monastery. This great and famous establishment was erected by Visākhā known in religion as "Mrigāra's Mother". She was actually the daughter-in-law of Mrigara; but after she converted that man, and made him a devout Buddhist, she was called his mother. In Pali her monastery is called Pubbārāma Migaramatu Pasada, that is, the East Monastery the Palace of Migāra's mother. This name is translated literally into Chinese, but the translators also render Migāramātu by *Lu-mu* or "Deer-mother", and Migāra is "Deer-son". This monastery which was

[1] Sêng-ki-lü, *ch.* 15 et al. (*A-chi-fe* river); Chung-a-han-ching, *ch.* 29; Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching, *ch.* 6; Tsa-a-han-ching, *ch.* 17; Sam. Nik. Vol. I. p. 167; Fa-hhü-pi-yü-ching, *ch.* 1.

[2] Sêng-ki-lü, *ch.* 8; Shih-sung-lü, *ch.* 46; Rockhill Life p. 121.

second only to the Jetavana Vihāra was in a disused royal park. There were buildings at it for the residence of the bhikshus and bhikshuṇis, and there were quiet halls for meditation and for religious discourse. Fa-hsien makes mention of this famous establishment and places its site six or seven *li* to the north-east of the Jetavana Vihāra. This agrees with references to the monastery in other books which place it to the east (*or in the east part*) of the city, and not far from the Jetavana.[1]

Above sixty *li* to the north-west of Śrāvasti, the pilgrim narrates was an old city, the home of Kāśyapa the previous Buddha. To the south of this old city was a tope where this Buddha after attaining bodhi met his father, and to the north of the city was a tope with his bodily relics: these two topes had been erected by king Asoka.

Fa-hsien who places Kāśyapa Buddha's natal city 50 *li* to the west of Śrāvasti, calls the city *Tu-wei* (都維). These characters probably represent a sound like Topi, and the city is perhaps that called *Tu-yi* in a Vinaya treatise.[2] Fa-hsien also mentions topes at the places where Kāśyapa Buddha met his father, where he died, and where his body was preserved, but he does not ascribe any of these topes to Asoka. Hardy's authority makes Benares to have been the city of this Buddha and this agrees with several sūtras in Chinese translations. In a Vinaya treatise Benares is the city, and the king *Ki-li-ki* (吉栗枳) erects a grand tope at the place of Kassapa Buddha's cremation.[3]

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[1] M. B. p. 288; Angut. Nik. Vol. III. p. 344 (P. T. S.); Tsa-a-han-ching, *ch.* 36; Chung-a-han-ching, *ch.* 29; Ta-chih-tu-lun, *ch.* 3. The term Pūrvārāma (or Pubbarama) is sometimes interpreted as meaning "what was formerly an ārāma", or "a former ārāma", but this does not seem so suitable as "East ārāma". In the Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih, *ch.* 11, I-ching has Lu-tzu-mu-chiu-yuan (鹿子母舊園) or "the old ārāma of Migaramātā".

[2] *Tu-yi* (都夷) is called a *chü-lao* of the Śrāvasti country in Sêng-ki-lü, *ch.* 95.

[3] M. B. p. 99. Ch'i-Fo-fu-mu-hsing-tzŭ-ching (No. 626); Fo-shuo-ch'i-Fo-ching (No. 860); Fo-shuo-Fo-ming-ching, *ch.* 3 (No. 404) where the name of the city *chih-shih* (知使) is said to be an old name

There were some other places of interest to Buddhists which are described in Buddhist books as being in this Kosala country. One of these was the *Ka-li-lo* (迦利囉) Hall which was at a large *cave* not far from the capital.[1] This transcription is perhaps for Kaṭīra which means a *cave*, and may have been the name of a hill; or it may be for Kareru, a place often mentioned in the Pali books. It was in the Kalilo Hall that the Buddha delivered the very interesting cosmological sutra entitled "Ch'i-shih-yin-pên-ching". Then near the capital was the *So-lo-lo* (娑羅邏), that is, Sālāra hill, with steep sides, in the caves of which Aniruddha and some hundreds of other bhikshus lodged.[2] Farther away and about three yojanas from Śrāvasti was the Śākya village called *Lu-t'ang* (鹿堂) or Deer-Hall. Here the Buddha had an establishment in which he lodged and preached, and in which he was visited by the king of Kosala.[3]

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for Benares: Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih. *ch*. 25, where *Ki-li-ki* king of Benares erects a grand tope to this Buddha.

[1] Ch'i-shih-yin-pên-ching (No. 549).

[2] Chung-a-han-ching, *ch*. 19.

[3] Tsêng-yi-a han-ching. *ch*. 32.

ON YUAN CHWANG'S TRAVELS IN INDIA

VOLUME II

KAPILAVASTU

"From this" (that is apparently, the neighbourhood of Śrāvasti) the pilgrim continued his journey, he tells us, and going south-east for above 500 *li* he came to the Kapilavastu country. This he describes as above 4000 *li* (about 800 miles) in circuit, and as containing more than ten deserted cities all in utter ruin. The "royal city", (that is, the district of the capital) Yuan-chuang adds, was such a complete waste its area could not be ascertained. But the solid brick foundations of the "Palace city", within the "Royal city", still remained, and were above fifteen *li* in circuit. As the district had been left desolate for a very long time it was very sparsely inhabited. The country was without a sovereign, each city having its own chief; the soil was fertile and farming operations were regular; the climate was temperate, and the people were genial in their ways. There were remains of above 1000 Buddhist monasteries; and near the "Palace city" was an existing monastery with above 30 (in the D text 3000) inmates, adherents of the Sammatiya School. There were two Deva-Temples, and the sectarians lived pell-mell.

It is remarkable that while all the texts of the Records here give 500 *li* as the distance from Sravasti to Kapilavastu, the texts of the Life give 800 *li*, the direction being the same; the Fang-chih agrees with the Records. Then the Life does not mention the "more than ten deserted cities all in utter ruin", but it tells us that "the *tu-ch'êng* (都城), that is, the other cities for above 1000 *li* (in D 10 *li*) were all utterly ruined". Here again also the Life and the Records use the term "Palace city" to denote the walled city of the district called *the capital*. The word *ch'êng* means *city* and *city-wall*, and it was the *wall* of the city which was made of brick as to its foundations and was fifteen *li* in circuit.

The numbers which Yuan-chuang gives for the ruined

towns and deserted monasteries in this country were probably either hearsay statements or mere conjectures. We read of *eight* cities in the country, and we find "Eight Cities" used apparently as a proper name for a locality.[1] The number of monasteries is evidently an exaggeration; as Buddhism does not seem to have ever flourished, either at Kapilavastu, or in the surrounding districts.

The pilgrim next proceeds to enumerate the various objects of interest, all connected with the Buddha's life, which he found within the capital.

On the "old foundations" of king Suddhodana's principal mansion there was a shrine (or temple, *ching-shê*) in which was a representation of that king. Near this was the site (lit. "old foundation") of the bedroom of Mahāmāyā (the queen of Suddhodana and mother of the Buddha) and in the shrine which marked the site was a representation of this queen. The shrine beside this had a representation of the P'usa descending to become incarnate in Mahāmāyā's womb. To the north-east of this was the tope to mark the place at which the rishi Asita read and announced the baby P'usa's destiny. At the south gate of the city was a tope to mark the place where the P'usa competed with other Sakyas in athletics and threw an elephant over the city-moat. The elephant, in falling, made a hole which came to be called "The ditch of the elephant's fall", and near the tope was a shrine with a representation of the P'usa. Beside this tope was also the side of the part of the palace which served as bed-chamber of Yasodharā the P'usa's princess, and in the shrine here were pictures of her and her son Rāhula. Near this was the site of the P'usa's schoolroom on which was a shrine with a picture of the young P'usa as Prince. In the south-east corner of the city, at the spot from which the Prince (the P'usa) began his flight over the city-wall, was a shrine with a representation of him on his white horse in the act of going over the wall.

In the above passage the word *shrine* or *temple* stands for the Chinese *ching-shê* as before. Julien renders this term as usual by *vihāra*, but the context shews clearly that the term is not to be taken in that sense in this passage. Fa-hsien, whose description of Kapilavastu is neither full nor precise, calls the memorial structures

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[1] Tsa-a-han-ching. *ch.* 20.

which he saw on various sites *t'a*, or *topes*, probably using the word in an extended sense and as meaning also a small shrine.

Then the Chinese word in the above passage rendered "picture" or "representation" is *hsiang* (像), commonly and correctly translated "image", which in Julien's rendering is "la statue". Thus the words *chung-tso-wang-hsiang* (中作王像) are rendered by him— "au centre duquel s'éléve la statue du roi", but the meaning is simply— "within which is a representation of the king". In the case of the shrine at the spot where the P'usa entered Mahāmāyā's womb Julien rightly translates "on a représenté le *Pou-sa*". According to Fa-hsien, who has only one representation of the Queen and the P'usa, the picture shewed these two at the moment when the P'usa "mounted on a white elephant enters his mother's womb". Neither this incident, nor that of the Prince (i. e. the P'usa) flying over the city wall on his horse, could well be represented by a statue. The likenesses or representations of the king, queen, and other persons were probably pictures of them painted on the walls of the shrines opposite the entrance. Small temples with such paintings are familiar to all travellers in India and China.[1]

Now as to the sites and "old foundations" pointed out to our pilgrim and his predecessor as those of the various buildings connected with the palace of king Suddhodana, all labelled, as it were, with their topes or shrines, we may confidently assert that the information given was not correct. At the time of Gautama Buddha there was neither a king Suddhodana, nor a palace of his, at Kapilavastu. The city was apparently within the territory ruled over by the king of Kosala. The father of the Buddha was no more than a member of the Sakya clan, perhaps invested with some rank or importance as a chief magistrate, although this does not appear.[2] He may alse have lived

[1] It is possible, however, that the pilgrim may have used the word *hsiang* here in its ordinary sense of *image*.

[2] Oldenberg's 'Buddha', p. 101: Rhys Davids's 'Buddhism', p. 92

in or near a place called Kapilavastu, but he had not a palace and did not reign there. The topes and shrines shewn to the pilgrims must have been set up long after the Buddha's decease. Even the author of the "Asokāvadāna", although he mentions the city-gate by which the P'usa passed out from his home to become an ascetic, does not seem to know anything of the various memorial buildings here mentioned.[1]

According to our pilgrim's description in the present passage the throwing of the dead elephant by Prince Siddhārtha (the P'usa) was kept in memory by three objects. There was a tope at the South gate of the city where Devadatta killed the elephant, Nanda drew its body out of the way, and Prince Siddhārtha threw the body over the city-wall and moat. Then at the place where the dead body, thus thrown, fell outside the city, there was the great hole or pit which it made by its fall. The third memento was a shrine containing a representation of the Prince. Yuan-chuâng's language might seem to imply that the shrine was beside the pit, but his meaning evidently is that it was beside the tope.

The "Pit of the Elephant's Fall", as Yuan-chuang calls it, is not mentioned by Fa-hsien, but we find it in some other treatises. In the Sarvata Vinaya[2] we find the story told very much as our pilgrim tells it, and there the Pit is seven *li* from the city. The "Fang-kuang-ta-chuang-yen-ching"[3] also has a version of it similar to that given in our text. In the story as told in the sutra just cited the Prince lifts the dead elephant with a toe of his left foot, and sends it through the air over the seven-fold wall of the city to a distance of above a furlong, and the elephant falling makes a great hole. In the "Ying-kuo-ching"[4] Devadatta kills an elephant which blocks the thoroughfare, Nanda then flings the dead body out of the way, and

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[1] Divyâv. p. 390.

[2] P'o-sêng-chih, *ch* 3.

[3] *Ch.* 4 (No. 159)

[4] *Ch.* 2 (No. 666)

Prince Siddhārtha hurls it over the city wall and brings it back to life as it reaches the ground; and a similar version of the story is told in the "T'ai-tzŭ-sui-ying-pên-ch'i-ching".[1] Neither in these sūtras nor in the "Chung-hsü-ching", which also relates the miracle,[2] is there any mention of a hole or pit made by the elephant's fall. According to Yuan-chuang and the Fang-kuang-ta-chuang-yen-ching the elephant which Devadatta kills is one which the king had ordered to carry back the Prince from the athletic contest in which he had beaten all his competitors. Devadatta, in ill temper at having been beaten all round by his cousin, meets the elephant going out to carry home this successful rival, and giving way to his temper kills the animal. But some other accounts, as the "Chung-hsü-ching", represent the elephant as a present from the people of Vaiśāli to the Prince, and Devadatta kills it out of envy and jealousy. It is not necessary to suppose that Yuan-chuang actually went to the Hastigarta or "Elephant's Grave", nor indeed need we believe that there was a ditch or pit with that name near Kapilavastu.

Going on with his description the pilgrim takes us outside of the capital. To the south of the city, he tells us, and at a distance of above 50 *li* (about ten miles) from it, was an old city with a tope. This was the birth place of the Past Buddha *Ka-lo-ka-ts'un-t'ê* (that is, Krakachunda or Krakucchanda, the Kakusandha of the Pali scriptures). Not far to the south from this city was a tope to mark the spot at which Krakachunda having attained to perfect enlightenment (that is, having become Buddha) met his father. Another tope, which was to the south-east of the old city, marked the place in which bodily relics of this Buddha were deposited. In front of this tope was a stone pillar, erected by Asoka, above 30 feet high with a carved lion on the top, and an account of [Krakachunda's] decease (parinirvāna) on the sides. Above 30 *li* (six miles) north-east from this old city was another "old large city" which also had a tope. Here the Past Buddha *Ka-no-ka-mou-ni* (Kanakamuni) was born. Near this city, on the north-east, was the tope which marked the spot where this Buddha after attaining Bodhi admitted his father into

[1] *Ch.* 1 (No 665).
[2] *Ch.* 3 (No. 659).

his religion; and north of this was a tope with bodily relics of Kanakamuni Buddha. Here too was a stone pillar above twenty feet high, with a lion on the top, and a record of the circumstances of this Buddha's decease on the sides; this pillar also had been set up by Asoka.

Fa-hsien places the old city of Krakachunda, (called by him *Ku-lu-ch'in* Buddha) twelve yoianas (about 96 miles) to the south-east of Śrāvasti, and he tells us the city had at his time topes and vihāras (that is, commemorative). He gives the name of this city as *Na-p'i-ka* (那毗伽), which is perhaps for Nābhika the name of a town in the far north. Less than a yojana to the north of Krakachunda Buddha's city, Fa-hsien relates, was the city of *Ku-na-han* (Kanakamuni, in the Pali texts Koṇāgamana) Buddha, also with topes. This latter city was according to Fa-hsien less than a yojanā to the west of Kapilavastu.[1] There is thus, as Cunningham has observed, a serious difference between the pilgrims as to the situations of these two old cities. According to Yuan-chuang, as we have seen, Krakachunda's city was 50 *li* to the south of Kapilavastu and Kanakamuni's city a few *li* to the south-east of Kapilavastu, while Fa-hsien places Kanakamuni's city to the west and Krakachunda's city to the south-west of Kapilavastu. Yet the two pilgrims are in tolerable agreement as to the distance and direction of Śrāvasti from Kapilavastu.

In the Buddhist books various names are given to the cities feigned to have been the homes or birth places of the two Past Buddhas of this passage, but without any indication as to the localities in which the cities were situated. Thus Krakachunda Buddha's city is called *Wu-wei* or "Fear-less",[2] and *An-ho* (安和) or "Peaceful harmony",[3] and *Shu* (sometimes written *Lun*)-*ha-li-t'i-na* (輸訶唎提那) or Suhridin, perhaps the original for An-ho.[4]

[1] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch*. 21.

[2] Fo-shuo-Fo-ming-ching, *ch*. 8 (No. 404).

[3] Chang-a-han-ching, *ch*. 1. Khemavatī in Pali. (D. 2. 7.)

[4] Ch'i-Fo-fu-mu-hsing-tzŭ-ching (No. 623). The character for *Shu* is 輸.

The city of Kanakamuni is called *Chuang-yen* (莊 嚴)[1] "adorned", a translation of Śubhavati, and *Ch'ing-ching* (清 淨) or "Purity",[2] and *Ch'a-mo-yue-ti* (差 摩 越 提) or Kshamāvat,[3] and *Ku-na* (俱 那) or Koṇa.[4] The tope over the relics of Krakachunda Buddha is represented as having been built by a king contemporary with that Buddha and named Asoka[5] or, in one book, Śubha.[6] We find the tope of Kanakamuni located in the Benares district,[7] but his city Koṇa was apparently not far west from Kapilavastu. On the pillar recently discovered in the Nepalese Terai, near Niglīva, is an inscription in which king Asoka records that he had twice enlarged the tope of Kanakamuni and offered it worship. This information is very interesting, but it does not tell us which of the great events in that Buddha's career the tope commemorated. Yet some Indian archaeologists do not hesitate to call it the *Nirvāṇa Tope* of Kanakamuni Buddha. Fa-hsien who places the two old cities on the west side of the capital, does not mention the presence of Asoka pillars and Yuan-chuang, who places the two old cities to the eastward of the capital, records the existence of the pillars He represents the inscriptions on the pillars as giving particulars of the decease of the two Buddhas, but the inscription on the Niglīva pillar does not give such particulars.

The pilgrim continuing his description relates that above 40 to the north-east of Kapilavastu was a tope at the place wher the young "heir-apparent" (that is the P'usa while a youn prince) sat in the shade of a tree watching ploughers at worl While so sitting he became absorbed in samādhi, and obtaine emancipation from cravings. The King, his father, observing tha while his son was lost in ecstatic meditation the sun's rays turn

[1] Fo-shuo-Fo-ming-ching, *ch.* 8 (No. 404).

[2] Chang-a-han-ching, *ch.* 1

[3] Ch'i-Fo-fu-mu-hsing-tzu-ching (No. 626).

[4] Sar. Vin. Yao-shih, *ch.* 7.

[5] Divyāv. p. 418.

[6] A-yü-wang-ching, *ch.* 4 (No. 1343). Sobha in Pali. (D. 2. 7.)

[7] Chêng-fa-nien-ch'ü-ching, *ch.* 47 (No. 679).

ed back and the tree gave him continued shade, became convinced of the miraculous sanctity of his son, and felt for him an increased reverence.

The story of this passage is told or referred to in many Buddhist books with little variation as to the main incidents. In the Aśokāvadāna Upagupta points out to the king the jambu tree under which the P'usa had sat to watch the labourers, and tells the king how the P'usa here went into the first dhyāna having attained true views. He also tells Asoka how Suddhodana, on beholding the miracle of the continued shade, prostrated himself before his son in adoration.[1] It was, we read in another treatise, pity for the toiling creatures which made the boy think deeply of earthly miseries and the way of escape. Sitting under the umbrageous jambu tree, which all the day screened him from the glare of the sun, he attained by samādhi to absolute purity of thought.[2]

To the north-east of the capital were several hundred thousand topes where the Sakyas were put to death. When king Virūdhaka conquered the Sakyas, and took them prisoners to the number of 99,900,000, he caused them all to be massacred: the corpses were strewn about in heaps and the blood made a pond: on the prompting of devas the skeletons were collected and buried. To the south-west of these topes were four small topes where four Sakyas repulsed the army. When Prasenajit succeeded to the throne he sought a marriage alliance with the Sakyas of Kapilavastu, but these despising him as not of their class, deceived him by giving him as bride, with great ceremony, the daughter of a slave-woman. Prasenajit made this girl his queen, and she bore him a son, the prince Virūdhaka. In due course this prince went to the home of his mother to be educated in various accomplishments, and on his arrival at Kapilavastu he lodged with his retinue in the new chapel to the south of the city. The Sakyas hearing of this became enraged at the young prince, and abused him because he— "the low son of a slave girl"— as they called him, had presumed to occupy the chapel which they had built for the use of the Buddha. When Virūdhaka became king he promptly led an army to Kapilavastu,

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[1] Divyav. p. 391: A-yü-wang-chuan, *ch.* 2 (No. 1459): A-yü-wang-ching, *ch.* 2: Bur. Int. p. 382 ff.: Tsa-a-han-ching, *ch.* 23.

[2] Fang-kuang-ta-chuang-yen-ching, *ch.* 4 (No. 159).

determined to have revenge for the insult. While his army was encamped at some distance from the city four Sakya husbandmen attacked it and drove it back. Having done this the men came to the city; but their clansmen cut them off from the clan, and drove them into exile, because that they, the lineal descendants of universal sovereigns and Dharmarājas, by having dared to commit wanton atrocities, complacently killing others, had disgraced the clan. These four men, so banished, went to the Snow Mountains and founded dynasties still existing, one in Udyāna, one in Bamian, one in Himatala, and one in Shangmi (Śambi?).

The summary account here given by Yuan-chuang differs considerably from the history of Virūḍhaka as related in the Buddhist books. Thus some authorities represent king Prasenajit as demanding from the Sakyas of Kapilavastu one of their daughters to be his queen in order that he might have an attraction for the Buddha in his palace.[1] The Sakyas, 500 in number, consider the demand in council. They fear to refuse, yet they cannot depart from their law which forbids the marriage of their females with aliens. Their President (or Elder) Mahānāma gets them out of the difficulty by sending his daughter by a female slave (or, according to one version of the story, the slave herself) to be the king's bride. But there is also a different account which represents Prasenajit as falling in love with a kind and thoughtful young maiden who turns out to be a slave of the Sakya Mahānāma.[2] The King demands the girl from her master, who had seized her for arrears of rent due to him by her late father as his agent. The master gladly complies with the King's request, and the slave-girl becomes queen. In due course she bears a son, the prince who receives the name Virūḍhaka (or Viḍūḍabha or Vaidūrya) When this son grows to be a boy he is sent to Kapilavastu to learn archery and other accomplishments, becoming a young prince in the household or under the supervision of Mahānāma, supposed to be his maternal

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[1] Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching, *ch.* 26: Dh. p. 210.

[2] Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih, *ch.* 7, 8 (No. 1121): Rockhill, Life, p. 74: Journal Buddhist Text Society Vol. V. P. 1.

grand-father. But the night of his arrival at the city is spent in the New Hall or Chapel, and the young Sakyas, in the circumstances described by the pilgrim, treat the prince with rudeness and violence, or, according to others, after he has left, they speak of him very contemptuously and treat his presence in the Hall as a defilement of the building. In the course of time Virūḍhaka succeeds his father as King of Kosala, having played foully for the Kingdom. One of his first acts after his accession was to collect an army for the invasion of Kapilavastu, and the punishment of its inhabitants for their wanton insults to him in the days of his boyhood. On his way, and when only a short distance from Srāvasti, he had the memorable interview with the Buddha seated under a dead tree as already related. When the Buddha left the Sakyas to the terrible fate which they made for themselves the king renewed the invasion. While his forces were encamped in the neighbourhood of Kapilavastu, the Sakyas in the city, following the Buddha's advice, resolved to shut themselves up within the walls and make a passive resistance. But one man *Shê-ma* (that is, perhaps Sama, Mr. Rockhill's Samaka) living at a distance from Kapilavastu, took up arms against the invaders, defeated them, and slew many thousands of them.[1] According to the account followed by Yuan-chuang there were four country-men who fought and repulsed the invading enemy. As the fighting had taken place without the sanction of the Sakyas, and against their decision to make only a passive resistance, the brave patriot (or patriots) not only did not receive any recognition from the besieged clansmen, but actually had to undergo the punishment of expatriation. The crime of Sama (or of the four heroes) was that he, a Kshatriya and a member of the Buddhist community, had taken human life, and caused it to be taken, in violation of the principles to which they were all vowed. When Virūḍhaka found

[1] Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching l. c.: Ch'u-yao-ching, *ch.* 8 (No. 1321): Rockhill, Life, p. 117.

that the Sakyas would not fight he attacked their city the gates of which were opened to him through bad advice. He then destroyed the buildings of Kapilavastu, and massacred all its inhabitants except a few who managed to escape.[1]

> Three or four *li* south of Kapilavastu, the pilgrim's description proceeds, in a wood of *Ni-ku-lü* (尼拘律) trees was an Asoka tope at the place where Sakya ju-lai, having attained Buddhahood and returned to his native land, met his father and preached to him. The king had sent a messenger to remind his son of his promise to return home on attaining Buddhahood, and inviting him to make the visit at once. Buddha's reply was that after the lapse of seven days he would return home. Hearing this the king ordered the streets to be cleaned; and he went in state to a distance of forty *li* from the city to await Buddha's arrival. The Buddha came through the air, escorted by devas and followed by his bhikshus, to the place where the king was waiting; from this the procession went to the *Ni-ku-lü* monastery. Not far from this was a tope on the spot where the Buddha, sitting under a large tree with his face to the east, accepted a gold-embroidered monk's robe from his aunt and foster-mother. Next to this was a tope to mark the spot at which the Buddha admitted into the Brootherhood eight princes and 500 Sakyas.

The *ni-ku-lü* of this passage, as of other passages in the Records, stands for the Sanskrit word Nyagrodha (in Pali, Nigrodha), the Banyan tree. This transcription, which seems to represent a colloquial form of the Indian word, was probably adopted by the pilgrim from early Chinese translations of the Indian books. In his own translations from the Sanskrit Yuan-chuang uses a transcription nearer to the form nyagrodha. All this passage is unsatisfactory; and it seems to have been composed in a careless hurried manner. As the passage itself shews, and as we learn from other sources, it was not in the Banyan Wood, south of the city, that Suddhodana met the Buddha. The king went out in state along the road to Śrāvasti (or, according to some accounts, towards Rājagriha), and at the river *Lu-ha-ka* (Rohitaka?) forty *li*

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[1] Liu-li-wang-ching (No. 671): Mahābodhivaṃsa p. 98: Wu-fên-lü, *ch.* 21: Spence Hardy M. B. p. 293.

from Kapilavastu, waited for the Buddha's crossing into his territory.[1] Fa-hsien mentions the place at which father and son met, but he does not say anything about a tope or wood, and indeed he does not seem to have known of a Banyan Wood. There was one large banyan tree, we know, and there may have been several such in the neighbourhood. There was also near Kapilavastu the Nyagrodhārāma (in Pali the Nigrodhārāma) or Banyan Monastery here mentioned. This establishment was formed by the Buddhists of the district after their conversion. Yet our pilgrim makes the Buddha go to it on his first visit, as Buddha, to his native place.

The name of the messenger sent by Suddhodana to his son was Udāyi or Kāludāyi. When this man came with the king's message he was converted by the Buddha and ordained, and so having come as the king's messenger he went back as the Buddha's apostle.[2]

The "great tree" under which the Buddha was sitting when he received the *Ka-sha*, or monk's robe, from his aunt Mahā Prajāpatī was, according to Fa-hsien, a banyan. This pilgrim calls the robe a saṅghāti, and says the tree was still in existence at his time. The vestment was of fine muslin, we learn, and queen Prajāpatī had made it herself. Out of kindness to her the Buddha accepted the robe, and handed it over to the Brotherhood.[3]

The "eight princes" of whom Yuan-chuang makes mention here were the Sakyans named, in one account, Aniruddha, Bhadi (or Bhaddiya), Nandi, Kimbila, Nanda, Upananda, Ānanda, and Devadatta. But this list does not agree with the histories of the disciples given in other works. Upāli, the barber, who left Kapilavastu in attendance on the young "princes" when these went to be ordained, also made up his mind, on the way, to join the

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[1] Chung-hsü-ching, *ch.* 12: Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shih, *ch.* 9: Chung-pên-ch'i-ching, *ch.* 1 (No. 556): Rockhill, *Life*, p. 51.

[2] Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shih l. c.

[3] Fo-shuo-fên-pie-pu-shih-ching (No. 980): Chung-a-han-ching, *ch.* 47.

Buddha's Brotherhood. He was ordained before his former masters; and consequently these, on becoming bhikshus, had to reverence Upāli as their senior in religion, a service which some of them were very reluctant to render. There is not perfect agreement as to the place where the ordination of Upāli and the Sakya "princes" occurred, for the Vinaya and some other treatises refer it to Anupiya in the country of the Mallas,[1] while the pilgrims and other authorities represent the ordination as having taken place at Kapilavastu. It was in consequence of an order from king Suddhodana (or from the Sakya Elders) that the 500 young men and the eight "princes" joined the Brotherhood; but the 'princes' are, more properly, to be included among the 500.[2] Every family which had more than two sons, or only two sons was, required by the state decree to send the best son to become a Sakya bhikshu.

> Inside the east gate of the city, on the left side of the road, was a tope where Prince Sarvārthasiddha (the P'usa) practised various accomplishments. Outside this gate, the pilgrim continues, was a temple of Iśvara-Deva containing a stone image of the god in the attitude of rising and bowing. This was the temple into which the infant prince (the P'usa), on the way from the place of his birth to the palace, was carried by command of the king his father (who was present with the party) to be presented to the god according to the custom of the Sakyas. As the baby was borne into the temple the stone image descended to pay respect to him, returning to its place when the baby prince (the P'usa) was carried away.

The place where the P'usa while Prince Siddhārtha "practised various accomplishments" was probably the site of the school in which he learned archery and the other manly accomplishments of the Sakyas. The temple of the Deva of this passage, which is not mentioned by Fa-hsien may have been on the site of the temple of the Sakya-Vardha (or -Vardhana) God to which according to other accounts the infant Buddha was borne. This Sakya-vardhana (*Shih-ka-tsêng-chang* 釋迦增長) was a Yaksha, the special

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[1] Dhp. 189 ff.: Vinaya Coll. VII. 1: Ssŭ-fên-lü, ch. 4.

[2] Chung-hsü-ching, ch. 18: Ta-chuang-yen-lun-ching, ch. 8 (No 1182).

protector of the Sakyas, and all Sakya children were borne to his temple to be presented to the deity and obtain his favour and protection for life.[1]

Continuing his description the pilgrim relates that outside of the south gate of the city, and on the left side of the road, was a tope to mark the spot at which the Prince (that is, the P'usa), competing in athletic accomplishments with the other Sakyas, shot at iron drums. His arrow pierced the drums, went thirty-two *li* to the south-east, and penetrated the ground up to the top, causing a clear spring of water to gush forth. This spot also was marked by a small tope; and the spring still existed, and had healing powers of great reputation. The people had always called it the Arrow Spring.

Fa-hsien has a similar account of the Arrow-Well or Śarakūpa, but he has no mention of a tope. In another treatise, however, which relates the incident, a tope is stated to have been set up by believing brahmins at the side of the Well.[2] Of all the Sakyas who were competitors in the military exercises Nanda and Devadatta were practically the only rivals to Siddhārtha, the future Buddha; their strength and skill were very great, but they were far surpassed by the superhuman achievments of their cousin.

From the Arrow-Spring, the pilgrim proceeds, a walk of 80 or 90 *li* north-east brought one to the *La-fa-ni* (Lumbini) Grove. In this Grove was the beautiful bathing tank of the Sakyas, and about twenty-four paces from it was the old asoka tree at which the Buddha had been born into the world. On the east of this was an Asoka tope. at the place where two dragons washed the newly born prince with hot and cold water. To the east of this were two clear springs with topes where two dragons emerged on the birth of the P'usa and produced two springs. South of these was a tope where Indra received the newborn infant P'usa. Next to it were four topes to the four Devarājas who had taken charge of the baby Buddha after his birth. Near these topes was a stone pillar set up by Asoka with the figure of a horse on the top. Afterwards the pillar had been broken

[1] Divyāv. p. 391: A-yü-wang-ching, *ch.* 2: Rockhill Life p. 117: Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shih, *ch.* 2.

[2] Fang-kuang-ta-chuang-yen-ching, *ch.* 4: Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shih, *ch* 3.

in the middle, and laid on the ground (that is, half of it), by a thunderbolt from a malicious dragon. Near this pillar was a small stream flowing south-east, and called by the people the Oil River. It was originally a tank of a pure oily liquid produced by the devas for the use of the Buddha's mother in cleansing herself from earthly soil after the birth of her son. The tank had become changed into a stream of water which, however, still retained its oily character.

The La-fa-ni Grove of this passage is the "King's Park (or Garden)" of Fa-hsien, who gives its name as *Lun-min* (論民) that is Lummin or Lumbin, and places it 50 *li* to the east of Kapilavastu.[1] This pilgrim mentions a bathing-tank in which Mahāmāyā bathed before giving birth to her son; and also a Dragon Well, but he does not record the existence of either tope or pillar in the 'Park'. We observe, however, that the narratives of the two pilgrims agree in placing Lumbini about nine or ten miles to the east of Kapilavastu. According to others it was between that city and Devadaha, and belonged to the latter. This Garden (or Grove) is celebrated in Buddhist legend as containing the very spot at which the future Buddha emerged from his mother's womb. Its name, which appears to have been pronounced Lumbini and Lummini, was originally, according to some accounts, that of the queen of Suprabuddha, king of Devadaha, for whom the garden was made. Yuan-chuang's transcription *La-fa-ni*, which seems to be unknown to other authors, is apparently for Lavaṇī which means "beautiful woman". The various legends differ in the accounts which they give of this place. In some it is a Park or Grove, in some a Garden, and in some merely a part of the general forest. So also they differ as to the kind of tree under which Mahāmāyā stood when she was delivered of her child. According to the Sarvata Vinaya, and other authorities, it was an asoka tree. When king Asoka visited Lumbini he saw the actual asoka tree, and conversed with its guardian genius.[2] Fa-hsien saw this asoka tree still alive, and

[1] Fo-kuo-chi, ch. 22.

[2] Divyāv. p. 389.

Yuan-chuang saw it, in its place, but dead. The Lalita-vistara makes the tree to have been a peepul, and the authorities used by Hardy and Bigandet call it a sāl. One Chinese translation merely has "Lin-p'i (Lumbi) trees", and under one of these the P'usa is born.[1]

As to the present representative of Kapilavastu there have been several sites proposed. Cunningham thought at first that the site of the city might be located at Nagar Khās, in the southern part of the Basti district, near the confines of Nepāl. But afterwards he abandoned this in favour of the site "on the bank of the Bhuila Tāl or Lake of Bhuila, which is situated in *Pargana-Mansúrnagar*, in the new part of the Basti District, about 25 miles north-east from Faizabad and about 15 miles west-north-west from Basti". This is the identification made, with great confidence, by Mr. Carlleyle, who thought he had discovered at the place nearly all the objects mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims.[2] More recently, however, this site has been abandoned; and a new one, the existence of which was pointed out by Dr. Waddell, has been discovered by the archæological explorers of the Indian Government. This is declared to be the true Kapilavastu, and the identification rests mainly on certain inscriptions on stone pillars found recently in the Nepalese Terai. Near the village of Paḍeria, which is about about two miles north of Bhagvānpur and about thirteen miles from Nigliva, in the Terai north of Gorakhpur, Dr. Führer found one of Asoka's monoliths. On this pillar is an inscription which records that king Piyadasi (Asoka) in the 21st year of his reign personally worshipped at the place as the spot at which the Buddha Sakyamuni was born. There is considerable difference of opinion as to the precise meaning of the rest of the inscription. It seems, however, to intimate that the king caused a pillar of polished stone to be set up at the Buddha's birth place, and reduced the Government contri-

[1] Fo-shuo-p'u-yao-ching, *ch*. 2 (No. 160).
[2] Arch. Sur. India Vol. XII. p. 88 and XXII. p. 1 ff.

bution from the Lummini village.[1] With reference to this inscription we may observe that neither in the Sanskrit text of the Asokāvadāna, nor in any one of the three independent Chinese versions of it, is there mention of a stone pillar set up by the king, or of any reduction of taxation, or of the existence of a village at the Garden. According to these texts the first place which Asoka and Upagupta reach on their pilgrimage from Pāṭaliputra is the Lumbini Garden; Upagupta tells the king that this is the place of Buddha's birth, and points out the particular tree under which Mahāmāyā stood when her child was born; then the king sets up a shrine, or a tope, at the place, and makes a donation of 100 000 ounces of gold (or of precious substances), and goes away. Perhaps the shrine referred to is the one recently discovered, close to the spot where Asoka's pillar was found.[2] It contains a statue of Mahāmāyā, nearly life size, giving birth to the infant. The existing statue has not been closely examined, so its age is quite uncertain. Neither of the pilgrims has any reference to a tope erected by Asoka; and the topes now existing, near the shrine and inscribed pillar, are very small. Yet we find mention of a great tope at the spot where the Buddha was born,[3] and about the year A. D. 764 the tope was visited, we are told, by the Chinese pilgrim known as Wuk'ung.[4] Yuan-chuang, we have seen, mentions a stone pillar, but he does not say anything about an inscription on it. The Fang-chih, however, tells us that the pillar recorded the circumstances of Buddha's birth. Further search in the neighbourhood of Paḍeria may reveal the Sakya's Tank, the Dragon's Topes, Indra's Tope, and the Oily stream, all in the Lumbini Garden. About eight miles north-west from Paḍeria, we are told, are the ruins

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[1] J. R. A. S. for 1897, p. 615: Epigraphia, Indica Vol. V. p. 1: Jour. des Savants, Fév. 1897, p. 73.

[2] Journal Roy. As. Soc. 1897 p. 619.

[3] Hsiu-ti-kuan-ching, ch. 1 (No. 955).

[4] Shi-li-ching: Journal Asiatique 1895 p. 357.

of Kapilavastu which are "to be traced over a length of seven English and a breadth of about three English miles", a statement not to be accepted.

Then we have the Asoka pillar of Niglīva already noticed (pp. 7, 16) the inscription on which shews us that the city of the previous Buddha Konakamuni, mentioned and probably visited by the Chinese pilgrims, stood near the site of that village. Niglīva is "situated 38 miles north-west of the Uska Bazar station of the Bengal and North-west Railway, in the Nepalese tahsīl Taulihvā of the Zillah Butaul". Dr. Führer places the ruins of the city of Krakuchanda Buddha seven miles south-west from the ruins of Kapilavastu. As we have seen there is a serious disagreement between the pilgrims as to the sites of the two old cities of the Past Buddhas with respect to Kapilavastu. Yuan-chuang makes Krakuchanda's city to have been ten miles south of Kapilavastu, while Fa-hsien makes it to have been about seven miles to the south-west of that city; and Yuan-chuang locates Konakamuni's city to the south-east, while Fa-hsien places it due west of Kapilavastu. Further discoveries in the Terai and adjoining country may give more certainty as to the relative positions of the interesting remains of old Buddhism in the district. The two stupas of Krakuchanda Buddha have been discovered, we are told, at a place about seven miles to the south-west of the ruins of Kapilavastu, and so about the spot indicated by Fa-hsien as the site of that Buddha's old city. Then Niglīva, which, as we have seen, has the stūpa of Konakamuni Buddha, is about 15 miles to the south-west of Paḍeria (Lumbini), a location which corresponds roughly to Fa-hsien's description. Thus the narrative of the earlier of the pilgrims is corroborated and illustrated by these important discoveries, and the later pilgrim's account receives from them useful corrections.

The most recent discovery in the Sakya country is that of the Piprāwa Stūpa an account of which was given to the Royal Asiatic Society by the Secretary on the 10th August 1900. This stūpa enclosed certain vases which contained

bone-relics and various other articles. On one of the urns is a short inscription which, in Dr. Bühler's translation,[1] is—"This relic-shrine of divine Buddha is (the donation) of the Sakya Sukiti brothers associated with their sisters, sons and wives."

But Dr. Rhys Davids translates it:—[2]

"This shrine for relics of the Buddha, the august one, (is that) of the Sakyas, the brethren of the distinguished one, in association with their sisters, their children and their wives".[3]

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[1] J. R. A. S. 1898, p. 388.

[2] The Piprawa Stupa on the Birdpore Estate containing the Relics of Buddha. ibid. p. 588.

[3] [Professor Pischel, in his article in the Z. D. M. G. 1902, p. 157 has probably solved the problem of the difficult word Sukiti which he interprets as 'pious foundation'. So the translation will run: "This shrine &c. is the pious foundation of the Sakyas, his brethren in association &c. Ed.]

RĀMA OR RĀMAGRĀMA.

The pilgrim goes on to relate that "from this" (that is, the Lumbini Garden) he travelled through a wild jungle east for more than 200 *li* (about 40 miles) to *Lan-mo* (Rāma) country. This had been waste and wild for a long time, and its area was not defined: its towns were heaps of ruins and there was a very scanty population.

To the sout-heast of the old city (that is, the former capital), he tells us, was a brick tope nearly 100 feet high. This had been built by the king of this country (who obtained one of the eight portions of the Buddha's relics) to enclose his share for preservation and worship. Beside this Relic Tope was a clear tank the dragon of which, when he went out for a stroll, assumed the form of a snake, and performed pradakshiṇa to the Tope by crawling round it to the right. The wild elephants also came in companies and strewed flowers at the tope; all this went on without intermission. When king Asoka was dispersing the Buddha-relics of the eight topes, having taken away those of seven of the topes, he came to Rāma in order to carry off the relics in its tope also. As he was about to begin work the dragon of the tank, afraid of being dispossessed, changed himself into a brahmin and tapping the [king's] elephant in the face, said —"Your Majesty's kindness extends to all Buddhadom, and you have largely sown the seeds of good works. I venture to beg you to dismount and deign to visit my abode". Asoka accepted the invitation, and followed the dragon to his palace. There overpowered by the splendour of the dragon's paraphernalia for the worship of the relics, he granted the dragon's petition, and abandoned the idea of rifling the tope. A memorial at the place of coming out from the tank recorded the event.

The situation here assigned to Rāma agrees with that given by Fa-hsien who places it five yojanas to the east of the place where the Buddha was born.[1] The Fang-chih also agrees with the Records, but the Life makes Rāma to be above 500 *li* (about 100 miles) east from Kapilavastu, and this distance agrees roughly with that given in some of the Buddhist books, that is, thirteen Yojanas. Some texts of the Life place the Relic Tope to the east of the old capital, and some make its height to be only fifty feet. The Life also does not make any mention

[1] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 23.

of the dragon of the tank changing himself into a snake, but states that he often assumed the form of a man and performed pradakshiṇa to the tope.

For the words in the above passage "tapping the [king's] elephant in the face, said" the original is *Ch'ien-k'ou-hsiang-yue* (前叩象曰), and Julien translates this— "se prosternant aux pieds de l'éléphant, lui parle ainsi". This rendering is manifestly wrong from every point of view. The phrase *k'ou-hsiang* here means to *tap* or *strike the elephant* as *k'ou-ma* is to *tap a horse*. But these phrases are used figuratively in the senses of *boldly, sternly, seriously*, and it is not necessary to suppose that any actual tapping or knocking takes place. In the present passage the word "king's", which I have added, is really not needed, and we are only to understand that the dragon-brahmin faced the king, and addressed to him an earnest remonstrance.

The story of king Asoka and the dragon who guarded the Relic Tope at Rāma is told in several Buddhist books with variations. The Divyāvadāna, like our pilgrim's narrative, represents king Asoka as going to the Nāga's Relic Tope, and on seeing the nāga's worship, as going away without interfering with the sacred relics.[1] But the "Tsa-a-han-ching" represents Asoka as carrying off the relics in the tope in spite of the dragon's remonstrances.[2] The Sinhalese have a legend about the nāga (or also nāgas) and this tope. According to one of their books the relics were removed from Rāmagāma (probably the Rāma of our author) by supernatural means to Ceylon; but this is a late and local fiction.[3]

Near to the Relic Tope, the pilgrim records, was the Śrāmaṇera Monastery so called because its temporal affairs were always managed by a śrāmaṇera or unordained Brother.

We have a short history of the origin of this Monastery, and the account given agrees in the main with the narra-

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[1] Divyāv. p. 380.

[2] Tsa-a-han-ching, *ch*. 23.

[3] Mah. *ch*. 31. See Rhys Davids on these legends; J. R. A. S. 1901, pp. 397—410.

tive by Fa-hsien at whose time the establishment was a recent institution Yuan-chuang found in it only a small number of Brethren, who were very civil and hospitable.

From the Śrāmaṇera Monastery the pilgrim, we are told, went east through a great wood above 100 *li* (about 20 miles) to a great Asoka tope. This was at the place where the Prince (the P'usa) made a halt, having gone over the city-wall of Kapilavastu at midnight and ridden on until daylight. Here also he gave expression to the settled purpose of his life in these words— "Here I go out of prison, put off fetters, unyoke for the last time".[1] Then the Prince took the jewel from his crown and handed it to his groom Chandaka to take back to the king, his father. At the same time he gave the groom this message to the king— "My present retirement to a great distance is not a wa, on separation from you—I desire to have done with impermanence and put an end to moral defects". Then he spoke words of comfort to the disconsolate servant, and sent him back.

Fa-hsien agrees with our pilgrim in placing the tope of the "sending back" at about 20 miles east from the Śrāmanera Monastery, but he does not ascribe the tope to Asoka. So also in the Lalitavistara[2], and in other works where this tope is mentioned it is merely said to have been erected by "people of after times". It was known as the Tope of Chandaka's Return, that is, the tope which marked the spot where the Prince's groom began his journey back to Kapilavastu with his master's horse. But the Chinese scriptures are not agreed as to the precise locality at which the parting between the Prince and Chandaka took place, some representing it as at a much greater distance than 20 miles from Kapilavastu.

To the east of the tope of Chandaka's Returning was a dead jambu, tree and at the side of this was a small tope. It was here that the Prince (the P'usa) exchanged his princely robes

[1] The Chinese for this soliloquy is— 是我出籠樊去羈鎖最後釋駕之處, and Julien translates— "Aujourd'hui, je sors enfin de ma prison et je brise mes liens. Ce fut en cet endroit qu'il quitta son char pour la dernière fois." This rendering mistranslates the first word of the sentence, and ignores the construction.

[2] Lalitavistara, Foucaux, p. 214.

for the deer-skin dress given to him by a hunter who was Indra in disguise.

Near this spot was an Asoka tope to mark the place at which the P'usa cut off his hair, and had his head shaved by a deva; the hair cut off was taken by Indra to Heaven to be an object of worship.

The pilgrim next mentions incidentally that accounts varied as to the age of the P'usa when he went out from home, some making him nineteen, and some twenty nine years old at the time. So also, he tells us, authorities differed as to whether it was on the 8th or the 15th day of the second half of the month Viśākha that the Prince left his home to begin the religious life.

From the Head-shaving Tope the pilgrim travelled, he tells us, south-east through a wild country for more than 180 *li* (about 36 miles) to a Banyan Grove which had a tope above 30 feet in height. This, he says, was the Embers Tope built by the brahmins of the place over the charcoal fragments which they found at the scene of the Buddha's cremation. These brahmins arrived too late to obtain a share of the actual relics, and they were allowed to take a portion of the dead embers— "ashes-charcoal" —from "the place of cremation". Carrying these to their native place the brahmins there erected this shrine for the worship of the embers; ever since its erection the tope has given miraculous testimonies, and at it many prayers of the afflicted have been answered.

In an old monastery near the Embers Tope were remains of the sitting - place and exercise - walk of the Four Past Buddhas. Then, on either side of this monastery, the pilgrim adds, were some hundreds of topes among which was one built by king Asoka which, although in ruins, still shewed more than 100 feet above ground.

In this passage Yuan-chuang places the Embers Tope in the Nyagrodhavana or Banyan Grove, and this agrees with a Tibetan account translated by Mr. Rockhill.[1] In it it is only one Brahmin, named Nyagrodha from the Nyagrodhika country, who obtains the embers. In the Pali account of the distribution of the relics it is "the Moriyas of Pipphalavana" who come late to the scene of the cremation, and have to be content with the remnants of burnt fuel.[2] So also in two Chinese writings the "Chang

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[1] Rockhill, Life, p. 147.

[2] Rhys Davids, 'Buddhist Suttas' (S. B. E. Vol. XI.) p. 134.

a-han-ching" and the "Mahāmāya-ching", it is *Pi-po* (that is Pippala) villagers who get the embers.[1] One treatise, the "Pan-ni-huan-ching", has an Embers Tope, and also an Ashes Tope, erected by different men at different places;[2] the former is built by a *Tao-shi*, or saintly recluse, and the latter by a brahmin; but neither of these topes seems to have been at a place near Rāmagrāma. The "Fo-pan-ni-huan-ching" agrees with the "Pan-ni-huan-ching" as to the erection of an Embers and an Ashes Tope, and places the latter in the *Che-ka-kie* country.[3] In the "Ta-pan-nie-pan-ching",[4] however, there is only the Embers Tope and it seems to be located at Kuśinagara.

The "Rāma Country" of the Chinese pilgrims, the Rāma Village (Rāmagrāma) of various writers, seems to have been little known until it attained celebrity for its tope containing bodily relics of Gautama Buddha. And it is interesting to observe that in the accounts of the division of the relics which assign a portion to Rāmagrāma there are some differences of detail, and that all accounts do not agree in assigning a share to this place. In the Pali sūtra of the "Great Decease" the "Koliyas of Rāmagāma" go to Kusinārā and obtain an eighth share of the relics; so also in a Vinaya treatise the *Kou-lu-lo* of *Lo-mo* (Rāma) obtain a share.[5] In the Pali version from which Bigandet's information was obtained it was the "king of Rama" who took action in the matter.[6] In the appendix to the Mahāmāya-ching it is the *Kou-li* (Koli) people of *Lo-mo-ka* (Rāmaka, or for Rāmagrāma) who obtain the relics, and so in the "Yu-hsing-ching" of the Ch'ang-a-han-ching, and also in the Pan-ni-huan-ching where the name of the country is given as *k'o-lo* (可樂) that is "Enjoyable",

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[1] Ch'ang-a-han-ching, *ch.* 4: Mahāmāya-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 382).
[2] Pan-ni-huan-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 119).
[3] Fo-pan-ni-huan-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 552).
[4] Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 118).
[5] Rhys Davids, S. B. E. Vol. XI. p. 132. Shih-sung-lü, *ch.* 60 (No. 1115).
[6] Bigandet, 'Legend' Vol. II. p. 92.

evidently for Rāma. But in no other of the Nirvāṇa treatises in Chinese translations, so far as I know, is there any mention of Rāmagrāma in connection with the distribution of the Buddha's relics. And the Tibetan text translated by Rockhill is also apparently without the name of either the country Rāma, or the people Koliya, in this matter. But Rockhill thinks that the *Sgra-sgrogs* of his text may be Rāmagrāma, and the Kshatriya "Krodtya of Sgra-sgrogs" obtained a share, and this was "honoured by a king of nāgas".[1]

The Lalitavistara and some other treatises which treat of the subject do not mention Rāmagrāma as the first halting place of Prince Siddhartha in his flight from home, the place where he sent back his groom and horse, exchanged garments with the hunter, and had his head shaven.

It is unnecessary now to notice the opinions of General Cunningham and Mr. Carlleyle as to the modern representative of the Rāma of our pilgrims. Further researches in the Nepāl Terai may lead to the discovery of some trustworthy indication as to the site of the old city. To some of the Buddhist writers it was evidently a frontier or a foreign place beyond what was known to them as Jambudvīpa or India. It has been identified with the Devadaha or Koli of the Sakyas mentioned in the romances about the origin of the family from which Gautama Buddha sprang, and there is much in favour of the identification.

KUŚINAGARA.

Continuing his narrative the pilgrim relates that "from this" (that is apparently, from the vicinity of the Embers Tope) he went north-east through a great forest, the road being a narrow dangerous path, with wild oxen and wild elephants, and robbers and hunters always in wait to kill travellers, and emerging from the forest he reached the country of *Kou-shih-na-ka-lo* (Kuśinagara). The city walls were in ruins, and the towns and villages were deserted. The brick foundations of the "old city" (that is,

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[1] Rockhill, Life' p. 145 and 147: As. Res. Vol. XX. p. 315.

the city which had been the capital) were above ten *li* in circuit; there were very few inhabitants the interior of the city being a wild waste.

Here, it will be noticed, the pilgrim departing from his usual custom does not give the distance which he travelled. Fa-hsien, however, tells us that the distance from the Embers Tope east to Kuśinagara was twelve yojanas[1] (about 480 *li*), and the Fang-chih gives the distance as 500 *li*. As the Embers Tope was about 50 miles from Rāmagrāma the distance from that city to Kuśinagara was apparently about 140 or 150 miles in an easterly direction. Then in one of the Nirvāṇa sūtras we are told that from Rājagaha to Kuśinagara was a journey of twelve yojanas.[2]

The utter ruin and desolation of the city and district of Kuśinagara are noted by Fa-hsien, one of whose expressive terms about the solitude of the capital is applied to it by our pilgrim.

Within the capital in its north-east corner was an Asoka tope on the site of the house of *Chun-tê* (Chunda), and on the premises was a well dug at the time when [Chunda] was making preparations for the entertainment [of the Buddha and his disciples] the water of which had remained clear and fresh.

For the words "Within the capital" here the Chinese is *Ch'êng-nei*. This is the reading in all the texts except B which has the faulty reading *Ch'êng-mên* or "City gate", the reading which Julien had before him.

The story of Chunda the blacksmith giving the Buddha his last breakfast is told in several books. But in these Chunda is generally described as a resident of Pāvā and as giving the great entertainment there. Thus the "Yu-hsing-ching", the Pali "Mahā-Parinibbāna sutta" or "Sūtra of the Great Decease", and a Tibetan work, all make Pāvā to be the place of Chunda's residence and the scene of the beakfast to the Buddha.[3] In the Mahāyānist

[1] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 24.

[2] Ta-pan-nie-pan-ching, *ch.* 17 (No. 114).

[3] Yu-hsing-ching in Ch'ang-a-han-ching, *ch.* 3; 'Buddhist Suttas'

sūtra Ta-pan-ni-huan-ching, however, it is at Kuśinagara that Chunda lives, and entertains Buddha and his disciples.[1] Fa-hsien does not make mention of Chunda's house in Kusinagara; and our pilgrim's account may have been derived from books rather than from personal knowledge. He had evidently read Mahā-Parinirvāṇa sūtra in the translation by Dharmaraksha made about A. D. 420. When Buddha intimated his acceptance of the invitation to breakfast from Chunda, the latter set himself to prepare a great feast. In the Pali Mahāparinibbāna Sutta Chunda, the artificer's son, is represented as setting before the Buddha on this occasion a dish of *sūkaramaddava*. No one of the disciples was allowed to eat of this particular food, and what remained over was buried in the ground. The word sūkaramaddava has been generally understood to mean a preparation of pig's flesh; and Dr. Rhys Davids translates it in one place by "dried boar's flesh", and in another place by "tender pork"[2]. But he is not satisfied with the interpretations and explanations given of the word, and he is evidently inclined to regard it as a name for some vegetable article of food. This view is taken also by K. E. Neumann who gives reasons for regarding the word as denoting some kind of edible fungus.[3] Now it is remarkable that neither in the Tibetan, nor in any of the Chinese accounts of the death of the Buddha is there any mention of pork at the last breakfast. Nor is it mentioned in the Mahāyānist books on the Great Decease, nor in the account of Chunda's feast given in the Sarvata Vinaya. In the "Yu-hsing-ching" the dainty reserved by Chunda for the Buddha is called "Sandal-wood-tree-ear", or "San-

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by Dr Rhys Davids p. 70 (S. B. E. Vol. XI); Rockhill's 'Life', p. 182 note 2 and p. 133.

[1] *Ch.* 3 (No. 120). So also in the Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 118).

[2] 'Buddhist Suttas', p. 72; 'Questions of king Milinda', Vol. I p. 243 and note.

[3] 'Die Reden Gotamo Buddho's', vol. I, p. XIX

dal-wood-ear".[1] By these names is probably indicated a tree-fungus, or some aromatic mushroom. In the Chinese language a common name for any parasitical tree-fungus is *mu-erh* (木耳) or "tree-ear", and among Buddhist monks and their friends mushrooms are well known as *Ho-shang-jou* or "Monks' flesh-meat". I agree with Neumann that the pious blacksmith was not likely to cook pickled pork for the Buddha, and think that *fungus* or *mushroom* should be taken to be the meaning of sūkara-maddava.

The pilgrim now goes on to describe the scene of the Buddha's Parīnirvāṇa, the Great Decease. He states that three or four *li* to the north-west of the capital, on the other side of the Ajitavati river, and not far from the west bank of the river, was the Śāla Grove. The Śāla tree he describes as like the the Chinese oak with a greenish-white bark and very glossy leaves. Among the Sāl trees of the grove were four of extraordinary size, and it was at these the *Ju-lai* passed away. In the large brick temple (or chaitya, *ching-shê*) at the place was an image (or representation) of *Ju-lai-nie-pan* (that is, of the Buddha dead) lying with his head to the north. Beside this temple was a tope, built by Asoka, which though in ruins was still above 200 feet high. In front of the tope was a stone pillar, on which were recorded the circumstances of the Buddha's decease, but the day and the month were not given. The pilgrim, however, ascertained from records that the Buddha lived 80 years, and died on the last day of the month Vaiśakha (April-May), but the Sarvastivadins held that he passed away on the 8th day of the second half of the month Kārttika (October-November). There were also the pilgrim adds, differences of statement as to the time which had elapsed since the Buddha's death, some authorities giving above 1200 years, some 1300, some 1500, and some only above 900 and under 1000.

As to the river mentioned in this passage, a note added to the text explains the word Ajitavati as meaning *wu-shêng* (無勝) or "Invincible", and adds that this was the general name for the river at the pilgrim's time. It also state that an old name for this river was *A-li-lo-po-t'i*; but the second character in the transcription has been

[1] Chung-a-han-ching l. c.

shown to be a mistake; it should be replaced by *i* (夷), giving the name Airāvati. Another designation for this river is given in the note as *Shi-la-na-fa-ti*, that is Siranyavati for Hiranyavati, with *ho* added, explained as meaning "the river with gold". It was evidently a variety of this last name which Fa-hsien transcribed by *Hi-lien* (希 連).

The Buddhist books do not give us much information as to the situation, relative to Kuśinagara, of the place at which the Buddha died. Bigandet, probably quoting from a Pali authority, tells us that the forest of Sal trees was to the south-west of the city.[1] The "Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta" merely gives the scene of the Great Decease as the "sāla grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinārā, on the further side of the river Hiranyavati".[2] With this the description in the "Lien-hua-mien-ching" agrees closely,[3] and the other accounts are similar. Fa-hsien places the Sal Grove on the Hiranyavati river, and to the north of the city Kuśinagara. Instead of the tope which Yuan-chuang here mentions, as having been built on the spot by Asoka, we find a chaitya in the Divyavadāna.[4] It is worthy of notice that the place at which the Buddha passed away for ever was the only object pointed out to Asoka by Upagupta while the two were at Kuśinagara.

We have next our pilgrim's accounts of the Francolin and Deer Jātakas apropos of two topes near the Temple of the Buddha's Decease said to commemorate the events which form the culminating points of these stories. In the former Jātaka as related by the pilgrim the Francolin, that is the P'usa, by his earnestness of speech and action, induces Indra to put out a forest fire which was making great havoc among the living creatures in this district. In the latter Jataka the Deer, that is the P'usa, at the expense of his own life saves the other creatures of the forest here, who fleeing from a great fire were being drowned in their attempt to cross the river. The tope over the remains of the P'usa-Deer, who was drowned after saving the

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1 Bigandet, 'Legend' Vol. II. p. 46.
2 Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist Suttas', p. 85.
3 Lien-hua-mien-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 465).
4 p. 394.

last of the animals, the lame hare, was built, according to Yuan-chuang, at this place by the devas.

The two Jātakas here summarized are told with some differences of detail in other works. Thus in the "Francolin Jātaka" as told in a wellknown śāstra the bird soaks his feathers in water, and then shakes himself in the burning forest; when Indra tries the sincerity of his compassion the Francolin says he is ready to go on until death; by the force of his merit and faith the fire is extinguished and since that time the forest has enjoyed an exemption, from great conflagrations.[1] In other versions of the Deer Jātaka instead of a *lame hare* we have a *fawn* as the last creature to be saved. This last animal was Subhadra in a previous birth, and as a man Subhadra was the last to be saved from sin and sorrow by the Buddha.[2]

Near the tope of the Life-saving Deer, the pilgrim next relates, was a tope which had been erected on the spot where Subhadra died, and we are treated to a short account of the circumstances attending the conversion, ordination, and death of this man as Yuan-chuang knew them. When the Buddha was on his death-bed and on the day before he died Subhadra, who was a brahmin teacher 120 years old, came to the Twin Trees to see Buddha, and obtain from him the solution of some doubts and difficulties. Ananda refused to admit the old enquirer fearing he would weary the Master, but Subhadra urged his request and he was finally admitted. Then addressing the Buddha he said— "There are the self-styled Masters of the [six] other Communities all with different systems of doctrine which they teach for the guidance of lay-people— Does Gautama know these all'? To this the Buddha made answer— "I have made myself thoroughly acquainted with them all, and will describe them to you". When Subhadra heard this, he believed and understood with pure mind, and then he prayed to be admitted into the Order. Buddha then told him that a four years' probation was required before the professed adherent of another system could receive ordination as a bhikshu in the Buddhist brotherhood The probation, he said, was to allow the conduct and disposition of the applicant to be observed, and if his deportment were found to be correct, and his language truthful, he could become a

[1] See Ta-chih-tu-lun, *ch.* 16.

[2] Cf. Rockhill's 'Life', p. 136; Bud. Lit. Nep. p. 80.

bhikshu— "But it depends on the individual's conduct", added the Buddha, "and there is no difficulty [in your case]". To this Subhadra replied— "The Lord is compassionate and an impartial Saviour. Let there be four years of probation; my three organs [mouth, body, and mind] will be in accordance with what is right". To this the Buddha replied— "I have already said— "it depends on the individual's conduct" ". So Subhadra was admitted into the Order, and ordained as a bhikshu. He thereupon devoted all his energies to the attainment of spiritual perfection, and early in the night realized in himself the state of arhatship. Then as he could not bear to see the death of the Master he, in the presence of the congregation, made miraculous manifestations and passed away by the samādhi of elemental fire.

This version of the story of Subhadra follows to a large extent the "Yu-hsing-ching", sometimes using the very words of that interesting sūtra. But the narrative of the conversion, ordination, and death of this last disciple is told also in several other treatises. We find, moreover, mention of a work called the "Sūtra of the Brahmachārin Subhadra", but the account given in it differs in some important points from that given in the other books.[1] According to the "Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching" and the "Yu-hsin-ching" Subhadra was a Brahmachārin, and according to the "Ta-pan-nie-pan-ching", the "Tsa-a-han-ching", Mr. Rockhill's Tibetan text, and the Sarvata Vinaya, he was a parivrājika.[2] Nearly all authorities describe him as a feeble old man of 120 years residing in Kuśinagara, We are also told that he was a man of great learning and wisdom, possessing superhuman powers, and held in high esteem by the inhabitants of Kusinagara who regarded him as an arhat. He had been puzzled, however, by difficulties in religious matters caused by the disputes and conflicting doctrines of the six (in one treatise eight) great religious teachers of his time, and by the inconsistencies in the lives of those men. Then at a later period of his life the Sakya Gautama had arisen as a new leader with

[1] Ta-chih-tu-lun, *ch.* 3.

[2] Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching, *ch.* 37; Chang-a-han-ching, *ch.* 4; Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching, *ch.* 3 (No. 118); Tsa-a-han-ching, *ch.* 35; Rockhill's Life l. c.; Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih, *ch.* 38.

new doctrines about karma and nirvāṇa and had instituted a new Brotherhood. So now hearing that Gautama had come to the suburbs of Kusinagara in a dying state, the old saint went to see him and learn from him the truth about his own system and the systems of the six Teachers. Finding Ananda keeping guard he asked to be admitted to the Master; but Ananda refused him admission and repeated the refusal to the old man's renewed petition. The reason which Ananda gave was that the Master was in great pain and dying, and so was not to be disturbed. But the Buddha hearing the conversation, ordered that the enquirer be allowed to see him and Subhadra was admitted. After due salutation performed the old saint being encouraged by Buddha stated his difficulties. The six Teachers, he said naming them, all disagreed and he wanted to know which of them was right; were they, as they professed to be, omniscient? Were they higher in attainments than or otherwise superior to Gautama himself? were they right in their tenets as to what constituted a Śramaṇa?[1] Replying to Subhadra the Buddha, according to one account, says that before he left home to become a religious mendicant all the world was beguiled by the Six Teachers and that he had not seen the reality of a Śramana among them.[2] Then the Buddha goes on to say—"At the age of 29 years, Subhadra, I became a mendicant to learn the way of life (*tao*): at the age of 36 years under the Bodhi tree I thought out thoroughly the Eight-fold holy path, gained perfect spiritual insight, and acquired omniscience. I then went to Benares and taught the Four Truths to Ājñāta Kaundinya and the four others. When these men got on the track of the way of life the name *Śramaṇa* was pronounced for the first time". In the Pali Mahā-Parinibbāna-sutta the Buddha says to Subhadra, according to Dr. Rhys Davids's translation—

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[1] See 'Buddhist Suttas' p. 108; Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching, *ch.* 36 (No. 114); Fo-pan-nie-huan-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 552).

[2] Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 118).

"But twenty-nine was I when I renounced
The world, Subhadda, seeking after good.
For fifty years and one year more, Subhadda,
Since I went out, a pilgrim have I been
Through the wide realms of virtue and of truth,
And outside these no really 'saint' can be.'[1]

Exception may be taken to this rendering though it is followed in the German translation by Hardy in his "Der Buddhismus".[2] One Chinese version of the passage gives us the following— "When I was twenty-nine years old I became an ascetic to seek goodness *(shan-tao)*. Subhadra, fifty years have gone since I became Buddha: the practice of discipline, samādhi, and spiritual wisdom I now declare the essentials of my system: outside of it there is not a śramaṇa."[3] In other books the Buddha tells Subhadra that for fifty years he had thought in solitude on the practice of samādhi, a pure life, and spiritual wisdom. These Chinese translations were apparently made from Sanskrit originals, and not from the Pali text here given. Thus the mention of samādhi must be due to the presence of a word meaning "practising samādhi", and probably the phrase "and one year more" is not the meaning of samādhikāni in the Pali text. Then for "through the wide realms" (padesavatti) the Sanskrit was probably pradeśavartin, which the translators took to mean "occupied with the exposition of". The last line of the quotation is a separate sentence, as the text

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[1] The original is—

Ekūnatiṃso vayasā Subhadda
Yaṃ pabbajiṃ kiṃkusalānuesī.
Vassāni paññāsasamādhikāni
Yato ahaṃ pabbajito Subhadda,
Ñāyassa dhammassa padesavattī.
Ito bahiddhā samaṇo pi n'atthi.

Dīgha, II. 149 (P. T. S.).

[2] S. 44. See also Mr Warren's version in 'Buddhism on Translations', p. 106.

[3] Chang-a-han-ching ch. 4. See also Tsa-a-han-ching ch. 35.

shews, and means— "Outside of Buddhism there is no Śramaṇa."[1]

The Buddha next proceeds to communicate to Subhadra the Four Noble Truths and the Eight-fold Path, teaching him that it is only in a religion which has these there can be a true śramaṇa proceeding through the three inferior stages to the perfection of arhatship.[2] Subhadra is delighted with the Buddha's teaching, professes himself a convert, and prays to be ordained a bhikshu. Buddha in reply to this request tells Subhadra that a professed disciple of another system is required to be four months on probation before he can be ordained as a Buddhist bhikshu. But he adds that there "is an individual difference", that is, that individual applicants of known good character may be ordained without undergoing a period of probation. Subhadra, however, according to the Mahā-Parinibbāna-sütta and the Yu-hsing-ching replies that he is ready to undergo a probation of *four years*. But an exception is made in his favour and he is at once ordained, the difference being made on account of his high moral and religious reputation. Immediately after his ordination Subhadra applies himself earnestly to the work of self-perfection, and in a very short time becomes an arhat. As he cannot bear to see the Buddha die, having obtained the desired permission, he passes away before the Buddha.

In some Buddhist treatises the story of the last disciple

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[1] But some of the Chinese versions do not seem to have separated the last line from the one before. If a full stop is not put at *padesavatti* we may perhaps take the two lines as meaning something like this— "engaged in teaching the rule of life and true religion, and outside of these there is no samaṇa". By *nyāya* here is meant, we are told, the Eightfold path as a practical rule of conduct, and by *dhamma* the religious teaching of Buddha guiding opinion and belief, and without these there was no samaṇa.

[2] Buddha makes a similar statement to his bhikshus in *Ch.* 26 *of* the Chung-a-han-ching— "In *this* are the samaṇas of the four degrees and outside *of this* there are not samaṇa brahmins: all other systems are void and without samaṇa brahmins". The *this* of the above extract, the *ito* and *idha* of Pali, means "my religion", Buddha's system.

is told without any mention of a rule as to four months' probation,[1] and in others the rule is made after Subhadra's ordination.[2] The Vinaya gives the rule; but all Sakyas, Jaṭilas and Fire-worshippers were to be exempt from its operation.[3] So also in the Wu-fên Vinaya and the Ssŭ-fên Vinaya we have the rule made, and in the latter treatise the circumstances which led to its being made are given.[4] In representing Buddha as telling Subhadra that the rules required four *years'* probation Yuan-chuang apparently makes a slip, as there is no mention of such a rule in the canonical books. Subhadra's profession of readiness to undergo a four years' probation reminds us of the ordination of the naked ascetic Kāśyapa. When the latter was told that he must go through four months' probation before he could be ordained he expressed his willingness to let the months be years.[5]

The pilgrim continuing his narrative tells us that beside the tope of Subhadra's Decease was one on the spot at which the Vajrapāṇi fell to the ground in a swoon. He then describes the circumstances of this incident as follows— The Lord of great compassion who made his beneficial appearance at the proper time (that is, the Buddha) having accomplished his work entered the bliss of Extinction lying with his head to the north at the Twin Sāla trees The Vajrapāṇi deity Guhyapadi (?)-Malla seeing that the Buddha had gone into Extinction cried out in sorrow— "The Ju-lai has abandoned me and gone into the Great Nirvāna; I have no one in whom to put my trust, no one to protect me, the arrow of distress (lit. poison-arrow) has entered deep and the fire of sorrow is burning me fiercely" Then throwing down his vajra (adamant club) he fell in a swoon to the ground. Recovering consciousness he condoled with the others over their common loss in the death of the

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[1] *e. g.* Tsa-a-han-ching *ch.* 35; Fo-pan-ni-huan-ching *ch.* 2; Ta-chih-tu-lun *ch.* 3.

[2] Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching *ch.* 2 (No. 118): Rockhill's 'Life' p. 139 where the Sakyas and Jaṭilas are excepted from the operation of the rule.

[3] Vin. I. 69, 71. Cf. the Sabhiya Sutta in S. B. E. Vol. X. p. 95.

[4] Wu-fên-lü *ch.* 17; Ssŭ-fên-lü *ch.* 34.

[5] Chang-a-han-ching *ch.* 16; Digha Nik. Vol. I. p. 176 (P. T. S.).

Buddha their Light and Saviour in the ocean of mortal existence.

The words here rendered "the Vajrapāṇi deity Guhyapadi (?) - Malla" are in the original *chih-chin-kang-shên-mi-chi-li-shi* (執金剛神密迹力士), which Julien translates— "Alors des génies, armés d'une massue de diamant". Here, to pass over smaller matters, we find that the last four characters of the original are omitted from the translation. The whole of the passage, which is evidently derived from an old Chinese translation of a sūtra, refers to the conduct of the yaksha Vajrapāṇi-Guhyapadi (?)-Malla at the moment of the Buddha's death. Our author's *chih-chin-kang* (in other works *Chin-kang*, or *chin-kang-shu* (手) "adamant hand") is for Vajrapāṇi: *Mi-chi*, or "secret traces", the personal name of the Yaksha, is supposed to be for "Guhyapadi", but there is also the rendering *pi-mi-chu*, or "Lord of the secret", which seems to require a form like Guhyapati: then *li-shi* or "athlete" is for Malla. This Yaksha had for many years been a devoted personal attendant on the Buddha whom he accompanied on the great aerial journey to the far north.[1] He always bore in one hand an adamantine club or hammer, and hence his epithet Vajrapāṇi. With this club he was always ready to smash a rock, or a man's head, in the service of the Master. When the Nirgrantha of Vaiśāli would not answer Buddha's question Vajrapāṇi threatened to break his head in seven pieces.[2] So also in the Dīgha-Nikāya, when Ambaṭṭha sullenly refuses to speak out, "Vajirapāṇi yakkho" threatens to smash his head in seven pieces with his blazing-hot hammer.[3] This yaksha is represented as joining the Buddhist Church, "seeing truth" and becoming a bodhisattva. As a p'usa he preaches on prajñā pāramitā to a great congregation, but he is still a chief of yakshas with a palace in the wild land of the

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[1] Sar. Vin. Yao-shih *ch.* 9.

[2] Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching *ch.* 30.

[3] Ambaṭṭha sutta (D. 1. 95) and Sum. Vil. Vol. I. p. 264 (P. T. S.).

demons.[1] Yuan-chuang and Fa-hsien seem to know of only one Vajrapāṇi at the death of the Buddha, and other authors also mention only one.[2] But there may have been in the opinion of all narrators a company of yakshas present with *Mi-chih* at their head. Indeed the Lien-hua-mien-ching makes this Vajrapāṇi the chief of millions of yakshas all present at the Buddha's decease.[3] Yuan-chuang, we have seen, calls him a *shên* or *god*, but it is not right to identify him, as some have done, with Indra (Sakko). The throwing down of his club by Vajrapāṇi, his falling in a swoon, and his exclamations of sad despair, are all related in various Chinese treatises.

The pilgrim proceeds to relate that near the tope of Vajrapāṇi's Swoon was another tope to mark the spot at which the newly deceased Buddha was worshipped for seven days by the devas. He tells us that as the Ju-lai was dying (lit. about to be extinguished) a bright light shone everywhere. All present were moved with sorrow and they said one to another— "The Lord of great enlightenment is now about to pass into extinction: the religious merit (that is, the means of acquiring merit) of creatures is exhausted and the world is resourceless." But the Buddha as he lay on his right side on his bed said to the multitude— "Say not the Ju-lai is undergoing final extinction: his spiritual presence abides for ever aloof from all change: ye should cast off sloth and seek betimes for Emancipation (that is, Nirvāṇa)." The bhikshus, however, continued to wail and weep until Aniruddha rebuked them saying— "Stop, lament not: the devas will chide you". When the Mallas had performed their services of reverence to the dead body of the Buddha they wished to remove the coffin to the place of cremation, but Aniruddha made them leave it where it was for seven days. This he did at the desire of the devas who wished to pay worship to the Buddha's body. Then the devas came through the air, bearing exquisite celestial flowers, and chanting the praises of Buddha, and then they offered worship to his body.

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[1] Ta-chi-tu-lun ch. 88: Ta-pao-chi-ching, *chs.* 8 to 14. (No. 23 (3)).

[2] Fo-ju-nie-p'an-mi-chi-chin-kang-li-shi-ai-lien-ching (No. 1882), that is, The Sūtra of the loving distress of Guhyapada (?) Vajrapāṇi Malla on the Buddha's nirvāṇa.

[3] Ch. 2.

In this very interesting passage the words "his spiritual presence" represent the Chinese *fa-shên* (法身), a term which has occurred already in the account of Kapitha and we are to meet with it again. The *fa-shên* of the Buddha is explained in several ways by the different schools. Thus it is the "body of religion", that is, the canon of scripture, or the teachings of all Buddhas. This includes the unwritten traditions, the doctrines and practices of all true Buddhist teachers from Kāśyapa downwards.[1] In a very interesting old treatise, with which Yuan-chuang was evidently familiar, we find the Buddha in his last instructions to his disciples saying to them—"Henceforth the observances of all my disciples in succession constitute the Tathāgata's *fa-shên* eternal and imperishable". Then the *fa-shên* is also the "spiritual body" of the Tathāgata, that is, the eternal immutable substance which is Buddha in all phases and changes of his material existence, and which survives these accidents for ever. "Buddha," we read, "means an individual, *fa-shên* means the eternal."[2] Again we are told that "the Ju-lai's (Tathāgata's) body is one which abides for ever, it is indestructible, adamantine, independent of the various kinds of food, it is the *fa-shên*". It was perhaps in this latter sense that the Mahāyānists interpreted the term as used by the Buddha to his disciples on his death-bed. The reader will notice that in the above passage Yuan-chuang, following the Yu-hsing-ching, represents Aniruddha (in other texts Anaruddha and Anuruddha) as requesting the Brethren to cease wailing *otherwise the devas will chide them.* This confirms Dr. Rhys Davids's reading and translation in the "Book of the Great Decease",— "Even the spirits, brethren, will reproach us".[3] According to most authorities it was not the "gold coffin" containing the Buddha's body which

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[1] Chiao-shêng-fa-shu *ch.* 5 (No. 1636), Fo-chui-pan-nie-p'an-liao-shuo-chiao-chie-ching (No. 122).

[2] Ta-pan-ni-huan-ching *ch.* 2; Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching *ch.* 3 (No. 113).

[3] 'Buddhist Suttas', p. 119 and note.

was kept for seven days at the place where he died but only the body itself on a bier also called "golden". It was not until the body was removed to the place of cremation that it was swathed and coffined, but there is also authority for our pilgrim's version of the story.

Yuan-chuang next relates that near the place where the Golden Coffin was detained for seven days there was a tope to commemorate the weeping of the lady Mahāmāyā, the Buddha's mother, over her dead son. As soon as the deceased Ju-lai was coffined Aniruddha ascended to Paradise and informed Māyā of the death of the Buddha. When that lady received the news she at once came down with a company of devas to the place where the coffin rested at the Twin Sâl trees. While she was weeping at the sight of her son's bowl, and robe, and staff, and lamenting the helpless state of mankind deprived of their Light and Lord, the coffin-lid was raised by the Buddha's power, and he sat up in the coffin with folded hands, and addressed some words of farewell comfort to his mother, as a lesson for the unfilial of after times, as he stated to Ānanda in reply to the latter's question.

The story of Mahā Māyā coming down from her place in Paradise to weep over her dead son the Buddha, is told in several Buddhist treatises. Yuan-chuang had evidently read it in the "Mahāmāyā-ching" with the account in which his largely agrees.[1] Some of his expressions such as "the happiness of men and devas is exhausted", "the world's eye is extinguished", occur in that treatise. It also gives Ānanda's question as to how the occurrence was to be described for the benefit of posterity and the Buddha's reply. It is to be noted that the older Nirvāṇa treatises such as the "Mahā-Parinibbāna-sutta", the "Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching", and the "Fo-pan-ni-huan-ching", do not make any mention of Mahā Māyā, coming down to weep over her dead son.

Continuing his description the pilgrim relates that to the north of the city, above 300 paces on the other side of the river, was a tope at the place of the Buddha's cremation. He states that the ground there was still of a yellowish black colour, the soil

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[1] Mahāmāyā-ching *ch.* 2 (No. 382).

having a mixture of ashes and charcoal, and that people praying there in perfect good faith might get relics. The Buddha's coffin, he tells us, was made of the seven precious substances, his body was wrapped in 1000 folds of cotton: with incense and flowers and banners and sunshades the Mallas bore the coffin, and formed an escort to it, crossing to the north of the Golden River. Using abundance of fragrant oil and sweet-scented wood they set fire to the pile; the fold of cotton next the body and the outside fold remained unburnt; for the sake of living creatures the rest of the body (*shê-li* for sarira) was reduced to atoms (lit. separated and dispersed), the hair and nails alone remaining uninjured.

In placing the tope of the cremation of Buddha to the north of Kuśinagara Yuan-chuang follows the Yu-hsing-ching but differs from nearly all the other authorities. According to the Pali and Tibetan texts and the "Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching" the cremation occurred outside of the east gate of the city, while the "Pan-ni-huan-ching" and other texts describe it as taking place outside the west gate. The particular spot where it occurred was at the Malla's Makuṭa (or Makula)-bandhana-chaitya, in Csoma's translation from the Tibetan "the chaitya that has a head ornament tied on by the champions".[1] *Makuṭa-bandhana* means a *diadem-band* or *turban*, and the name of the spot is rendered in Chinese by *T'ien-kuan-chih-t'i* (天冠支提) the "Chaitya of the Deva (or Royal) tiara", and by *Chuang-shi-hi-kuan* (壯士繫冠) *chih-t'i*, the "Chaitya of the Mallas' diadem-binding. In some texts, however, we have the name transcribed *Chu-li-p'o-tan*, that is, the Chūli (for chūla or chūḍa)-bandhana with *tien* added, meaning the Shrine of Diadem-binding. We find also other names such as the *T'ien-kuan ssŭ*, and *Pao-kuan-chih-t'i* or the "Diadem chaitya". One account places the scene of cremation at the temple of the god *U-ch'a* (漚茶), perhaps for Ojas. outside the city on the west side.[2]

Beside the Cremation Tope, our pilgrim continues, was a tope

[1] As. Res. Vol. XX. p. 318. Cf. Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih *ch.* 37 where we have a similar rendering of the name.

[2] There is also the reading 漚荼 for oṭa, the name of a wild animal, and also of a god or demon. Pan-ni-huan-ching *ch.* 2.

on the spot where the dead Buddha put his feet out of the coffin to show them to Mahākāśyapa. When the Ju-lai's golden coffin had descended, he relates, and the funeral pile was ready it could not be ignited. Aniruddha explained to the trembling crowd that the cremation could not take place until Kāśyapa was present. When the latter arrived from the forest with his 500 disciples he asked Ānanda to allow him to see the Buddha's body. As this was swathed in 1000 folds of cloth Ānanda refused to open the coffin, but the dead Buddha caused the lid to rise, and then put out his feet to let Kāśyapa see them. This disciple observing that the feet were discoloured, asked Ānanda for the explanation, and was told that the stains were due to the excessive weeping of the crowds of devas and men at the moment of the Buddha's death. When Kāśyapa had finished his services of honour to the deceased Master the sweet-scented wood was spontaneously ignited, and made a great fire.

The story of Mahā Kāśyapa and the coffined Buddha condensed in this passage agrees, as to the chief circumstances, with the other accounts of the incident. When Yuan-chuang writes of the "gold coffin descending" he means from the air into which it had soared, and not from "la litière" as Julien writes. At the time of Buddha's death Kāśyapa was at Pāvā according to some authorities,[1] but according to others he was on the Gridhrakūta mountain near Rājagaha or at the Dakshiṇagiri (?).[2] A supernatural light and earthquake disturbed his meditation, and by his divine sight he saw his master attain parinirvāṇa at the Twin Trees, and immediately set out with his disciples for that place. In some versions of the story Kāśyapa does not ask Ānanda's permission to have the coffin opened, the Buddha spontaneously showing his feet to him as a mark of favour. The reason why Kāśyapa wanted to see the body was that he could not tell where was head and where were feet, and he wished to prostrate himself at his dead Master's feet. Then the stains on the Buddha's feet are in some treatises ascribed to the gushing tears of a poor old woman, a lay member of the

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[1] Chang-a-han-ching *ch.* 4; Pan-ni-huan-ching *ch.* 2.

[2] Sāng-ki-lü *ch.* 32; Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching *ch.* 3.

church, One of the reproaches afterwards brought against Ananda was that he had through negligence thus allowed the dead Buddha's feet to be stained by tears.

The pilgrim next tells of the Asoka tope which was beside the one last mentioned. This Asoka tope was at the place where the Buddha's relics were divided among the eight kings, and in front of it was a stone pillar recording the circumstances. Yuan-chuang relates that after the Buddha's cremation eight kings came, with their armies, and using the services of the brahmin *Chih-hsing* (直性), "Honest nature," begged the Mallas of Kuśinagara to give them shares of the relics. The Mallas rudely refused, and the kings were about to wage war when Chih-hsing became mediator. Acting on his advice all agreed to have the relics distributed equally among the eight kings. Then Indra claimed a share for the gods, and the Dragon-kings also claimed a share. So the brahmin divided the relics into three lots, one for the gods, one for the Dragon-kings, and the third was subdivided into eight shares for the kings. The gods, dragons, and kings were all deeply affected.

This account of the division of the relics differs in some respects from that generally followed. There were not eight kings at the division of the Buddha's relics as the pilgrim, following certain sūtras, seems to teach. We read in most of the books on the subject that the relics were distributed among the deputies of eight cities or countries. These, according to the Maha-Parinibbana-sutta,[1] were the Mallas of Kusinārā, Ajātasattu rāja of Māgadha, the Licchavis of Vesāli, the Sakyas of Kapilavastu, the Bulayas of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, a brahmin of Veṭhadipo, and the Mallas of Pāvā. With one or two exceptions, which are perhaps only apparent, this list agrees with the Yu-hsing-ching, the Mahāmāyā-ching, and the Pan-ni-huan-ching. The name "Allakappa" seems to be found only in the Pali text, and instead of it some of the others have *Chê-lo-p'o* (遮羅頗)[2] or *Chê-p'o*, or they translate the name by *Yu-hêng* (有衡) "having scales" or a *balance*.[3] So also instead of Veṭhadipo, that is Vaishṭra-

[1] Ch. VI. (Digha, Vol II. p. 166.)
[2] Mahamāyā-ching (last page).
[3] Pan-ni-huan-ching *ch.* 2.

dvîpa, we have *Shên-chu*, the "Continent of the god", viz. Vishnu, (in the Tibetan translation *Khab-hjug*); or we have the name transcribed *P'i-liu-t'i* (short for Veṭhadîpo), and we read of the Licchavis or the brahmins of *P'i-liu-t'i*. In his account Yuan-chuang seems to combine in one person the envoy from Ajātasatru and the wise politic brahmin. The latter appears in the books under various names such as Droṇa (Doṇa), Dhūpa (*Hsiang* or Incense), Dhūma (*Yen* or Smoke), and *Mao-Küe*. The name which Yuan-chuang gives him, *Chi-hsing*, meaning *fair* or *honest* may be for Droṇasama which seems to have been the form of the name before Mr. Rockhill's Tibetan authority.[1] This may have been a sobriquet given in jest, as fairness in dealing was not a weakness of this brahmin. He tried to steal one of the Buddha's canine teeth, and he smeared the inside of the vase for the relics with honey or molasses in a clandestine manner, and thereby obtained a quantity of relics to which he was not entitled. The reader will observe that, according to the version of the story followed by Yuan-chuang, the Mallas of Kuśinagara did not get any share of the cremation relics of the Buddha. This is not in agreement with other versions and we even read of a great relic tope at the place of cremation.

The pilgrim now proceeds to relate that above 200 *li* south-west from the tope of the Division of the Relics was a large town. At it was a brahmin grandee who was a learned and pious Buddhist. This man, who was very wealthy, had built near his residence a magnificent establishment for the entertainment of travelling bhikshus. By Śaśanka's extermination of Buddhism the groups of Brethren were all broken up to the great distress of the brahmin. Some time before Yuan-chuang's visit this man had entertained a strange old Buddhist monk with bushy eyebrows and white hair. This old monk sighed as he tasted the boiled milk which the brahmin gave him, and told his host that the pure milk of the time was more insipid than the water at Rājagaha in which he, when attending Buddha had cleansed his bowl and washed. He revealed himself to his host to be Rāhula, the son of the Buddha, who for the

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[1] Rockhill, Life, p. 146 note.

maintenance of the true religion had abstained from passing into final extinction, and after making this statement he suddenly disappeared.

Rāhula is represented in some of the Buddhist scriptures as occasionally serving his father, and a passage in the Tsa-a-han-ching shews him attending Buddha in the Kalanda monastery at Rājagaha.[1] This disciple, according to some authorities, was to remain alive in the world until the time for the next Buddha's advent, when he dies to be reborn as that Buddha's son, or he passes away for ever.

Cunningham and Carlleyle fancied that they found the remains of Kuśinagara at Kasia in the south-east corner of Gorakhpur.[2] But there is nothing in their statements to make us accept the identification. These archæologists make much of a "colossal" image of Buddha in nirvāṇa, but there is no mention of any colossal image in Yuan-chuang's account of the district. Kuśinagara, as men have known it, was never a large city; and it owed its celebrity to the fact that in its neighbourhood the Buddha died and was cremated. It was much against Ānanda's wish that the master came here to die: he wanted the Buddha to pass away at some great city, not at this "contemptible little town", this "small wattel and daub town, a town in the midst of the jungle, a branch township." In a long ago past of which only the Buddha knew, it had been, Buddha relates, a magnificent city rich and prosperous, well-governed and of great renown[3] In Buddha's time it was a town of the Pāvā country noted chiefly as the home of the Mallas or Athletes. Very recently Mr. V. A. Smith[4] has shown conclusively that the Kasia of Cunningham and Carlleyle cannot be the Kusinārā or Kuśinagara of Buddhist

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[1] Tsa-a-han-ching *ch.* 38.
[2] Arch. Sur. Ind. Vol. XVIII. Pref. and p. 55.
[3] 'Buddhist Suttas' p. 99; Rockhill, Life, p. 136; Fo-pan-ni-huan-ching *ch.* 2; Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching *ch.* 29 (No. 118).
[4] J. R. A. S. for 1897 p. 919. The remains near Kasia in the Gorakhpur District &c. by Vincent A. Smith.

writers. It is possible, as has been conjectured, that with the help of the recent discoveries in the Nepalese Terai the site of this place also will be found in the Terai. In some Chinese translations Kapilavastu and Kuśinagara seem to be one place. Thus we read of the Buddha passing away at the Twin Trees to the north of the Sakya city Kapilavastu, and we find Kuśinagara described as "the Buddha's birth-place".[1]

[1] P'u-sa-ch'ü-t'ai-ching *ch.* 1 (No. 436); Chung-yin-ching *ch.* 1 (No. 466); Chang-a-han-ching *ch.* 2 (last page).

CHAPTER XIII.

CHUAN VII.

VÂRÂṆASĪ TO NEPÂL.

The narrative in the Records goes on to state that the pilgrim continued his journey from the large town which was 200 *li* south-west from Kuśinagara onward through the forest, and after travelling above 500 *li* he reached the Po-lo-na-se (Varanāsi or Vārāṇāsī) country (that is the city now called Benares).

The Fang-chih repeats the statement here made, but in the Life, which does not mention the large town, the distance from Kuśinagara to Varanāsi is given as only over 500 *li*, the direction not being given. Fa-hsien calls the country Kāśi and the capital *P'o-lo-na* (Baraṇā or Varanā),[1] and this distinction is observed by other writers. We also find these two names occasionally treated as convertible, but in Buddhist books Kāśi is seldom found as the designation of the city, and is generally applied to the country. Thus the fine cotton stuffs for which the Benares district was famous are called "Kāśi cloth". The sacred city is generally called Varaṇā or Vārāṇasi or Vāranāsi, and sometimes the district is included in this name. The latter form is the only one which Yuan-chuang seems to have known and, in his usual manner, he makes it include the city and the country.

The Varāṇasi District is described by our pilgrim as being above 4000 *li* in circuit. The capital reached to the Ganges on

[1] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 34.

its west side, and was about eighteen *li* long by five or six *li* wide. The city-wards were close together, and the inhabitants were very numerous and had boundless wealth, their houses being full of rare valuables. The people were gentle and courteous and esteemed devotion to learning; the majority of them believed in the other systems and only a few of them were Buddhists. The climate of the district was temperate, and the harvests were abundant; fruit and other trees grew densely and there was a luxuriant vegetation. There were above thirty Buddhist monasteries with more than 3000 Brethren all adherents of the Sammatiya school. Of Deva-Temples there were above 100, and there were more than 10000 professed adherents of the sects, the majority being devotees of Siva; some of these cut off their hair, others made it into a top-knot; some went about naked and some smeared themselves with ashes; they were persevering in austerities seeking release from mortal existance. Within the capital were 20 Deva-Temples and the narrative goes on to tell how their storeyed terraces and temple-eaves were of carved stone and ornamented wood; thickets of trees gave continuous shade and there were streams of pure water; there was a *t'u-shi* (bell-metal?) image of the Deva (probably Siva) nearly 100 feet high which was life-like in its awe-inspiring majesty.

It is to be noticed that in this passage the pilgrim places Vāranāsi on the *east* instead of on the *west* side of the Ganges. The Life gives the number of the Buddhist Brethren as 2000 and represents them as being Sarvāstivādins. Then there is nothing in the Life about the twenty Deva-Temples within the city, and this passage is probably corrupt. The text of the Records used by the compiler of the Fang-chih was apparently, for this passage, different from that of any of our editions. According to it the object of worship in the Deva-Temples was the lingam, and it was this which was 100 feet high. It is perhaps possible that Yuan-chuang may have written that among the Deva-Temples in the city was one to Siva which had twenty separate shrines or sacred buildings, and that he then proceeded to describe this great temple. His description of it seems to agree in many points with that given by Mr. Sherring of the ruins of Bakarīyā Kuṇḍ in the north-west corner of Benares. But Mr. Sherring is disposed to find in these ruins the remains of an ancient

Buddhist establishment.[1] But neither Fa-hsien nor Yuan-chuang has any mention of a grand establishment in the city corresponding to the buildings at Bakarīyā Kuṇḍ. Nor does the later Sung pilgrim know of such an establishment. This pilgrim places Vārāṇasi to the north of the Ganges, and on its bank, and he has two cities separated by five *li*.[2]

Our pilgrim proceeds to relate that to the north-east of the capital, and on the west side of the Po-lo-na (Barna) river, was an Asoka tope above 100 feet high. In front of this was a pillar of polished green stone, clear and lustrous as a mirror in which the reflection of the Buddha was constantly visible. Continuing his description the pilgrim states that at a distance of ten *li* north-east from the Barna river was the Deer-Park Monastery. This establishment, he says, was in eight divisions all enclosed within one wall; the tiers of balconies and the rows of halls were extremely artistic; there were 1500 Buddhist Brethren in the establishment all adherents of the Sammatiya School. Within the great enclosing wall was a temple (*ching-shê*) above 200 feet high surmounted by an embossed gilt *an-mê-lo* (amra or mango) fruit: the base and steps were of stone: in the brick portion above were more than 100 rows of niches each containing a gilt image of the Buddha; inside the temple was a *t'u-shi* (bell-metal?) image of the Buddha representing him in the attitude of preaching and as large as life

The monastery here described is the famous one in the Rishipatana Mṛigadāva, the Isipatana Migadāya of the Pali books, dating from the time of the Buddha. The Deer-Park is said in the Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya to have been half a yojana, and in the Fo-kuo-chi to have been ten *li*, distant from Vārāṇāsi, and in the Sung pilgrim's Itinerary it is placed above ten *li* north-west from that city. Our pilgrim's location of the Deer-Park seems to agree with a passage in the Hsing-chi-ching[3] which represents Buddha as going through the east gate of Vārāṇāsi to a place on the water (river) and thence going north

[1] 'The Sacred City of the Hindus', *ch.* XIX.
[2] Ma T. L. *ch.* 338.
[3] Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 33.

to the Deer-Park. In Chinese translations the name of the place is commonly given as *Hsien-jen-lu-ye-yuan* (仙人鹿野苑) or the "Deer Park of the Rishi". In the Divyāvadāna we have instead of "Rishipatana" the form "Rishivadana", and this explains the Chinese translation in the A-yü-wang-ching which has *Hsien-mien* or "Rishi-face".[1] I-ching and others sometimes translate the word Rishipatana literally by "the place of the rishi's fall (仙人墮處)", and we have also the rendering "the rishi's dwelling-place".[2] According to Fa-hsien the rishi who gave the name to the place was a Pratyeka Buddha who had lodged here as a hermit. When this recluse heard that "Suddhodana's son" was about to become Buddha he "took nirvāna", that is, died in this wood. The other part of the name, Mṛigadāva, is said to have been derived from the jātaka, related in this passage by the pilgrim, in which the Buddha and Devadatta in former births were rival chiefs of flocks of deer in this forest. Instead of "Mṛigadāva" or "Deer-forest" we find in some books "Mrigadāya" or "Deer-gift", and this explains the translation given by I-ching and others, *shih*(施)-*lu-ye* or *Shih-lu-lin*, the "Deer-gift Wood", the wood of charity to deer.

One of the buildings of the Deer-Park establishment, as Yuan-chuang has told us, was a Buddhist temple surmounted by an embossed gilt "amra fruit". The word *amra* (or āmra) denotes the *mango*, but we are not to take it in that sense here. It perhaps represents *āmalaka*, used by the pilgrim in the next *chuan* of the Records, the name of a common ornament of Hindu temples. The Sikhara, "tower" or "spire" of the temple, to borrow Mr. W. Simpson's description, "is surmounted by a member called the *āmalaka*, which is circular in plan, and might be likened to a cushion or a compressed melon: the outer surface ribbed. A *kalasa*, or jar, surmounts this as a pinnacle".

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[1] Divyāv. p. 393; A-yü-wang-ching *ch.* 2; The Divyāv. at p. 464 has *Rishivadana*. The Mahāvastu also uses both forms.

[2] Fo-shuo-san-chuan-fa-lun-ching (No. 658).

Another name for the ornament is "amra or amra-śilā" and it is supposed by some to have been a relic casket. But this seems unlikely; and Mr. Sinclair is perhaps right in regarding it as having been merely a stand or support for the jar (kalas).[1] It has also been supposed that the āmalaka is the "Dew-dish" of our pilgrim and other translators from Indian into Chinese. But this term is apparently transferred from native use, and not translated from the Sanskrit. With the old Chinese the "Dew-dish" was a cup, on a stand, placed in the open hand of an image or statue. Han Wu Ti in B. C. 115 caused such a figure, made of copper, to be set up on the artificial mound (or Terrace) which he had constructed.[2] This Dew-dish was intended to receive the dew from heaven, and such dew was supposed to confer immortality. It is to be noticed also that the Dew-dish is an ornament for a tope; while the amra is on the roof of a temple,[3] and in the present passage the amra is not associated with any other article. The temple here described was evidently a very recent one, and the life-size image of the Buddha in the attitude of preaching indicates the influence of Mahāyānism

To the south-west of the Buddhist Temple, the pilgrim proceeds, was a ruinous old stone tope built by Asoka of which 100 feet still remained above-ground. In front of this was a stone pillar, above 70 feet high, which had the softness of jade and was of dazzling brightness. Very earnest petitioners saw in it darkly various pictures, and it often showed good and bad (that is, lucky and unlucky) indications. This pillar was at the spot at which the Buddha, having attained enlightenment, first preached his religion

Near this monolith. the narrative tells us, was a tope to mark the place where Ajñāta Kauṇḍinya and his four companions settled in order to apply themselves to devotional meditation. These men had been practising austerities with the P'usa else-

[1] J. R. A. S. Vol. XX p. 54 and at pages 68, 272, 275, 545, and Vol. XXI. p 689 ff.

[2] T'ung-chien-kang-mu, Han Hsiao Wu Ti, Yuan-ting 2d yr.

[3] See P'u-sa-pên-shêng-man-lun ch. 4 (No. 1812).

where; and when they saw him give up the practice, they left him, and came to this place. The tope beside this marked the place where 500 Pratyeka Buddhas "entered nirvāṇa" at the same time; and there were three topes at the sitting places and exercise-walks of the Three Past Buddhas.

The pilgrim next tells of a tope at the place where, he says, *Mei-ta-li-ya* (Maitreya) P'usa received from the Buddha the prophecy of his future attainment of Buddhahood. He then explains that once, when the Ju-lai was on the Vulture Peak near Rājagaha, he announced to his disciples that at a distant period there would be born in Jambudvīpa a brahmin's son named Tzŭ (Maitreya) of a bright golden colour. This man, he adds, "will take orders and become Buddha. He will then on a large scale at three assemblies preach for the good of living creatures. Those whom he will save will be the creatures who sow good seed in my system, devoted to the Buddha, the Canon, and the Church. Whether lay or clerical, whether they keep or violate the Vinaya, all will receive religious teaching, become arhats, and attain emancipation. In the three Meetings in which Maitreya will preach he will ordain the disciples of my system, and then convert those religious friends who have the same destiny". Maitreya P'usa hearing these words of the Buddha rose from his seat and addressing the Buddha said— May I become this Maitreya Bhagavat. Buddha in reply intimated to Maitreya P'usa that he would become the Buddha of the prophecy, and carry out its predictions.

There is an extraordinary inconsistency of statement in this passage about the prediction to Maitreya P'usa; for while the tope is described as being near Benares at the place where the prediction was made, the prediction is said to have been made by the Buddha when at Rājagaha. As the story is not repeated either in the Life or the Fang-chih we cannot have any assistance from those works. Now there are several treatises which tell the story of the prediction of Buddhahood to Maitreya by the Buddha; but these treatises make the prophecy to have been delivered at a mountain near Rajagaha, or at Śrāvasti, and the prediction is made to Sāriputra, or Ānanda, and the congregation of disciples in the absence of Maitreya.[1] But the "*Fo-shuo-ku-lai-shih-shih-*

[1] Fo-shuo-Mi-lê-hsia-shêng-ching (No. 208), prophecy at Śrāvasti; Fo-shuo-Mi-lê-hsia-shêng-ch'êng-Fo-ching (No. 207) at Rājagaha; Fo-

ching" tells of the Buddha making the prediction while in the chapel of the Rishipatana Mrigadāva Monastery at Benares.[1] In this version of the story the prophecy is addressed to the bhikshu Maitreya, who is one of the congregation, and accepts the prophecy and the duties it is to bring. It was evidently this version of the story that the pilgrim followed; and the mention of the Griddhra-kuta, near Rajagaha, as the scene of the prediction is probably only a slip.

The three great religious gatherings, here called "Three Assemblies" (or Meetings), which are to be called by Maitreya Buddha, and at which he is to preach with great effect, are popularly known in Chinese Buddhist works as the "Lung-hua-san-hui", the "Three *Lung-hua* Meetings". They are to be held under Dragon-Flower (*Lung-hua*) trees; hence their name, the Dragon-Flower (or Champac) tree being the Bodhi-tree of Maitreya Buddha. In these Meetings, according to the prediction, Maitreya Buddha is to receive into his communion in all 282 Koṭis of converts, and those of his congregations who had in previous births been good Buddhists will then attain arhatship.

> To the west of the Maitreya-Prediction Tope, Yuan-chuang continues, was a tope at the place where Sakya P'usa (that is, the P'usa) as *Hu-ming* (護明) P'usa received from Kaśyapa Buddha the prophecy of his future attainment of Buddhahood with the name Sakyamuni. Near this tope was an artificial platform of dark-blue stone, above 50 *paces* long by seven feet high, which had been a walking-place of the Four Past Buddhas. On this was a standing image of the Ju-lai, grand and majestic, with long hair from the top of the head (from the ushnīsha), of noted and conspicuous miraculous powers.

In his translation of this passage Julien restores *Hu-ming*, "Light-protecting" as *Prabhāpāla* with the same meaning. But the Chinese rendering is probably for

shuo-Mi-lê-ta-ch'êng-Fo-ching (No. 209) on mountain in Magadha; Sar. Vin. Yao-shih *ch.* 6 prophecy made to the disciples on the way from Rājagaha to Vaiśāli.

[1] This is the "Fo-shuo-Mi-lê-lai-shih-ching (No. 205). See also the Shih-erh-yu-ching (No. 1374).

Jyotirpāla (Jotipāla in Pali) which was the name of the P'usa as the son of a brahmin in the time of Kāśyapa Buddha.

The Life describes the Exercise ground of the Four Past Buddhas as being 500 feet long by seven feet high, and represents it as having images of the four Buddhas.

> The pilgrim next tells of three Tanks, one to the west of the Monastery Wall, a second further west, and a third to the north of the latter. These were all regarded as sacred by the Buddhists and were jealously guarded by dragons.
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> Near these Tanks, Yuan-chuang continues, was a tope. He adds—while Ju-lai was fulfilling the career of a Bodhisattva he became a six-tusked elephant-king; a hunter to get the elephant's tusks disguised himself in a Buddhist monk's costume, drew his bow and captured the elephant-king: the latter, out of reverence for the monk's garb, tore out his tusks, and gave them to the hunter.

In the latter paragraph of this passage, it will be noted, there is no word for "place" in the short account of the tope, but the Life and Fang-chih state expressly that the tope was at the place where the elephant gave his tusks to the hunter. In the Life also the P'usa is a "six-tusked white elephant" giving his tusks to the hunter as an act of charity. To place the scene of this famous Jātaka at Benares is against all the versions of the story with which we are acquainted, and the pilgrim does not state that the tope was at the spot where the event occurred. According to some authorities the Chaddanta (six-tusked) elephant lived on the side of the Snow Mountains (Himavant), and according to others his home was to the south 3000 *li* and within several ranges of mountains. But the Jātaka is connected with Benares because it was to procure ivory for the queen of that district that the cruel hunter shot the elephant, the self-denying indefatigable candidate for Buddhahood. A full account of this very curious Jātaka will be found in M. Feer's articles in the Journal Asiatique for 1895 which give the variations of the different versions.[1]

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[1] See also Ta-chih-tu-lun ch. 12; and J. P. T. S. 1901. pp. 80—84.

Near the tope of the Tusk-extracting, the pilgrim proceeds, was another tope. This commemorated the action of the Ju-lai while fulfilling the career of a P'usa when in pity for the want of civility in the world he took the form of a bird; as such he and his friends a monkey and a white elephant asked each other which had been the first to see the banyan tree under which they were sitting. Each gave his experience and according to their statements they took precedence· the good influence of this proceeding gradually spread, men got civil order. and religious and lay people gave in their adherence.

This is a Jātaka told in the Vinaya and other treatises, the three friends being the Buddha, Maudgalyayāna, and Śāriputra in former births.[1] But the story as told in the Buddhist books has no connection whatever with Benares. and the reader will observe that again Yuan-chuang does not state that the tope was at the place where the event commemorated occurred. The story is related at Śrāvasti, or on the way thither, and the scene is laid on the side of the Himavant. According to the Jātaka the bird was a partridge and the tree a banyan, but the Ta-chih-tu-lun, calls the bird a *ka-pin-ja-lo*, and represents the three friends as living under a peepul tree.[2]

Beside this tope, in the great wood, Yuan-chuang relates, was a tope where the P'usa and Devadatta as Deer-kings settled an affair. To prevent the extermination of their two flocks of deer by the hunts of the king of the country it was arranged that an animal from each flock, on alternate days, should be given up to the king for the use of his table. When it came to be the turn of a doe big with young in Devadatta's flock the doe begged to be spared for a few days for the sake of her unborn fawn. The Devadatta Deer-chief refused to entertain her petition and the P'usa Deer-chief thereupon offered himself as substitute for the doe. This act of self-sacrifice moved the king to remorse, he released all the deer from the penalty of death, and gave them the wood as pasture land: hence arose the name, the Wood of Charity to the Deer.

The story of the P'usa as a Deer-king giving himself up as a substitute for a pregnant doe is told in one

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[1] Vin. II. 160–162; Chalmers' Jātaka p. 92 and note p. 95.
[2] Ta-chih-tu-lun *ch*. 12.

Buddhist book without any mention of another Deer-king as Devadatta in a former birth. The scene of the P'usa's act of self-sacrifice is not given in this treatise. But in another work the scene is laid in the wild country of Benares kingdom, and the king of the country is Brahmadatta. In this treatise there are two flocks of deer, one with the deer who was the P'usa as chief, and one with the Devadatta-deer as chief: the version of the Jātaka here given agrees closely with that in our text.[1]

> The pilgrim next tells us of a tope which was two or three *li* to the south-west of the great Buddhist establishment of the Deer-Park. This tope was above 300 feet high with a broad high base which was ornamented with precious substances; the tope had no storeys of niches for images, but it was covered by a dome, and it had a spire but without the circular bells. Beside this peculiar tope, the pilgrim tells us, was one which marked the place where Ajñātakaundinya and his four companions abandoned their decision to treat the Buddha with disrespect, and received him with the reverence due to a Master.

Here we have an account of the mission of these five men, and of the Prince Siddhartha becoming Buddha and converting and ordaining them. The story is told in many books in several languages, and is well known.

> Two or three *li* east from the Mrigadāva, the pilgrim continues, was a tope beside which was a dried-up tank called by two names, *Life-Saving* and *The Hero*.

We have then the very curious story which explains the origin of the names. It is not necessary to go over this long story of which Julien has given us a fair translation. But there is one passage in it on which we may dwell for a moment. While the Hero is keeping vigil in the temple he has a horrible nightmare in which he is killed. Thereupon, he says, he *shou-chung-yin-shên* (受中陰身) which Julien renders— "et je restai quelque temps dans ce triste état". But the meaning of the words is "in my intermediate state". *Chung-yin*, called also *chung-yu* (中

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[1] Liu-tu-chi-ching *ch.* 3; Ta-chih-tu-lun, *ch.* 76. Jātaka No. 12.

有), in Sanskrit "Antarābhava", denotes, as the passage cited in Julien's note shows, the "intermediate existence", the state in which the spirit or self remains, between its separation from one mortal body and its union with another.[1] Then from a different point of view the *chung-yin* is the being which, acting independently of parents and without their knowledge, animates their offspring and makes its destiny. To the production of a child there come three agents, the two parents and the tertium quid or *chung-yin* which makes the individual, gives character and fortune. In the story of the dream, in our text, as soon as the Hero was killed he became an antarābhava, and then was incarnated in a brahmin lady, transferring to his new bodily life the habit of silence enjoined on him in the previous existence. This term *chung-yin* is also applied by some authorities to one who, like a Buddha, having experienced final death (parinirvāṇa), is freed from all transient existence, but lives for ever in a state of being absolute and incommunicable.

To the west of the Hero's Tank was, the pilgrim tells us, the Tope of the Three Animals on the spot where the P'usa, as a hare, roasted himself. The mention of this tope leads the pilgrim to relate the Jātaka of the fox, the ape, and the hare providing food for Indra in the guise of a hungry old man. The hare was the P'usa, and Indra had come to observe and test his conduct. Pretending to be very hungry, the old man asked the fox and the other animals for food, and obtained from the fox a fish and from the ape some fruit, but the hare could not provide anything. When he was chidden for his inhospitality the hare caused his companions to make a fire and roasted himself on it to provide a meal for the old man. The latter resuming his proper form was greatly affected, and carrying the hare's corpse to the moon placed it there to go down to posterity. Since that event all speak of "the hare in the moon"; and men of after times erected a tope at the place of the roasting.

The abstract of the Hare Jātaka here given by our pilgrim differs in several respects from the story as found in certain other books. In the Pali version, which lays

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[1] Chung-yin-ching (No. 468 tr. circ. A. D. 400).

the scene of the occurrence at Benares in the time of good king Brahmadatta, there are four animals, a hare, an otter, a jackal, and a monkey.[1] In this treatise the story does not have the hare roasted alive; and Indra, who has tried the Bodhisattva, paints the likeness of the hare in the disk of the moon. In the "Fo-shuo-shêng-ching" it is Dīpankara Buddha who is the hermit. and there are no other animals with the Hare-king and the hares, nor is there any mention of the moon.[2] The "Liu-tu-chi-ching" also makes Dīpankara Buddha to be the brahmin who tries the P'usa as a hare, and here there are a fox, an otter and a monkey living with the hare, but there is no transfer to the moon.[3] In the "P'u-sa-pên-shêng-man-lun" the hermit is Maitreya, the Hare-king is the P'usa, and he has only his own species about him.[4] The Hare-king prepares to roast himself for the hermit to eat him in the absence of all other food, but the hermit pulls him off the fire, too late, however, to save his life. Then praying to be born in all future lives as a disciple of the P'usa the hermit burns himself with the hare, and Indra comes to worship, and raises a tope over the relics, but does not take anything to the moon.

A legend about the hare like that here told by the pilgrim seems to have survived among the Mongols down to the present. Thus the Kalmucs, who worship the hare as a god, and call him Sakyamuni, "say that on earth he allowed himself to be eaten by a starving man, for which gracious act he was raised to domineer over the moon where they profess to see him".[5]

The reader will observe that in the pilgrim's account of the Buddhist sacred places in and about Vārāṇasi he mentions only one monastery, the Rishipatana-mṛigadāva-vihāra. This is in agreement with a Buddhist śāstra which

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[1] Jat. Vol. III. p. 51; Francis and Niel's Jātaka p. 35.

[2] ch. 4. [3] ch. 3. [4] ch. 3.

[5] Rhys Davids, 'Buddhism' pp. 197, 198. Crooke 'Pop. Rel. and Folklore of N. India' p. 215.

informs its readers that the Deer-Park monastery was the only Buddhist establishment at Vārāṇasi.[1] In a Vinaya treatise, however, we find mention of another vihāra, the name of which is given as *Chi-t'o-lo-ka-poh* (祇陀羅啒鉢),[2] which perhaps may be for Khidrakapa. There are also one or two other Buddhist establishments in the Kāsi country mentioned in Buddhist books, but nothing seems to be known about them.

Vārāṇasi, the capital of the Kāśi country, now „the sacred city of the Hindus", was held sacred then by all Buddhists because at it the Buddha set the wheel of religion in motion, that is, gave the first teaching in the essentials of his new system. At the spot where he delivered this first sermon to Ājñātakauṇḍinya and his four companions a tope is said to have been erected, and this is one of the Eight Great Topes of which later Buddhism tells. But to the Buddhists this city had even earlier claims on their reverence, for it was the second city to "arise" in the last renovation of the world, and it had been the scene of the ministrations of several of the Past Buddhas. The last of these Past Tathāgatas, Kāśyapa by name, had lived here in an ārāma near the Ṛishipatana Deer-Park. At this far off time the king of Kāśi was named *Ki-li-ki* (the Kiki of the Pali scriptures), and he was a lay adherent and a patron of Kāśyapa Buddha. It was at Vārāṇasi that this latter having ordained the young Jotipālo, the friend of Ghaṭikāro the potter, predicted that the disciple would in a distant future become the Buddha Sakyamuni.[3]

In the Chinese versions of Buddhist works the terms Kāśi and Vārānasi are generally given in transcriptions,

[1] Ta-chih-tu-lun *ch.* 3.

[2] Sêng-ki-lü *ch.* 29.

[3] Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih *ch.* 12, here the name Jotipāla does not occur; Majjhima 2 45—54, Kikī and Jotipāla in intercourse with Kassapa Buddha; Jāt. Vol. I. Int. p. 43, here there is the prediction to Jotipāla.

but the former term is sometimes translated by *Ti-miao* (荻 苗). This means "reed-sprouts", and its use by I-ching is explained when we find him transcribing the name of the country by *Ka-shi-lo* that is, *kaseru*, a word which denotes a kind of *reed* or *grass*.[1] But *Ti-miao* may also have been used to translate Kāśi as supposed to be connected with Kāśa.

CHAN-CHU COUNTRY.

From the neighbourhood of Vārāṇasi Yuan-chuang proceeded, he tells us, eastward following the course of the Ganges for above 300 *li* to the *Chan-chu* (戰 主) country. This country, according to the pilgrim, was above 2000 *li* in circuit, and its capital, which was on the Ganges, was about ten *li* in circuit. The country had a dense and flourishing population, a good climate and a fertile soil; the people were honest and high-spirited and they had a mixed religious creed. There were above ten Buddhist establishments with nearly a thousand Brethren all attached to the system of the "Little Vehicle". There were twenty Deva-Temples, and the followers of the different non-Buddhist systems dwelt pell-mell.

Here the narrative as usual describes the pilgrim as going on "from this"; and we must take this expression as meaning "from the Deer-Park" which, as we have seen, was above ten *li* north-east of the Bārna river at Vārāṇasi. The term *Chan-chu* means "fighting lord" or "lord of battle", and it is evidently a translation of a Sanskrit name or epithet with a similar meaning. Cunningham has identified our *Chan-chu* country with the modern Ghāripur, the "city of the Conqueror".[2] But *chan* is used to translate *Yuddha* and *chu* stands for several words such as *pati*, *svāmin*, and *iśvara*, and the Chan-chu of our text may be the rendering of a word like Yuddhapati, which may be an epithet of Siva.

In the mention of the non-Buddhists Julien makes the pilgrim describe these as living in their temples. This is

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[1] Sar. Vin. Yao-shih *ch.* 1 and P'o-sêng-shih *ch.* 6.

[2] A. G. I. p. 436.

due to the faulty reading of his text which adds the particle *chih* (之) after the four words *Yi-tao-tsa-chu*, "the heretics live pell-mell". To these four words, which form a very common phrase in the Records, the old texts added the particle *Yi* (矣) to serve as a full stop. This unfortunately appears in the B text as *chih*, and spoils the meaning. Our pilgrim never represents the professed adherents of the non-Buddhist systems as living in the "Deva-Temples".

In a Buddhist establishment, Yuan-chuang tells us, at the north-west of the capital was an Asoka tope, with bodily relics of the Buddha, to commemorate a spot at which the Buddha had expounded his religion for seven days to a congregation of devas and men. Near it was a place with trees of the Three Past Buddhas' sitting and exercise ground. Next to this was an image of Maitreya P'usa, small, but of great miraculous powers.

Above 200 *li* east from the capital was the *A-pi-t'ê-ka-la-na* (restored by Julien as Aviddhakarṇa) Saṅghārāma ("the monastery of the Brethren with unpierced ears"). This monastery had been built for the use of Buddhist pilgrims from Tokhāra, and the pilgrim tells the story which accounted for the name. Above 100 *li* south-east from this monastery, and on the south side of the Ganges, was the town of *Mo-ha-sho-lo* (that is, Mahāśāla or Mahāsāra); in it all the inhabitants were brahmins, and there were no Buddhists. Then to the north of the Ganges was a Nārāyaṇa Temple, with halls and terraces beautifully adorned, and with sculptured stone images in the highest style of art. Thirty *li* east from this was an Asoka tope half sunk in the ground, and in front of it was a stone pillar surmounted by a lion. An inscription on the pillar told how the Buddha here subdued and converted certain cannibal demons of the wilderness. Not far from this place were several Buddhist monasteries which were all in a bad condition, but still contained a number of Brethren, all Mahāyānists.

Going on south-east above 100 *li* you come to the ruins of a tope of which some scores of feet remained above-ground. When after the Buddha's decease his relics were being divided among the eight kings, the brahmin who measured the relics smeared the inside of the jar with honey, and then distributed to the kings. The brahmin returning to his home took the jar with him; over the relics which had adhered to the sides he built a tope; and because the jar also was deposited in the tope, the

latter got its name from the circumstance. Afterwards king Asoka took away the relics and jar, and replaced the old tope by a large one; on fast days there may be a bright light from the tope.

The Aviddha-karṇa (or Unpierced-ear) Monastery of this passage is placed by the Fang-chih to the north-east of the capital, and not to the east as in our text. Our pilgrim's town Mahāśāla (or Mahāsāra) has been supposed to correspond to the present Masār about six miles west of Shahabad in Bengal.

For "demons of the wilderness" in this passage the Chinese is *Kuang-ye-kuei* (曠 or 壙 野 鬼) which we should perhaps render "Kuang-ye Demons". This term *kuang-ye* denotes the wild unoccupied land beyond the boundaries of a city or town. But it is also used in Buddhist books to translate the Indian word Āḷavi or Āṭavi as the name of a town or village. In the Buddha's lifetime this town was plagued by a cannibal demon, also called Āṭavi, who killed and ate a human being every day. Buddha tried to convert Āṭavi by gentle means, but failing in this he proceeded to bring the demon to submission by fear. Having succeeded in this Buddha then imparted to the demon the saving truths of Buddhism, and the demon was converted and became a good Buddhist.[1] This is perhaps the story of which the pilgrim had heard, but his story represents several cannibal demons as being at the place, although his words at the beginning of the paragraph seem to refer only to the "reduction of a demon to submission (伏 鬼)". This town of Āṭavi had a monastery in the time of the Buddha, and this is perhaps the Kuang-ye monastery of Fa-hsien, which was about twelve yojanas to the east of Benares.[2]

In the last paragraph of this passage the word *jar* is for the Chinese *p'ing* (瓶). As *p'ing* is the recognised

[1] Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching *ch.* 15 (No. 114).

[2] Fo-kuo-chi *ch.* 34; The monastery is mentioned e. g. in Seng-ki-lü *ch.* 19, 31, 33. See also Sutta Nipāta 1. 10.

rendering for the Indian word *kumbha* our pilgrim's statement here would lead us to suppose that the tope of which he is telling was called "Kumbha-stūpa". This suits the account of the division of the relics at the end of the Mahāparinibbānasutta, and in other Pali texts we find Droṇa's tope called kumbha-thūpa or kumbha-cetiya.[1] Julien in his translation of the present passage proposes Droṇa-stūpa as the name of the tope, but Yuan-chuang always, I think, renders droṇa by *hu* (斛). Moreover all the eight topes over the Buddha's bodily relics were called *droṇa-stūpas* because each contained a droṇa of relics. Thus in the Divyāvadāna the tope over king Ajātasattru's share of the Buddha's relics is called a droṇa (not Droṇa)-stūpa. There were eight of these droṇa-stūpas; seven in India and one in Rāmagāma, and Asoka wanted to take the relics away from all of them.[2] The wily brahmin who distributed the relics of the Buddha's cremated body among the angry claimants is in some accounts a Kuśinagara man, and apparently sets up his tope at that city.[3] The Tibetan translation makes him a native of the town which bears his own name, and he builds his tope at that town.[4] In a Vinaya treatise he is a native of a town called *T'ou-na-lo* (頭那羅), and it is to this place that he carries the jar, with the purloined relics, and here he builds his tope.[5] It is possible that the *T'ou-na-lo* of this treatise is a copyist's error for *T'ou-lo-na*, that is, Droṇa.

[1] e. g. in Buddhavaṃsa p. 68 (P. T. S.).

[2] Divyāv. p. 380. Bur. Int. p. 372. Rhys Davids in J. R. A. S. 1901 p. 401.

[3] Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching (last page).

[4] Rockhill, Life, p. 146 and note.

[5] Shih-sung-lü *ch*. 60; Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching-hou-fên *ch*. 2. The account of the distribution of the Relics in the latter passage is a verbatim copy of that in the Shih-sung-lü.

VAIŚĀLI.

The pilgrim proceeds to relate that "from this" he went north-east, crossing the Ganges, and after a journey of 140 or 150 *li* he reached the *Fei-shê-li* (Vaiśāli) country.

By the words "from this" here the context requires us to understand "from the Kumbha Tope", but the Life makes the pilgrim proceed from the *Chan-chu* country north-east 150 *li* to Vaiśāli. Cunningham, who identifies the city of Vaiśāli (or Vesāli) with the modern Besārh, regards the *Ganges* of this passage as a mistake for *Gandak*. But the pilgrim evidently places the Kumbha Tope to the south of the Ganges, and the text may be regarded as correct.

The Vaiśāli country is described by the pilgrim as being above 5000 *li* in circuit, a very fertile region abounding in mangos, plantains and other fruits. The people were honest, fond of good works, esteemers of learning, and orthodox and heterodox in faith. The Buddhist establishments, of which there were some hundreds, were, with the exception of three or four, dilapidated and deserted, and the Brethren were very few. There were some tens of Deva-Temples, the various sects lived pell-mell, and the Digambaras flourished. The foundations of the old city Vaiśāli were 60 or 70 *li* in circuit, and the "Palace-city" (that is, the walled part of the city) was four or five *li* in circuit, and it had few inhabitants. About five *li* to the north-west of the "palace city" was a Buddhist monastery, the few professed Buddhists in which were of the Sammatiya School, and at the side of the monastery was a tope. It was here that the Buddha delivered the "*Pi-mo-lo-ki-ching* (毗摩羅詰經), and that the householder's son *Pao-chi* and others presented sun-shades to the Buddha.

The treatise here mentioned is that called by Mr. Bunyio Nanjio "Vimalakirtti-nirdeśa-sūtra", "the sūtra of Vimalakirtti's exposition", which corresponds to the meaning of the full Chinese title as given by Kumārajīva. But the proper title is probably "Ārya-Vimalakīrtinirdeśa", without the word *sūtra*. The work cannot be said to have been *uttered* by the Buddha, but it is rather a collection of the utterances or teachings of Vimalakīrti. According to the treatise Buddha is in the Mango Orchard at Vesāli, and Vimalakīrti is in his own house, supposed to be ill

and confined to his bed, while the expositions are given. There are extant three translations of the work into Chinese, the first by a monk of the Yue-ti country in the middle of the third century A. D.,[1] the second by Kumārajīva,[2] and the third by our pilgrim.[3] A learned Chinese monk, who was a disciple of Kumārajīva, edited his master's translation and enriched it with a commentary.[4] There are also several other editions of Kumārajīva's version with commentaries, and it has long been a favourite work with Chinese students Buddhist and non-Buddhist. The incidents in this so-called sūtra are purely fictitious, and it must have been composed long after the death of the Buddha. It is, however, an interesting well-composed and ingenious exposition and discussion of the distinctive metaphysical tenets of the expansive developed Buddhism known as the Mahāyāna or "Great Vehicle" system.

The last clause of our text here mentions the offering of sun-shades. It is in the introduction which forms the first chapter of the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra that the story is told of the 500 young Licchavis, including Pao-chi, offering their sun-shades to the Buddha in the Āmra orchard. The presentation of these gifts was immediately followed by a great miracle wrought by the Buddha which astonished and ravished all beholders. Julien suggests Ratnākara as the Sanskrit original for *Pao-chi* (寶積) or "Gem-heap", and the restoration is probably correct. The first translation, which transcribes the name as *Lo-li-na-ka*, perhaps for Ratnākara, translates it by *Pao-shih* (｜事) or "Gem-business", and Yuan-chuang in his version has *Pao-hsing* (｜性) or "Gem-nature" perhaps for Ratnākara. In using Pao-chi in the text here the pilgrim adopts Kumārajīva's rendering, which remains the popular one.

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[1] Wei-mo-k'ie-ching (Bun. No. 147).

[2] Wei-mo-k'ie-so-shuo-ching (No. 146).

[3] Shuo-wu-kou-ch'êng-ching (No. 149).

[4] Wei-mo-k'ie-so-shuo-ching-chu (No. 1632). The sutras Nos. 144, 145, 181 in Nanjio's Catalogue have the same Sanskrit title as the Wei-mo-k'ie-ching, but they are different works.

Further in his version of the sūtra Yuan-chuang calls this Pao-chi a *p'usa*, while in the text of our passage he follows other translators in styling him "son of a householder".

To the east of this monastery, Yuan-chuang relates, was a tope to commemorate the attainment of arhatship at the place by "Śāriputra and others".

The word here rendered by "and others" is *têng* (等), and the pilgrim probably meant it to include only Maudgalyayāna. But the Buddhist scriptures generally represent Śāriputra as attaining arhatship at Rājagaha, and this seems to be the account followed by Yuan-chuang in *Chuan* 9 of these Records.

To the south-east of this tope, the pilgrim continues, was one erected by the king of this country over the portion of the bodily relics of the Buddha which the king had obtained at the division made on the scene of the cremation. This king's share, Yuan-chuang says, was a bushel (*hu* or dropa) of relics, and he had deposited these in a tope to be kept as objects of worship; afterwards Asoka came and carried off nine-tenths of the precious relics.

In this passage, as in a previous one, the pilgrim forgets that there was no king of Vaiśāli in the time of the Buddha, the city and district being governed by a council of Elders. It was the Licchavis of Vaiśāli who, as Kshatriyas, claimed from the Mallas of Kusinagara a share of the relics of the Buddha who also had been a Kshatriya. Some of the Scriptures, we know, represent eight kings, and among them the king of this country, coming to ask for and extort shares of the Buddha's relics.

The pilgrim next tells us about the Monkey Tank, which was to the south of a stone pillar about 50 feet high surmounted by a lion, at an Asoka tope, to the north-west of the Relic Tope. He says the Tank (or Pond) had been made by monkeys for the Buddha, and that the latter resided at this place. Near the west side of the Tank, he continues, was a tope on the spot at which the monkeys took the Buddha's bowl up a tree for honey to give him; near the south bank was a tope at the place where the monkeys presented the honey; and near the north-east corner of the Tank was a picture (or image) of a monkey.

These statements about the monkeys and the honey recall the story related by our pilgrim in connection with

his description of Mathura. The phrase "Monkey Tank" is a translation of the Sanskrit term *Markaṭa Hrada.* We are also told, however, that Markaṭa was the name of a man, a Vrijjian or Vajji-putta. It is remarkable that the equivalent of "Monkey Tank" does not seem to occur in the Pali Nikāyas, or in any other Pali text so far as I know. These scriptures generally represent the Buddha when at Vesali as staying in the Kūṭāgāraśālā (or "Two-storey Hall") in the Mahāvana (or "Great Wood"). Yet the Monkey Tank occurs frequently in the Chinese translations of the sūtras and other scriptures. Thus it is found in several passages of the Chung-a-han-ching and the Tsa-a-han-ching. In the latter treatise we have the story of the monkey picking out the Buddha's alms-bowl, taking it away, and bringing it back full of honey. This takes place in the Great Wood near Vesāli; but immediately afterwards we read of the Buddha staying in the Two-storey Hall at the Monkey Tank near the city. The Tibetan text translated by Mr. Rockhill also tells of the Buddha and Ānanda going "to Vesāli and there they abode in the mansion built on the edge of the monkey pond."[1] The Divyāvadāna also mentions the Markaṭahrada and its Kūṭāgāraśālā in which the Buddha lodged.[2] So also in the Sanskrit texts of other avadānas and of the Mahāvastu[3] we find mention of this great Hall by the side of the Monkey Tank at Vesāli as a place of sojourn for the Buddha. It is to be noted, however, that Fa-hsien, who gives the Great Wood and its Two-storey monastery in his list of the sights of Vesali, has nothing about the Monkey Tank or the Two-storey Hall at its side.

Our pilgrim goes on to tell us that three or four *li* to the north-east of the Buddhist establishment mentioned above were the ruins of Vimalakīrti's house, which were marked by a tope, and were the scene of marvellous phenomena. Near this site, he tells us, was a "spirit's abode (or god's-house, *shên-shê* 神舍)

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[1] 'Life of the Buddha', p 131.

[2] p. 136.

[3] Mahāvastu Vol. 1. p. 300.

which seemed to be a pile of bricks, but according to traditio was "amassed stones". This was said to mark the place at whic Vimalakirti "displaying sickness preached". Near this shên-sl was a tope at the place where the Elder's son Ratnākara live near this a tope marked the site of the āmra (mango)-lady house; here the Buddha's foster mother (Mahā Prajāpatī) a other bhikshuṇīs realized entrance into nirvāṇa.

Our pilgrim here, as before, transcribes the name of th Vaiśāli householder by *P'i-mo-lo-kih* which is perhaps fo a form like Vimalakit or Vimalakitti. He styles the indi vidual so named a *Chang-chê*, (Gahapati or "House holder"), and he translates the name by *Wu-kou-ch'ên* (無 垢 稱) that is, "Stainless Reputation". In some of th sūtras, however, Vimalakīrti is called a *Ta-li-shih* (大 力 士) or "Great Malla", while in other books he is ofte styled a P'usa, and he is also represented as being fro another world. He is always, however, a fictitious personag a character created for the religious teachings attribute to him, or connected with him and his imaginary famil We may, accordingly, be certain that the site pointed ou to our pilgrim as that of Vimalakīrti's house was a lat invention. This house also is not in Fa-hsien's enume ration of Buddhistic objects of interest in and near Vesāl

As to Vimalakīrti "displaying sickness" and preachin the pilgrim is here referring to the sūtra which he ha mentioned by name. In it we find that Vimalakīrti ha recourse to the device of sickness in order to attract th Buddha's attention to him, and the discourses of the boo are linked on in an ingenious manner to this feigning o illness. When Buddha proposes to one after another o his arhats and P'usas to go to Vimalakīrti's house an enquire about his state of health, each one of them de clines and gives his reasons; these embody praises of th very wise and clever dialectician who was the patien Afterwards Buddha himself converses with the "Elder" and draws from him further "incomprehensible expositions"

As Ratnākara, like Vimalakīrti, was a fictitious perso created for the action of the sūtra, the site of his hous also was an invention. The "Mango lady" of Yuan-chuang'

account of Vaiśāli is evidently the Āmrapālī (in Pali, Ambapāli) of other writers. This woman had led an immoral life, and had become rich and famous, when she came under the influence of the Buddha, who converted her and made her a lay member of his church.

We may here notice that Yuan-chuang places the houses of Vimalakīrti, Ratnākara, and Āmrapāli outside the city, while the canonical works represent them as being inside the city. But this discrepancy may be due to the pilgrim's taking a narrow technical view of what constituted the city.

> Then three or four *li* to the north of the Monastery already mentioned was a tope on the spot where, as the Julai was about to proceed to Kuśinagara to attain parinirvāṇa, the human and other creatures who escorted him stood waiting.

The Chinese for "the human and other creatures" of this sentence is *jen-fei-jen*, literally "men and non-men". Julien translates *fei-jen* by "Kinnaras" quoting as usual a Chinese dictionary as his authority. But the term is here evidently used in a comprehensive sense to include the Yakshas, Devas, and other superhuman creatures who formed the Buddha's invisible escort. The whole expression *jen-fei-jen* is probably to be understood here, as in some other passages, as meaning "[superhuman] beings in human and other forms". In the Life we have simply "Devas and men".

> A little to the north-west of the tope last mentioned, the pilgrim adds, was one at the place where the Buddha stood to contemplate the city of Vaiśāli for the last time.

According to Fa-hsien and some of the Buddhist scriptures the Buddha left Vesāli by the west gate on his way to Kuśinagara for the last time, and as he passed by the city-wall he turned and took a last view of the city. As his course lay north-westwards from the city this statement is not at variance with our pilgrim's account. The Sarvata Vinaya also represents the Buddha as taking his last look at Vesāli from a spot not far to the north-west of

the city. But the "Sutra of the Great Decease" makes the Buddha take his last view of Vesāli after going through the city on his morning circuit for the purpose of begging his food.[1]

Continuing his description the pilgrim tells us that a little to the south of the Tope of the Last Look was a Buddhist temple (*ching-shê*) with a tope in front, this was the Āmra lady's garden which she gave as an offering to the Buddha. At the side of the Āmra-garden was a tope on the spot where Ju-lai announced his approaching nirvāṇa (decease). Yuan-chuang hereupon relates the well known story of Ānanda being stupified by Māra and so failing to request the Buddha to remain in the world, and of Māra obtaining from Buddha a statement that he would pass away at the end of three months.

The original here translated by "garden" is *yuan* (園), a word which means a *garden* or *orchard*, but it is also used to translate the Indian word ārāma in the sense of a Buddhist monastery. In Pali scriptures we find the gift which Ambapāli presents to the Buddha called a *vana* and *ārāma*. Thus the Vinaya represents the lady as giving "this Ambapālivana" to Buddha who accepts the "ārāma"; and in the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta the lady gives and the Buddha accepts the *ārāma*. The accounts generally seem to agree in placing the Āmra Garden (or Āmrapālī's Orchard) to the south of Vesāli, and at a distance of three or four *li* from the city according to Fa-hsien, or seven *li* according to a Nirvāṇa sūtra. But here our pilgrim seems to locate the Āmra-yuan at some distance north-west from the city. It is perhaps possible that he uses the word *yuan* here in its sense of Buddhist establishment or monastery. But it is better to take the words of the text as meaning that the tope was at the spot where Āmrapālī performed the ceremony of making a formal gift of the orchard to the Buddha and his Brethren. This is the sense in which the compilers of the Life and the Fang-chih understood the passage. But

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[1] Fo-kuo-chi *ch* 25; Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih *ch.* 36; Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta *ch.* 4. (Dīgha. 2. 122.)

then the authorities are not agreed as to the place at which the ceremony was performed, some making it the lady's residence and others the orchard itself.

The story of Ānanda being stupified by Māra and of the latter obtaining from the Buddha a declaration of his intention to die at the end of three months is told in the Maha-parinibbāna-sutta and other works.

Near the Tope of the "Announcement of the time of nirvāṇa", Yuan-chuang tells us, was the tope of the 1000 sons recognizing their parents. He then proceeds to relate the silly legend connected with the name of this tope.

The name was probably Bahuputraka (or Bahuputra)-chaitya, in Chinese *To-tzŭ-t'a*, "the Tope (or Chaitya) of Many Sons." There was a celebrated tope with this name on the west side of Vesāli.[1] In the Divyāvadāna[2] we read of the "Bahupattraka ("much foliage") chaitya at Vesāli, and this is probably the Bahuputra chaitya of other books, and the tope of our text. This tope may also be the "Laying down arms tope" of Fa-hsien who makes the 1000 sons give in their submission at a place three *li* to the north-west of the city. The Bahuputra chaitya was devoted to the Buddhists, but it was also held sacred by the non-Buddhists of Vesali, and there was a temple with this name near the city of Rājagaha.

The pilgrim next tells us that not far from the place where the 1000 sons returned (gave in submission) to their kindred was a tope. Here Ju-lai walking up and down the old traces indicated the place to his disciples saying— Here I long ago returned to my kindred and recognized my parents — if you want to know who the 1000 sons were, they are the 1000 Buddhas of the Bhadra kalpa.

In this passage the Chinese for "old traces" is *chiu-ch'ih* (舊迹), the reading in the A. C, and D texts. Instead of *chiu* the B text has *yi* (遺) and *yi-chih* means "traces left". The latter, which is evidently wrong, was apparently

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[1] Chang-a-han-ching, *ch.* 11.
[2] p. 208.

the reading in the texts of the translators, but Julien's rendering omits the two characters. He represents the pilgrim as telling his readers that the tope was at a place where the Buddha took exercise; but, as the context shows, the pilgrim describes the tope as being on a spot which the Buddha tells his congregation was the scene of one of his Jātakas, viz his birth as one of the 1000 sons who were brothers born in an extraordinary manner

> To the east of the Tope of the Jātaka narrative, the pilgrim continues, was a wonder-working tope on the old foundations of the "two-storey Preaching Hall in which Ju-lai delivered the *Pu-mên-t'o-lo-ni* and other sūtras".

Julien restored the Sanskrit original for the title of the sūtra here mentioned as "Samantamoukha-dhāraṇi-soutra", and this is probably correct. Beal says that the work with this name is a section of the "Saddharma-puṇḍarika-sūtra". But this is not correct as the latter treatise has not any section with the above title, and the dhāraṇi communicated in that sūtra are from a P'usa in the congregation at Rājagaha.

> Close to the remains of the Preaching Hall, the pilgrim continues, was the tope which contained the half-body relics of Ananda. Near this were several hundreds of topes at the place where 1000 Pratyeka Buddhas attained parinirvāṇa. The pilgrim tells us also that in the district were topes and other objects of interest to Buddhists too numerous to be mentioned in detail. A journey of 50 or 60 *li* to the north-west of the city brought one to a great tope. This was at the spot where the Buddha prevented the Licchavi-sons from following him on his last journey to Kuśinagara by creating a river with steep banks and rapid turbulent current. The Licchavis were stopped, and the Buddha in pity for their distress gave them his alms-bowl as a memento.

Fa-hsien, who does not mention the topes to the 1000 Pratyeka Buddhas. tells us of two topes to Pratyeka Buddhas, and these Buddhas were the natural and foster fathers of the 1000 sons.

Our pilgrim's account of the Buddha's stopping the Licchavis from following him to Kuśinagara agrees to some

extent with the story in the "Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching".[1] Fa-hsien places the river (or as he calls it, deep trench) which the Buddha created, five (in the K[illegible] text ten) yojanas to the west of Vesāli, a much greater distance than the 50 or 60 *li* of our passage. The Nirvāṇa treatise makes the river to have been produced between Vesāli and the *Kan-t'u* (or *ch'a* or *chih*) village, the Bhaṇḍagāma of the Pali Suttanta.

> Nearly 200 *li* to the north-west of the city Vesāli was an old city which had long been a waste with very few inhabitants. In it was a tope where the Buddha had related to a great congregation of P'usas, Devas, and men his former existence here as a universal sovereign by name Mahādeva who had given up his kingdom to become a bhikshu.

This particular Jātaka is the Makhādeva Jātaka of the Pali collection. It is not in the Chinese translations of jātaka books. But there are very similar stories of the P'usa as a chakravartī rāja. Thus in one treatise the Buddha relates the jātaka in which he was such a king with the name *Nam*, and gave up his kingdom, and became a bhikshu.[2] Here the name of the king is different and the situation of his imaginary capital is not given.

> The pilgrim next tells us that 14 or 15 *li* to the south-east of Vesali city was a great tope. This, he adds, was at the *place where the 700 eminent sages made the second compilation* (viz. of the Dharma and Vinaya).

For the words in italics here the original is *shih-ch'i-pai-hsien-shêng-chung-chie-chi-ch'ü* (是七百賢聖重結集處), and Julien translates this by— "Ce fut en cet endroit que sept cents sages s'associèrent et se réunirent." This rendering, it will be seen, leaves out the important word *chung*, (meaning *again, for a second time*) and gives a wrong meaning to the phrase *chie-chi*. This means to *bind and collect* and so to *bring together in order* or *compile*. Thus in an account of the proceedings of this Council

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[1] Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching, *ch.* 1 (No. 118).
[2] Liu-tu-chi-ching *ch.* 8. Nimi Jātaka, No. 541.

Yasada is represented as saying to the Brethren— "Wh is to compile the Vinaya pitaka?" the expression use being *shai-ying-chie-chi-lü-tsang* (誰應結集律藏). S Fa-hsien represents this Council of 700 Brethren, compose of arhats and orthodox ordinary bhikshus, as making second recension of the Vinaya Piṭaka.

Our pilgrim here makes the Council of 700 to have me at a place some distance to the south-east of Vesali. Bu Fa-hsien describes the tope of the Council as being thre or four *li* to the east of the Thousand-sons-submissio Tope which he places to the north-west of the city. Th name of the place or establishment in which the Counci was held is given in the Mahāsanghika Vinaya as th *Sha-tui* (沙堆) Saṅghārāma or Sand-heap Monastery. In other Chinese versions of editions of the Vinaya th place is called the *P'o-li-ka yuan*, or the *P'o-li-yuan*, o *P'o-li-lin.*[2] The words *P'o-li* and *P'o-li-ka* in these name represent the Vālikā of the Pali scriptures, and this wor (the Sanskrit Bāluka) means *sand.*[3] This Vālikārāma o *Sha-tui* monastery was a quiet retired place, cool an pleasant, and adapted for peaceful meditation and seriou conversation.

The pilgrim goes on to explain that 110 years after th Buddha's decease there were bhikshus at Vesāli who went fa from his dharma, and erred as to the Vinaya. He then go on to give the names of five of the great arhats who took leading part in the Council. These arhats were *Ya-shê-t'o* (Y soda) of Kosala, *San-p'u-ka* (Sambhoga) of Mathura, *Li-p'o-t* (Revata) of Han-no (supposed to be Kanauj),[4] *Sha-la* of Vesāl and *Fu-she-su-mi-lo* (Pujasumeru?) of *Sha-lo-li-fu* (that is b mistake of *sha* 娑 for *p'o* 婆, Pāṭaliput). The pilgrim describe these men as great arhats, whose minds had attained indepe dence, who held the Three Piṭakas, who had obtained the thre

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[1] ch. 33

[2] Ssŭ-fên-lü ch. 54 (No. 1117).

[3] Vinaya Vol. III. p. 294; Mah. Ch. IV. (the Hall is Vālukā rāma).

[4] But there does not seem to be any authority for this, and th name of the country is also transcribed Sa-han-no (薩寒若).

fold understanding, men of great reputation, known to all who have knowledge, and all of them disciples of Ânanda.

In this passage the original for "whose minds had attained independence" is *hsin-tê-tzŭ-tsai* (心得自在). These words are the phrase used by Kumârajiva and others to translate the Sanskrit word *vaśibhûta*, in the sense of "having attained mastery", "having become lord", in Burnouf's rendering "parvenus à la puissance". The term is one of the constant epithets of arhats, and denotes that their minds are emancipated from the control of external powers. For "had obtained the three-fold understanding" the text is *tê-san-ming* (得三明). The three constituents of this knowledge or understanding are given as the apprehension (1) of impermanence, (2) of pain, and (3) of unreality. But according to another account the *san-ming* are the knowledge of previous existences, of others' thoughts, and of moral perfection, and there are further variations in the enumeration of the "Three Understandings". For the words "known to all who have knowledge" the Chinese is *chung-so-chih-chih* (衆所知識) or "recognised by those who know". Julien's rendering is "connus de tout le monde" which agrees with some of the explanations. The Chinese words represent the Sanskrit term *abhijñâtâbhijñâ*, which means "known to the known". The term is of frequent occurrence in the Buddhist scriptures and the Chinese rendering of it varies a little. Thus we have "known to the wise", and "acquaintances of all who are looked up to", and Yuan-chuang's own rendering "known to those who are looked up to (衆望所識)": and the term is also rendered by "recognized by the recognised" (or "known to the known").

The arhat Yasada of this passage is the Yasada (or Yasa or Yasano) of the Vinaya treatises, called also Kâkaṇḍaka- (or Kâḍa-)putra. It was his action which started the agitation against the Vrijji-putra bhikshus of Vesâli and led to the meeting of the Council. The Sambhoga of our text is the Sambhûta of the Vinaya treatises, in which this arhat is styled also Sânavâsi and has his resi-

dence at the mountain "beyond the Ganges" (Ahogañga). Revata according to the Pali Vinaya was lodging in Soreyya, but according to other Vinayas he was in Kosambi; he took a very prominent and important part in the proceedings of the Council. Our author's *Sha-lo* is apparently the Sāḷha of Vaiśāli who represented the orthodox Brethren of the district. The *Fu-she-su-mi-lu* of the text is evidently the *Pu-she-su-mo* of the Ssŭ-fên Vinaya and the *Ku-she-su-p'i-to* of the Shan-hsien-lü. This last is undoubtedly the Khujjasobhito of the Pali Vinaya, and the *Chü-an* (曲 安) or "Bent Peace" of I ching's translation of the Sarvata Vinaya. It may seem that the pilgrim's information about this great Council was not derived from any of the recognized authorities and his omissions are interesting. Thus he does not mention the venerable arhat of Vesāli named Sabbakāma (or Sabbakāmi). This man, who had seen Ānanda, was the senior Brother of India and, according to the Pali Vinaya, he became President of the Council. In the Chinese versions his name is generally translated by *Yi-ch'ie-ch'ü* (一 切 去) or, "All-going", as if for a Sanskrit form like Sarvagama. But in the Shan-hsien-lü the Pali name is given transcribed as *Sa-p'o-ka-mei*. Then our pilgrim does not make mention of Sumana and Vāsabhagāmika, disciples of Anıruddha, who were on the jury of the Council, or of the learned Daśabala who, according to the Mahāsanghikas, drew up the Vinaya for the Council.[1]

The pilgrim proceeds to relate that when the sages, summoned by Yaśada to meet in Vesāli city, assembled, they were one short of 700. This number was completed by the arrival of Pujasumeru who came through the air. Then Sambhoga, with his right shoulder bared and on his knees in the great Congregation, addressing the assembled Brethren prays them to be orderly,

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[1] For this Council see also the Wu-fên-lü *ch.* 30 (No. 1122); Shih-sung-lü *ch.* 60 (No. 1115) (the account here given had evidently been read by our pilgrim); Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih *ch.* 40; Shan-hsien-lü *ch.* 1; Pi-ni-mu-ching *ch.* 4 (No. 1138); Dīp. p. 139; Rockhill, *Life*, p. 171. 'Vinaya Texts' (S. B. E.) Vol. III pp. 386—414.

sedate, and attentive. He proceeds—'Although years have passed since our holy spiritual sovereign in his wise discretion passed away, his oral instructions still survive—Irreverent bhikshus of Vesâli city have gone astray in Vinaya, in ten matters violating the teaching of the Buddha—Reverend Brethren, ye understand what accords with and what is opposed to this teaching: As ye have been instructed by the Bhadanta Ânanda show gratitude for Buddha's kindness, and make a second promulgation of his ordinances'. Every one of the Brethren in the Council was greatly affected. The offending bhikshus were summoned before the Council, reprimanded, and ordered to desist: the erroneous Dharma was annulled. and the teaching of Buddha was set forth clearly.

The Council of the 700, we learn from the Vinaya treatises, had to pronounce on each of the ten innovations in matters of rule and practice introduced by certain Vrijjiputra bhikshus of Vesâli. For these innovations, which are enumerated in the Vinayas, the Brethren who propounded them and adhered to them claimed that the innovation either had canonical authority or were in accordance with, and to be logically inferred from, the rules and teaching of the canonical scriptures. The Council was called to examine into these matters and give the authoritative final decision of the Church on them, and to promulgate the standard Dharma and Vinaya (or Vinaya only). It was a very representative assembly, being composed of members from various districts and important centres of Buddhism in India. Some of the members apparently brought one, and some had more than one copy, of the Vinaya, while others had retained in memory the teachings of the first apostles. The ten erroneous tenets and the practices based on them were openly announced in succession, and separately condemned by vote as against the Vinaya, the circumstances in which the rule against each point was made being quoted from the sûtras or Vinaya. Then the Vinaya was reduced to order and finally settled: it was drawn up in a five-fold division, its contents being largely drawn from the sûtras. Very little is told in any treatise about the effect of the Council's action on the sinning Brethren, but we are left to infer

that they submitted to authority and returned to orthodox practices. There is nothing whatever to indicate that they seceded and formed a great sect or school.

With the mention of the Tope of the Second Council our pilgrim brings to an end his account of the city Vaiśāli and its suburbs. The place, as has been stated, has been identified by Cunningham with the site of the modern village of Besārh to the east of the river Gandak,[1] but we need not accept the identification. From the Buddhist scriptures we do not get much light or guiding as to the precise situation of Vaiśāli. We are told that it was not far from the south side of the Snow Mountains, and that to its north were seven "black mountains" (that is, mountains on which the snow melted), and to the north of these was the Gandhamādana, the home of Kinnaras.[2] From other authorities we learn that the city was in the Vrijji territory not far from Pāvā,[3] or that it was in Kosala.[4] The Mahāvana or Great Forest, so often mentioned in connection with Vaiśāli, was so called on account of its great extent: it reached to Kapilavastu and thence to the Snow Mountains, was a virgin forest, and was without inhabitants. The word Vaiśāli is explained as meaning "spacious" or "magnificent", and Licchavi (or Lecchavi) is said to mean "skin-thin" or "same-skin", the name being treated as a derivative of cchavi (chchhavi) which means "skin".[5]

It must have been distressing for our pilgrim to go over the waste jungle-covered ruins of a district which he had known from the Buddhist scriptures to have been once very flourishing, full of life and beauty, loved and admired by the Buddha while he was on earth. In the

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[1] A. G. of India p. 443.
[2] Ch'i-shih-ching *ch.* 1 (No. 550).
[3] Lien-hua-mien-ching *ch.* 1 (No. 465).
[4] Pi-nai-ye *ch.* 1. This is the "Chie-yin-yuan-ching" No. 1130 of Mr. Nanjio's Catalogue.
[5] Shan-hsien-lü *ch.* 8.

"Tsa-a-han-ching" a great Nirgrantha teacher speaks in glowing terms of the district to the Buddha,[1] and in the "Sūtra of the Great Decease" and other treatises Buddha is reported as praising it in similar terms. "How charming", he says, "is Vaiśāli the home of the Vrijjians", and then proceeds to specify a few of its hallowed places. Its chaityas and temples were numerous, and some of them are often mentioned in the sacred books. There was the Chāpāla Chaitya, a favourite resort of the Buddha, given to him and his church by the Licchavis. In Chinese the name is sometimes rendered by *Chü-kung* or "Bow-taking", *chāpa* meaning a *bow*. This chaitya, which was at some distance from the city, was probably only a sacred spot, with trees, originally devoted to the worship of a local divinity.[2] There were also the Chaitya of the Seven Mango trees at which Purana-Kāśyapa lodged, the Gotamaka or Gautama Nyagrodha Chaitya, the Chaitya of the Many Sons, the Sārandada and the Udena Chaityas, and the Kapinahya Chaitya given to the Buddha and his Church.[3] In or near Vaiśāli moreover, were at least three large Buddhist monasteries, one of them being the Swan-shaped Kūṭāgāraśāla near the Monkey Tank in the Great Forest which has been already noticed. The city had in the Buddha's time at least one nunnery, the one in which the nun Bhadrā resided.[4] Then there were the *Su* River[5] in which the monks and nuns once bathed with childish enjoyment, the Mango Orchard of Jīvaka-kumāra which was a favourite resort of the Buddha, and the beautiful Park of the Licchavis.[6] To these along with other pleasant

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[1] *Ch.* 5.

[2] Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih *ch.* 36 (But the "Bow-taking chaitya" of this passage is apparently the same with the "Chaitya of the Laying down of Bows and spears"); Tsa-a-han-ching *ch.* 5.

[3] Tsa-a-han-ching l. c.; 'Buddhist Suttas', p. 58; Divyāv. p. 201; Ang. Nik. Vol. I. p. 276 (the Gotamaka Cetiya), Vol. III. p. 167 (Sārandada); Rockhill, 'Life of the Buddha', p. 132; Mahāvastu l. c.

[4] Sêng-ki-lü *ch.* 37.

[5] Sêng-ki-lü *ch.* 38 (the word *Su* [illegible] here may be a translation).

[6] Tsa-a-han-ching *ch.* 5 et al.; Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih *ch.* 1.

scenes have to be added Āmrapālī's Mango Orchard and the Bālikācchavi given to the Buddha and the church by Bālikā. But the attractions of the Vaiśāli city and district had a serious set-off in the famines and pestilences to which they were subject.

In the Buddha's time the young Licchavis of the city were a free, wild, set, very handsome and full of life, and Buddha compared them to the gods in Indra's Heaven. They dressed well, were good archers, and drove fast carriages, but they were wanton, insolent, and utterly irreligious. These dashing young fellows, with their gay attire and brilliant equipages and saucy manners, must have presented in Vaiśāli a marked contrast to the great Teacher and his reverend sombre-clothed disciples. The young Licchavis drove along the streets and roads in carriages with trappings of blue, yellow, red, or white, and they were dressed or adorned in colours to match.[1] On the other hand the Brethren were to be seen any morning grave and self-collected, bare-headed and bare-foot, in dark patchwork robes, their alms-bowls in their hands, begging their day's food through the streets. Or they might be met walking solemnly to the bathing-tank, or going to attend a discourse from the Teacher, or to meditate under a shady tree in a cool quiet retreat.

ŚVETAPURA MONASTERY.

Continuing his narrative the pilgrim relates that from the Tope of the Council of Seven Hundred he proceeded south, and after a journey of 80 or 90 *li*, came to the Monastery of *Shih-fei-to-pu-lo* (Śvetapur). This monastery is described by the pilgrim as having sunny terraces and bright-coloured halls of two storeys. The Brethren in it were strict in their lives and they were Mahāyānists.

Julien suggests Śvetapura ("White city") as the Sanskrit

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[1] See e. g. Ssŭ-fên-lü *ch.* 40; Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih *ch.* 36; Mahāparinibbāna-sutta ('Buddhist Suttas', p. 31); Tsa-a-han-ching *ch.* 15; Fo-shuo p'u-yao-ching *ch.* 1 (No. 160).

original for the *Shih-fei-to-pu-lo* of this passage, and the restoration is probably correct. According to the Life the pilgrim went from the southern part of Vaiśāli to the *Fei-to-pu-lo* (the syllable *Shih* being omitted perhaps by a copyist's mistake) city 100 *li* from the Ganges. According to the rendering here given the pilgrim describes the Śvetapur Monastery as having "bright-coloured halls of two storeys". The original for the words within inverted commas is *chung-ko-hui-fei* (重 閣 翬 飛) which Julien translates— "des pavillons à double étage qui s'élançaient dans les airs". But the words *hui-fei* of the text do not mean "s'élançaient dans les airs", they mean "glowing or resplendent with colours like a *pheasant* (*hui*) in flight (*fei*)", the phrase being taken from the description of a newly-built palace in the „Shi Ching". The word *hui* means *many-coloured*, and is a descriptive epithet applied to the cock pheasant. In this monastery, the Life tells us, the pilgrim obtained a copy of the "P'u-sa-tsang-ching". This was probably the "P'u-sa-tsang-hui" or "Bodhisattva-piṭaka", which forms the 12th division of the "Ta-pao-chi-ching", an interminable Mahāyāna treatise.[1]

At the side of this monastery was a place with traces of their sitting and walking for exercise left by the Four Past Buddhas. Beside this was an Asoka tope on the spot where were traces left by the Buddha when on his way to Magadha he stopped here to look back at Vaiśāli. From the Śvetapun Monastery a journey of above 30 *li* south-east brought the pilgrim, he tells us, to a place on the Ganges famed as the scene of Ananda's parinirvāṇa. Here were two topes, one on the north and one on the south side of the river, to mark the spots at which Ānanda, on going into extinction, gave one half of his bodily relics to Magadha and the other half to Vesāli. Yuan-chuang describes Ananda as the Julai's cousin, one who heard much and retained all he heard, as of wide research and great application, and the successor of Mahākāśyapa as head of the Buddhist Church. He then relates the incidents connected with the parinirvāna of Ānanda

[1] See Nanjio's Cat. No. 23 (12) and No. 1005.

FU-LI-CHIH (VṚIJI).

From the Ānanda topes, the pilgrim relates, he went north-east for more than 500 *li* to the *Fu-li-chih* (Vṛiji) country. This country he describes as being above 4000 *li* in circuit, long from east to west and narrow from north to south; it was fertile and abounded in fruits and flowers; the climate was rather cold, and the people were hasty-tempered. There were few Buddhists, and the monasteries were above ten in number, the Brethren of which less than 1000 in number, were students and adherents of both the "Great and Little Vehicles". There were some tens of Deva-Temples and the Non-Buddhists were very numerous. The chief city was called *Chan-shu-na*; it was in a ruinous state and the old walled city, which was like a country town, had a population of over 3000 families.

A note added to the text here tells us that *Fu-li-chih* was in 'North India", and that the north people called it the *San-fa-chih* (or Samvajji) country. In the Buddhist books Vṛiji the Pali Vajji, is the name of a tribe or people inhabiting an extensive region of which Vesāli was the capital, and also of the country which this people occupied.[1] Yuan-chuang's use of the term, to denote a district in which Vesāli is not included, is peculiar, and it is apparently incorrect. The character which he gives the people does not agree with Ānanda's seven-fold statement of their virtues to Buddha for the information of king Ajātasattu's envoy, but we must not attach much importance to the pilgrim's statement.

To the north-east of the "great river", the pilgrim proceeds, was a monastery with a few Brethren good and learned. To the west of this, on the river-side was a tope, above 30 feet high, with a long reach of the river to its south. This tope was at the spot where the Buddha once converted certain fishermen in the following circumstances. The Buddha was once at Vesāli,

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[1] The name is said to have been derived from the advice of the Vaiśāli herdsman to his sons when they were treated roughly by the miraculously-born princes whom he had adopted. He told his sons to *avoid* the two princes, and hence arose the name Vṛiji or Varja from the causative of vṛij meaning to *shun* or *avoid*. Shan-hsien-lü *ch*. 8.

and there saw by his divine sight that certain Vajjian fishermen at this place had caught a very large fish with 18 heads and a pair of eyes in each head. The fishermen were about to kill their prize. But the Buddha, moved with compassion, determined to prevent this, and to use the fish as an instrument in the reformation of the fishermen. He told the incident to his great disciples, recommending them to go at once to the place; then he and they by magic power went through the air. When he arrived at the spot where the fishermen were with their fish, Buddha said to the men "Don't kill the fish". Then he graciously caused his supernatural power to extend to the great fish giving him a knowledge of his previous existence, the power of expressing himself in speech, and of comprehending human affairs. In reply to Buddha's question the fish recounted in the hearing of all how he had formerly been a bad proud Brahmin named Kapitha. As such, through conceit in his learning, he had treated with contempt the Buddhist religion (*ching-fa* 經法), and used reproachful language to the Buddhist clergy likening them to the lower animals. This bad karma, he saw, had produced his own present bestial condition. Buddha now taught and converted the fish, who died repentant, and was at once reborn in Heaven. Here he recalled his last birth on earth, and moved with gratitude to the Buddha, he proceeded accompanied by a multitude of devas to the place where the Buddha was still sitting. He then did rev rence to the Buddha, performed pradakshiṇa to him, and going aside offered him fragrant flowers from Heaven. The Buddha used this incident of the great fish to teach the fishermen the doctrines of his religion and move them to see the sinfulness of their mode of life. The fishermen became converted, tore up thei nets and burned their boats; then they became ordained and ttained arhatship.

A story like that here related is told in the "Ka-pi-lo-pên-shêng-ching" quoted in the 14th *chuan* of the Mahāsanghika Vinay. There, however, the fish-monster has 100 heads, and in the time of Kassapa Buddha he had been a bad contumacious bhikshu. The scene of the incident, as in our narrative, is on the bank of a river in the Vajji country. In neither story is the name of the river given, but the pilgrim calls it "great river", and this may be for Mahānadi, the name of a river in the eastern part of the Vajjian territory. In the Fang-chih the tope is wrongly placed to the north-east of the Ganges, on its bank, and the tope is only

twenty feet high. Our pilgrim's tope was probably on the north bank of the Mahānadī at a place where there was a long straight reach.

From the tope of the conversion of the fishermen, Yuan-chuang continues, a journey of above 100 *li* north-east brought one to an Asoka tope on the west of an old city. This tope, which was above 100 feet high, was at a place where the Buddha had preached for six months, admitting devas and men into his communion. About 140 paces north of this was a small tope at a place where the Buddha had made Vinaya regulations. Near this on the west side was a Buddha-hair-and-nail-relic tope. The pilgrim here adds that while the Buddha was sojourning in this district the people from the towns and villages far and near flocked to the place, in honour of Buddha they burned incense, strewed flowers, and kept lamps burning day and night.

Although the language of all this passage about the Vajji country seems to intimate that the pilgrim is writing from a personal visit, yet the nature of his observations may make us suspicious. He may have obtained all the information he communicates during his stay at Vesāli; and as the Life does not mention a visit to this Vajji country we are perhaps justified in concluding that we have here only what the pilgrim heard from others and learned from books.

NI-P'O-LO OR NEPAL.

The pilgrim continuing his narrative tells us that "from this", that is perhaps, from the neighbourhood of the tope to the west of the old city, a journey of 1400 or 1500 *li* over a mountain and into a valley brought one into the Ni-p'o-lo or Nepāl country. This country he describes as being above 4000 *li* in circuit and as situated in the Snow Mountains, the region presenting an uninterrupted succession of hill and valley. The capital was above 20 *li* in circuit; the country yielded grain and much fruit, also copper, yaks, and francolins; copper coins were the medium of exchange; the climate was cold; the people were rude and deceitful, good faith and rectitude were slighted by them; they had no learning but were skillful mechanics; they were ugly and coarse in appearance, and they believed both in false and true religion, the Buddhist monasteries and the Deva temples touching each other. There were above 2000 Buddhist ecclesiastics

who were attached to both "Vehicles", and the number of the Non-Buddhists was not ascertained. The kings of Nepāl the author adds, were Kshatriya Licchavis, and they were eminent scholars and believing Buddhists. A recent king whose name is given as Ang-shu-fa-ma or Aṁsuvamma, in Chinese Kuang-chou (光 胄) or "Radiant Armour", had composed a treatise on Etymology. Near the south-east side of the capital, we are told, was a small pond the water of which could make burning things blaze, and ignite things thrown into the pond.

It is remarkable that the annotator to the text from which the above passage has been transcribed places Nepāl in "Mid India". The statement occurs in all the editions, but the "Fang-chih" has "North India". Then notwithstanding the statement at the end of this *chüan* about the pilgrim returning to Vaiśāli, it may be doubted whether he actually made the double journey from that city to Nepāl and back. The Life does not mention any place between Śvétapur and Magadha. Still it is not impossible that Yuan-chuang may have personally visited Nepāl. We have a more detailed account of the sights of this country in the Fang-chih than we have in the Records, and the information given in the former treatise may have been partly obtained from the account of Wang Hsüan-tsê's great expedition about this time. We learn from the Fang-chih that there was at the capital of this country a large building in seven storeys, above 200 feet high and 80 paces in circumference, the upper part of which accommodated 10000 persons; the chambers of this building had exquisite carvings, and were adorned with precious stones.

The pond or tank of which Yuan-chuang makes mention was, we are told in the Fang-chih, near the "Liquid-fire village", and it was called the *A-ch'i-p'o-ni-chih* or the *A-ch'i-p'o-t'ien* (or *-li*)-*shui*. These words apparently mean the "Deadly Tank" or the "Deadly Gulf", *a-ch'i-p'o* being for *ajīva*. The Tank was only twenty two paces in circuit, and it had contained a case in which was the tiara to be worn by Maitreya when he comes to be Buddha; the tiara in the meantime is in the care of the Fire-dragon of this Tank.

We learn also from this book that on an isolated hill above ten *li* to the south of the capital was a Buddhist monastery in several storeys and of fantastic shapes.

At this time, about A.D. 645, Nepāl was a dependency of T'u-fan or Tibet, and it joined that country in sending a contingent to help Wang Hsüan-tsê in his trouble with the usurper of Magadha.[1]

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[1] Fang-chih *ch.* 2, T'ang-shu *ch.* 221; Ma T. l. *ch.* 335.

CHAPTER XIV.

CHUAN VIII.

MAGADHA.

From Vaiśāli, the pilgrim narrates, he went south across the Ganges to Magadha.

Neither in these Records nor in the Life is the distance stated, but in the "Fang-chih", Magadha, that is, Rājagaha, is 150 *li* to the south of Vaiśāli. Fa-hsien merely tells us that from the Ānanda Topes he crossed the river and descended south for a yojana into the Magadha country.[1] Between Vaiśāli and Pāṭaliputra lay the Vajjian villages *Na-t'ê* (那陀) or Nataka, and farther on *kou-li* (拘利) or Koṭi, the latter being separated from the Magadha country by a river, viz., the Ganges.[2]

Our pilgrim proceeds to describe the Magadha country in his usual manner. It was, he states, above 5000 *li* in circuit. There were few inhabitants in the walled cities, but the other towns were well peopled; the soil was rich, yielding luxuriant crops. It produced a kind of rice with large grain of extraordinary savour and fragrance called by the people "the rice for grandees" The land was low and moist and the towns were on plateaus from the beginning of summer to the middle of autumn the plains were overflowed, and boats could be used. The inhabitants were honest in character; the climate was hot, the people esteemed learning and reverenced Buddhism. There were above fifty Buddhist monasteries, and more than 10000 ecclesiastics, for the most part adherents of the Mahāyāna system. There were some

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[1] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 27.

[2] Chang-a-han-ching, *ch.* 2. Sar. Vin. Yao-chih, *ch.* 6 where we have *Na-ti-ka* and *Ku-ti* as the names of the two towns or villages.

tens of Deva-temples, and the adherents of the various sects were very numerous.

South of the Ganges, the pilgrim proceeds, was an old city above 70 *li* (about fourteen miles) in circuit, the foundations of which were still visible although the city had long been a wilderness. In the far past when men lived for countless years it had been called "Kusumapura city" from the numerous flowers (Kusuma) in the royal inclosure (pura). Afterwards when men's lives still extended to milleniums the name was changed to "Pâṭaliputra city". The pilgrim gives the following account of the origin of the city and its second name. Once on a time a very learned brahmin had a large number of disciples. A party of these on a certain occasion wandered into the wood, and a young man of their number appeared unhappy and disconsolate. To cheer and amuse the gloomy youth his companions agreed to get up a mock marriage for him. A man and a woman were chosen to stand as parents for the bridegroom, and another couple represented the parents of the imaginary bride. They were all near a pâṭali tree at the time, and as the name of the tree had a feminine termination they decided to make it the bride. All the ceremonies of a marriage were gone through, and the man acting as father of the bride broke off a branch of the pâṭali tree, and gave it to the bridegroom to be his bride. When all was over, and the other young men were going home, they wanted their companion, the bridegroom, to go with them, but he insisted on remaining near the tree. Here at dusk an old man appeared with his wife and a young maiden, and the old man gave the maiden to the young student to be his wife. This couple lived together for a year when a son was born to them. The student, now tired of the lonely wild life of the woods, wanted to go back to his home, but the old man, his father-in-law, induced him to remain by the promise of a properly built establishment, and the promise was carried out very promptly. Afterwards when the seat of government was removed to this place it got the name Pâṭaliputra because it had been built by the gods for the *son* of the pâṭali tree, and it kept the name ever since.

In the part of this story which tells of the students making the pâṭali tree the bride the translators had the reading *wei-nü-hsü-shu-ye* (謂女婿樹也), "they called it the son-in-law tree". This is nonsense, and cannot be forced into agreement with the context. In the abstract of the passage given above the reading of the D text has been followed, viz. *wei-nü-shêng*(聲)-*shu*, "saying it was a

feminine tree", that is, they took the tree for the bride because its name had a feminine termination. The place where the mock ceremony was performed was close to a pāṭalī, Bignonia suaveolens or Trumpet-flower tree, and the bride was called Miss Pāṭalī, her father in the play giving a branch of the tree, as his daughter, to the student to be his wife. Afterwards, as the story shows, the Dryads of the tree, like the melancholy mortal, took the whole affair in earnest, and made the marriage a reality. The old man and the old mother and her daughter are the god and goddesses of the tree, and the daughter becomes the student's wife. When he proposes to go away the old god by superhuman agency builds for the residence of his newly born grandson a substantial establishment. This was the nucleus of the city which from the story of its origin obtained and kept the name Pāṭaliputra. In Buddhist books the building of the city with this name is sometimes ascribed to king Ajātasattu in the Buddha's time. It was built as a defence against the Vajjians, and it had a Gotama Gate and a Gotama Landing-place from the name of the Buddha.[1] This city is described as being 240 *li* from the Rajagaha mountains in a north-by-east direction.

Continuing his description, the pilgrim tells us that to the north of the "old palace" (that is capital) was a stone pillar some tens of feet in height on the site of Asoka's "Hel'". "In the 100th year after Sakya Ju-lai's nirvāṇa", he says, "king Asoka great-grandson of king Bimbisāra transferred his capital from Rāja-gaha to Pāṭaliputra, and surrounded the latter old city with an outer wall." Of this city the long lapse of time had left only the old foundations. Of monasteries, deva-temples, and topes there were hundreds of ruins, but only two or three of the old structures survived. On the north of the capital and near the Ganges was a small walled city containing above 1000 inhabitants: this was the Hell-prison of king Asoka. The pilgrim then gives us a short history of this Prison or Hell. It was instituted by king Asoka, soon after his accession, when he was cruel and tyrannical. It was surrounded by high walls with a lofty tower

[1] Chang-a-han-ching *ch.* 2; Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih *ch.* 36; Vin. Mah. VI. 28; Mahā-Parinibbāna-sutta (Dīgha II. 89).

at each corner; it was made to resemble hell with all its tortures, such as great furnaces of fierce heat and cutting instruments with sharp points and edges; a fierce wicked man was sought out and made jailer. At first only local criminals were all, without regard to the nature of their offences, sent to this prison; afterwards casual passers by were wantonly dragged in and put to death; all who entered were killed, and so secrecy was preserved. But it came to pass that a recently ordained śramaṇa one day on his begging rounds came to the Prison gate, and was caught by the jailer, who proceeded to kill him. The śramaṇa, greatly terrified, prayed for a short respite in order to make his confession, and the request was granted. At this moment a prisoner was brought in and at once dismembered and cut to atoms in the presence of the śramaṇa: the latter was moved by the spectacle to deep pity, attained the contemplation of impermanency, and realised arhatship. When his time came the jailer put the śramaṇa in a caldron of boiling water, but the water became cold, and the sramaṇa was seen to sit in it on a lotus-seat. This marvel was reported to the king, who came to see it, and extolled the miraculous protection. The jailer now told the king that according to his own rule, (that no one who entered the Prison was to be allowed to leave it), His Majesty must die. The king admitted the force of the remark, but giving the jailer precedence he ordered the lictors to cast him into the great furnace. Then His Majesty left the Prison, caused it to be demolished and made his penal code liberal.

This short history of Asoka's Hell was probably condensed from the legends in the Divyāvadāna and "Tsa-a-han-ching".[1] These agree closely in all the main incidents, and differ in some particulars, from the story as told in other books. According to the former accounts king Asoka had burned to death 500 ladies of his harem, and his chief minister Rādhagupta (called also Anuruddha), reminding him that such proceedings were unseemly for a king, recommended His Majesty to institute a place of punishment under a proper official. The king took the advice, and caused a jail or place of punishment to be constructed, a handsome attractive building with trees and tanks like a city. After search and enquiry a sufficiently

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1 Divyāv. p. 374 ff.; A-yü-wang-chuan ch. 1; A-yü-wang-ching ch. 1; Tsa-a-han-ching ch. 23; Bur. Int. p. 365 ff.

cruel, ugly, wicked man named Chaṇḍa-Giri, in Chinese *O-shan* (惡山) or "Wicked Hill", was found for the post of jailer; he was duly installed and allowed to make the rule that no one who went in was to be let out. The jail was furnished with the tortures described in a Buddhist book on the infernal places of punishment, Wicked Hill having listened to a monk of the Ketuma monastery reading this exhilarating treatise aloud. But according to Fa-hsien[1] and others Asoka had personally visited the infernal regions (the hells within the Iron Hills), and studied their tortures. Now Wicked Hill in this cruel Hell of Despair had boiled, roasted, pounded to fragments, and otherwise tortured to death very many wretched victims. But one day a stranger bhikshu named Samudra, in Chinese *Hai* or "Sea", in ignorance and by accident, came to the gate of the Prison, and wandered in, attracted by the beauties of the place. Wicked Hill immediately had the bhikshu seized and was proceeding to boil him when the bhikshu piteously implored a short respite. The jailer demurred at first but at length yielded. At that time one of the king's concubines arrived to undergo punishment for misconduct. She was at once pounded to atoms in the presence of the bhikshu. The latter now made the most of his respite, and by zealous application became an arhat. When his time for being boiled came, events occurred as Yuan-chuang relates. We have the story of Asoka's Hell-prison told also by Fa-hsien; but he places the site about half a mile to the south of the city, whereas Yuan-chuang places it to the north. Fa-hsien's account is not taken from the "Divyāvadāna", but it agrees with that work in placing the site of the Hell near the tope erected by Asoka over Ajātasattu's share of Buddha's relics. Yuan-chuang also seems to have found the site near, and to the north of, the Relics Tope as Fa-hsien describes. Our pilgrim's statements, however,

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[1] Fo-kuo-chi *chs.* 27 and 32. See also Fên-pie-kung-tê-lun *ch.* 6 (Bud. No. 1290); Fu-fa-tsang-yin-yuan *ch.* 3 (No. 1340).

are not quite consistent with themselves. But as he remained at the place for seven days visiting all the sacred traces his account is not to be set aside lightly.

We return to the pilgrim's description. Not far south from the Prison, he tells us, was a tope, the lower part of which had sunk out of sight leaving only the dome, which was ornamented with precious substances, and the stone balustrade. This, he adds, was one of the 84000 topes, and it was erected for Asoka in his palace by human agents; it contained a *shêng* or pint of the Buddha's, relics and it had miraculous manifestations, and illuminations by divine light. The pilgrim goes on to tell how the 84000 topes came to be built and the relics deposited in them. After Asoka had abolished his Hell the great arhat Upagupta made a skilful use of his opportunities to convert the king and succeeded in winning him over to Buddhism. When the king expressed to Upagupta his desire to increase the topes for the worship of the Buddha's relics the arhat replied— It has been my wish that your majesty by means of your religious merit would employ the gods that you might carry out your former vow and protect Buddha, the Canon, and the Church, and now is the opportunity. When Asoka heard all this he was greatly pleased, and having summoned the inferior gods (*kuei-shên*) he gave them his orders. The gods were to go over all Jambudvīpa, and wherever there was a population of a full Koṭi, they were to erect a tope for Buddha's relics. The gods set up the topes, and reported to the king, who then divided the relics which he had taken from the topes of the eight countries and distributed them among the gods. He then told Upagupta that he would like to have all the relics deposited in the topes at the same instant. This was accomplished by Upagupta kindly putting his hand across the sun's face at midday, the gods having been ordered to deposit their relics at the moment the hand was seen darkening the sun.

It will be seen that in this description our pilgrim represents the old relic-tope of Pāṭaliputra as having been built by human hands, and yet as one of the 84000 topes erected by the gods or Yakshas. Fa-hsien also makes this tope to be one of the 84000 set up by the Yakshas for Asoka. The dust-offering in a former existence, and the prophecy by the Buddha in consequence, had been related to the king by the bhikshu saved from a cruel death in the Hell-prison. It was through the merit of this offering,

and the desire then expressed, that Asoka was now able, as a mahāraja, to make the yakshas do his bidding and spread far and wide "to the utmost limits of Jambudvipa" the worship of Buddha's relics. The 84000 topes set up by Asoka are generally said to have been for the distribution of the Buddha's relics taken for the purpose by the king from seven of the eight topes erected by the original recipients.[1] But they are also said to have been made for the worship of the 8400[illegible] aphorisms of Buddhism or "sections of the law". In this [illegible]rsion of the legend it is a vihāra, not a tope, that is made for each aphorism, and the work is done by the people of the various districts.[2] The words here rendered by "a population of a full koṭi" are *hu-man-kou-ti* (戶滿拘胝), "a full koti of individuals". It is not easy to see how Julien could translate these words by "dans chaque vill[illegible] possédant un koti de souvarnas". We have already had [illegible] notice this limitation made by Asoka in our pilgrim[illegible] account of Takshasila

Our pilgrim next describes the stone with Buddha's footprints. This stone, which is *large* in one part of the description and *not large* in another, was in a temple near the Relic Tope. The pilgrim informs us that when the Buddha was leaving Magadha for the last time on his way north to Kusinagara, he stood on [illegible] stone and turned round to take a farewell look at Magadha. [illegible] left his footprints [illegible], and these were still distinctly visible [illegible] the time of the p[illegible]'s visit. The foot prints, he says, were [illegible] inches long by 6 [illegible] wide; on the right and left sides were [illegible]els or disks, each [illegible] the ten toes had artistic venation; the [illegible]ation was distin[illegible], and at times shed a bright light. When A[illegible] removed to Pātaliputra he had the Foot-prints Stone put [illegible] cover, and as it was near the capital he was constant[illegible] [illegible]ying it worship. Afterwards various princes tried to have the Stone carried to their countries, but it could not be removed. In recent times king Saśanka having tried in vain to efface the footpr[illegible] [illegible] caused the Stone to be thrown into the Ganges, but it [illegible] to its original place.

The [illegible] of this passage was seen also by Fa-hsien

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[1] D[illegible] [illegible] 331. Tsa-a-han ching *ch* 23

[2] Shan-chien lu *ch.* 1. Mah[illegible] *ch* V p. 19.

in a temple near the Relic Tope. According to the Life there was a wheel on each sole, the tips of the toes had svastika tracery, and there were vases and fish and other things. Julien translates the words *hua-wên* (花 文) by "des ornements de fleurs", but they mean simply the artistic tracing of the lines in the toes— the wan-tzŭ-hua-wên or svastika tracery of the Life. Then the *yü-hsing-yin* (or *ying*)-*ch'i* (魚 形 隱 (or 映) 起) of the text is in Julien's rendering "des corps de poissons s'élèvent en relief". But I think the words here only mean that the lamination of the prints stood out in relief. The figures on the stone were of course wrought by an artist, and they retained the scaly character of the work as left by him. But to the pilgrim's believing eye the footprints retained the impression of the lines and figures which adorned the soles of the Buddha's feet. These, however, he describes as they appeared to him.

Near the Temple of the Footprints Stone, the narrative proceeds, was a stone pillar above 30 feet high with an inscription much injured. The sum of the contents of the inscription was that Asoka, strong in faith, had thrice given Jambudvîpa as a religious offering to the Buddhist order, and thrice redeemed it with his own precious substances.

Fa-hsien also mentions this pillar and places it south of the Relic Tope: he describes it as 30 feet high and 14 or 15 feet in circumference.

Continuing his description Yuan-chuang relates that to the north of the "old palace", that is, old capital, was a large stone cavern which on the outside had the appearance of a hill, and inside was some scores of feet wide. Asoka had made this by the agency of the inferior gods (*kuei-shên*) for his uterine younger brother named Mahendra when the latter was a mendicant ascetic. This brother, the pilgrim relates, had used his high birth to slight the laws and lead a dissolute life, oppressing the people until they became provoked. The high ministers and old statesmen reported the matter to the king giving him advice and requesting that the laws be observed and justice administered. The king said with tears to Mahendra— "As sovereign I have the protection of all men and specially of you my brother; but forgetting my affection I have not in time guarded and guided you, and you have now incurred the penalties of the law. I am

in fear of my ancestors, and perplexed by counsels". Mahendra made obeisance and confessed saying— "I have misconducted myself presuming to break the laws. I pray for a reprieve of seven days". The king then consigned Mahendra to a dark chamber, with a keeper, and had him supplied with dainties and luxuries. On the sixth day Mahendra was in great trouble and fear, but by renewed bodily and mental application he attained arhatship; then mounting in the air he made divine exhibitions, and quitting the affairs of this life he went off to lodge in a mountain gorge. Asoka induced him to return to the capital by promising to make him a cave-dwelling there. Mahendra consented, and Asoka called the inferior gods to a feast telling them to bring each a stone seat for himself. When the feast was over the gods were requested to pile up the stones so as to make an "empty house".

It will be observed that in this story Yuan-chuang describes Asoka as making a hill and cave for his brother at the city and near the north outer wall. Fa-hsien also tells of this hill and cave, and places them within the city, and so does another author who adds a large stone image in a niche in the hill. But the other accounts do not introduce the yaksha-made hill and cave, but represent the king's brother as going away to a distance from Pāṭaliputra to live as a hermit or a religious devotee. Yuan-chuang calls the brother Mahendra, translated by *Ta-Ti* or "Great Sovereign". In the Pali books this, Mahinda, is the name of Asoka's son, his younger brother's name being Tissa (Tishya). The Divyāvadāna calls the brother Vītāśoka and so in the "A-yü-wang-ching", but the "A-yü-wang-chuan" calls him *So-ta-to* (宿大哆) perhaps for Sudatta.[1] One treatise calls him *Siu-ka-tu-lu* (修伽 [illegible] 路) perhaps for Sugātra which is translated in another work by Shan-jung (善容) "of good appearance" or "auspicious bearing".[2] This brother's only offence, according to the Buddhist books, was that he as a Tīrthika spoke dis-

[1] Divyāv. ch. XXVIII; A-yü-wang-ching ch. 3, A-yü-wang-chuan ch. 2; Tsa-a-han-ching ch. 23; For *Vītāśoka* we find *Vigatāśoka* as in Divyāv. p. 370.

[2] Fên-pie-kung-tê-lun ch. 3; Ch'iu-li-lao-ching (求離牢獄經)

respectfully to the king about the professed Buddhists; he said that these men living at ease with good food and clothing, were subject to their passions, and that Buddhism did not give emancipation. To convince him of his error Asoka had recourse to the following expedient. By an arrangement with his chief minister he disappeared for a time; the minister invested Vītāśoka with the crown and other trappings of royalty as an experiment. Asoka then appeared suddenly and pretending to regard Vītāśoka, whom he found wearing the crown, as a usurper, sentenced him to be beheaded at the end of seven days. In the interim the condemned prince was to have all kinds of sensual pleasures with music and dancing. On the seventh day, in reply to a question, he told the king that he had not had any enjoyment, having not even heard the music or seen the dancing, the fear of death being always before him. The king used this answer to shew his brother how wrong he had been in the language he had used about the professed Buddhists who, having always a horror of birth and death, could not indulge in any carnal pleasures. He then set Vītāśoka free, and the latter, with the king's permission, became a lay Buddhist and went to live in a frontier land. When he attained arhatship he returned to Pāṭaliputra to visit Asoka, but he soon left for another district: there he was beheaded by a man who mistook him for a Nirgrantha, a reward having been offered by the king for the head of every man of that sect brought to him.

Yuan-chuang, in his description, tells us that to the north of the old capital, and south of the Heli, was the large stone trough made by the gods for Asoka to hold the food which he provided for the Buddhist bhikshus.

The pilgrim next takes us across to the south of the capital. To the south-west of the old city, he relates, was a small rocky mountain in the steep sides of which the inferior gods (*kuei-shên*) had made some tens of caves for Upagupta and the other arhats. Beside this mountain were the stone foundations of an old terrace, and tanks of dimpled water clear as a mirror, people from far and near called them "the holy water", and to drink or wash in the water effaced the soil of sin.

The description continues— South-west from the Small Hill were five topes the foundations of which had disappeared leaving the bases standing out high; looked at from a distance they seemed to form a hillock. Their sides were some hundreds of paces [in length] and on the tops men of later times had erected other small topes. According to the Indian records, when Asoka's 84000 topes were built there remained five pints (*shêng*) of relics, and for each *shêng* he built here a magnificent tope surpassing those of other places. Miracles occurred at them testifying to the Ju-lai's five-fold spiritual body. Disciples of little faith made the unauthorized statement that the topes represented the five treasures of king Nanda's seven precious substances. After this an unbelieving king came with his army to excavate for the treasures: but the earth quaked, the sun was darkened, the topes thundered, the soldiers fell dead, and the horses and elephants fled; since then no one has dared to covet. Others say that as there are differences in the theories, and no certainty, we really get the facts by following the old narrative.

Fa-hsien does not make any mention of these five topes, and Yuan-chuang's story about them does not agree with the legend about the 84000 Relic Topes. Julien's translation and treatment of this curious story leaves much to be desired. Thus Yuan-chuang states that extraordinary phenomena occurred at the topes "to testify to the five-fold spiritual body of the Tathāgata (Ju-lai)". The text for the words in inverted commas is *i-piao-ju-lai-wu-fên-fa-shên* (以表如來五分法身). This is rendered by Julien— "Par là, il voulut honorez la personne de *Jou-lai*, composée de cinq parties." Here, to pass over other matters, the all-important word *fa* is left out. Then Julien has a note in which he professes to give from a Chinese dictionary the five constituents of the *Fa-shên* or spiritual body. But the passage which he cites gives the "five skandhas", and Julien wrongly took them as the constituents of the spiritual body. They are the elements or "aggregations" of the human body of Ju-lai, and of every human being, and they are contrasted with the five parts of the spiritual constitution of Ju-lai and all arhats. These five parts are moral discipline, absorbed meditation, spiritual wisdom, spiritual emancipation, and the perception of this emancipation, and this is the description quoted in the

book which Julien cites.[1] It was the perfect combination of these in himself at which the Buddha aimed during the countless ages in which he had been born and reborn into mortal life; and it is the perfection of these in his professed disciples which constitutes his eternal presence in his church. The prodigies at the five topes were the outward evidences of the unseen spirit of the Buddha abiding in the world. It was on the erroneous supposition that these topes were merely the Treasure-stores of king Nanda that an impious prince tried to excavate them, and fared as our pilgrim describes. To the story of this prince Yuan-chuang adds— *tzŭ-tzŭ-i-chiang-wu-kan-chi-yü* (自茲已降無敢覬覦), "from this down to the present no one has dared to covet", that is, since this king's vain attempt no one has ventured to give effect to his desire to have the treasures. Julien gives this translation of the words— "le roi, lui-même, s'avoua vaincu et abjura ses projets de rapine", a rendering impossible from every point of view. In the sentence which follows in Julien's translation the author's meaning is again missed. The important words *huo-yue* (或曰) "or it is said" or "others say" are left out, and the translator erroneously introduces the words "mais nous". The pilgrim mentions the two theories about the five topes, one was that they were the Treasure-stores of king Nanda, and the other, based on old records, was that they were Asoka topes.

We do not seem to have any information about these buried treasures of the king called Nanda. This was the name of the dynasty which was succeeded by that of the Mauryas under Chandragupta. In the „Mahāvaṃsa" the last ruler of the former dynasty is called Dhana-Nanda, who seems to have also had the name Mahāpadma, and perhaps Chandramas.[2] In the "Divyā-

[1] P'u-sa-pên-shêng-man-lun (No. 1312) *ch.* 4; Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching *ch.* 33 (No. 113); Te-ming-san-ts'ang-fa-shu *ch.* 22 (No. 1621); Chiao-shêng-fa-shu *ch.* 17 (No. 1636).

[2] Mah. p. 16. Rockhill, 'Life', p. 186; Tār. S. 291; Milindapañho

vadāna" we have Nanda given as the name of Asoka's grand-father Chandragupta, and in another treatise we have a wise but conceited king Nanda who is outwitted by Nāgasena.[1] But we do not find mention of treasures hidden by any one of these.

We now return again to our pilgrim's description. He tells us that to the south-east of the "old city" was the "Ku-t'a-Saṅghārāma" according to the A, B, and D texts, but in C and in the "Fang-chih" it is "Ku-ku-t'a Saṅghārāma" (or Cock Monastery). This monastery, the pilgrim states, had been built by Asoka, but it was in ruins, the foundations alone remaining. After Asoka became a Buddhist he summoned an assembly of 1000 Buddhist monks, common monks and arhats, in this monastery and supplied them with the requisites of their order.

Fa-hsien, who agrees with Yuan-chuang in placing the Cock Monastery to the south-east of Paṭaliputra, does not make any mention of the great gathering of bhikshus at it, nor is this mentioned in the "Fang-chih". The number of the bhikshus who accepted Asoka's invitation to meet at Pāṭaliputra is given in other books as 300,000. These Brethren did not come to hold a Council but only to a grand meeting and entertainment, to attend Asoka's first "quinquennial festival of the holy priesthood". The senior among them was the great Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja who had seen the Buddha.[2] In the D text of the Life this monastery has the name *Ku-t'a*, but in another text it is *Ni-ku-t'a* that is perhaps, Nigrodha. This was the name of the son of Susīma, the elder half-brother of Asoka, whom the latter murdered. Nigrodha became a Buddhist monk, and was in great favour with his uncle, being instrumental, according to some accounts, in converting the king to Buddhism.[3]

p. 292, translated by Rhys Davids, 'Questions of Milinda' Vol. II. p. 147; J. R. A. S. Vol. III. P. II. p. 153.

[1] Divyāv. p. 369. See Tsa-pao-tsang-ching *ch.* 9 (No. 1329).

[2] Divyāv. p. 398ff.; Tsa-a-han-ching *ch.* 23; A-yü-wang-chuan *ch.* 2. In the Shan-chien-lü *ch.* 2 we read of the Council of 1000 assembled at Pāṭaliputra to settle the Vinaya.

[3] Mah. *ch.* V; Shan-chien-lü *ch.* 1: in these works the name of Asoka's elder brother is Sumana, but Susīma is the name in Divyāv and other works. J. R. A. S. Vol. III. P. II. p. 162.

In some translations of the Indian books the name of the monastery is *Ki-t'ou-mo* (雞頭末), Ki being the translation[1] of Kukkuṭa and *ṭ'ou-mo* being perhaps for dhāma, *site* or *house*. In other works it is the Cock-wood Vihāra or the Cock-bird Vihāra,[2] and it seems to be sometimes called Aśokārāma. In his mention of the Brethren brought together in this establishment by Asoka, Yuan-chuang may have had in his mind the Council which met under the auspices of that sovereign. The passage about this assembly has been misunderstood, and consequently wrongly interpreted, by Julien. He renders *fan-shêng* (凡 聖) by "les laics et les hommes doués de sainteté", and divorces them from their proper union. They belong to the words which precede and qualify them, the *fan* being the common Brethren who were still learners, and the *shêng* those who were arhats. There was an earlier Kukkuṭārāma near Pāṭaliputta, probably only huts in the park. Asoka may have built a monastery on this ancient site. There was also another Kukkuṭārāma, near Kosambi, in the Buddha's time.

Yuan-chuang, proceeding with his account, relates that by the side of the Kukkuṭārāma was a large tope called the Āmalaka stupa, āmalaka being "the name of an Indian medicinal fruit". To account for the existence of this tope he tells the story of the dying Asoka and his last gift of the half of an āmalaka (or āmala) fruit. The king was *in extremis* and, knowing this, he wished to give his valuables in alms to the Buddhist clergy; but his statesmen had engrossed the administration, and would not allow him to carry out his desires. Once at food he kept an āmalaka and played with it until one half was spoiled: then holding it in his hand he sighed, and soliloquized on the vanity of human grandeur. After a few words with his ministers he charged the one in attendance to carry the half-fruit to the Kukkuṭārāma, and give it to the Brethren with a message from him. The abbot accepted the alms-offering in pity to the king, gave the fruit as requested to the Brethren, having instructed the steward to

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[1] A-yü-wang-chuan *ch.* 1. But we also find the word Ketuma as the name of a monastery here.

[2] Tsa-a-han-ching *ch.* 21 and *ch.* 23.

have the fruit cooked, to keep the kernel, and to have a tope raised.

The story of Asoka's gift of half a myrobalan (āmalaka) fruit is told in several Buddhist treatises. When the king became old he named his grandson, the son of Kunāla, to be his successor. This prince, by name Sampati, acting under the advice of the high officials who had obtained all power, stopped the king's largesses to the Buddhist church while the king was still nominally sovereign. He also gradually reduced the services and allowances for the king, until at last he sent him half an āmalaka fruit on an earthen plate. The king, hereupon, sadly remarked to his courtiers, as in Yuan-chuang's story, that he had sunk from being sovereign of Jambudvīpa to be lord of only this half-fruit. He then sent this, as all he had to give, to the Brethren of the Kukkuṭārāma, and Yaśa, the head of the establishment, had it cooked and distributed.[1] There is no mention in the Buddhist books of the erection of a tope to commemorate this gift, and Fa-hsien does not seem to have seen or heard of the tope.

Our pilgrim's narrative proceeds. To the north-west of the Āmalaka Tope, in an old monastery, was the Institution of the Gong-call Tope. Once, the pilgrim explains, there were in this city above 100 Buddhist monasteries with Brethren of high character and great learning, and the Tīrthikas were silenced. Then the Buddhist clergy gradually died, and there was a great falling off in their successors, "while the Tīrthikas (*wai-tao*) transmitting learning from teacher to disciple made it a profession." So when the rival partisans were called together thousands and myriads collected to the Buddhist establishments, shouts were raised—"strike loud the gongs, call the learned together". The simple flocked to the meeting, and there was wild beating of gongs. At the Tīrthikas' request the king appointed a public discussion to decide their respective merits with the condition that, if the Tīrthikas proved successful, the Buddhist monasteries should not be allowed to call meetings by gong-beating. The Buddhists were defeated, and they had borne their humiliation twelve years, when Deva, a disciple of Nāgarjuna P'usa in South India, obtained leave from his master to go to Pāṭaliputra city and

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[1] Divyāv. p. 430; Ta-chuang-yen-lun-ching *ch.* 5 (No. 1182).

meet the Tirthikas in discussion. The fame of Deva P'usa had reached the city; and the Tirthikas, hearing of his proposed visit, induced the king to order the gate-keepers to forbid any foreign monk to enter the city. Deva, however, came in disguised; and on the morning after his arrival beat the gong of the monastery in which he had slept. This caused great excitement, and Deva obtained what he wanted, a public discussion. In the course of twelve days he refuted the propositions of the Tirthikas, and vanquished them utterly in argument. The king and his ministers were greatly pleased, and they raised this sacred structure as a memorial.

On this story we have to observe that it seems to show that the Cock Monastery (Kukkuṭārāma) was within the walls of Pāṭaliputra. This was evidently the "old monastery" which had the tope of the Gong-striking, this and the Āmalaka tope being apparently within the enclosing walls of the Monastery. The part of Yuan-chuang's story which, in the abstract here given, is within inverted commas, has not been well rendered in Julien's translation. Thus the words *chün-yü-t'ung-chih-miu-yu-k'ou-chi* (群愚同止謬有扣擊) "dolts flocked to the meeting, there was wild beating",[1] are in his version— "Quand la multitude des hommes stupides se sera réunie avec nous, nous voulons combattre leurs erreurs et les terrasser", making the words to be uttered by *les hérétiques*. It is not easy to see how the last four Chinese characters could be forced to yield the meaning here given to them. Then at the end of the story Julien magnifies the P'usa's victory in the statement that "En moins d'une heure, il terrassa tous les hérétiques". The Chinese here rendered by *une heure* is *chie-ch'ên* (浹辰), a classical term which means a *period of twelve days*. That the great religious discussion lasted nearly twelve days is not improbable, and it is clearly impossible that Deva should have replied to his opponents' statements within one hour. It may be noticed that in the "Fang-

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[1] The words *k'ou-chi*, "to knock and strike" may perhaps be used here in the sense of *excitement, hurly-burly*— "Stupid persons flocked to the meeting and there was disorderly excitement."

chih" it is Nāgārjuna who goes to Pāṭaliputra to confront the Tīrthikas.

> The next object of which the pilgrim makes mention is the old foundation of the house in which the "Demon-eloquent" brahmin had lived, and the mention of this leads to the story of the exposure of the brahmin by Aśvaghosha. Yuan-chuang, giving apparently a local tradition, tells how there once was in Pāṭaliputra a brahmin who dwelt in a hut alone. He did not mix with his fellow-mortals, but sought success by worshipping demons, and was in league with elves; his sonorous discourse was small-talk, and his fine speech was echo-answering; old eminent scholars had not precedence of him, and ordinary men looked up to him as an arhat. But Aśvaghosha P'usa, whose knowledge embraced all things, and whose spiritual attainments extended over the "Three Vehicles", suspected the brahmin of being dependent on evil spirits for all his cleverness with his tongue. The P'usa reasoned that when fluency of speech is the gift of evil spirits what is said is not an answer to a question asked, and the speaker cannot repeat what he has once uttered to another. So Aśvaghosha visited the brahmin in order to put him to the test, and the interview convinced him that the brahmin was dependent on evil spirits. At Aśvaghosha's request the king summoned the brahmin to a public discussion at which the king was present. Aśvaghosha stated the subtleties of Buddhism, and the general principles of the Five Sciences, in a thorough manner and with clear eloquent diction. When the brahmin had spoken in reply Aśvaghosha said to him— You have missed the gist of my discourse, you must make your speech over again. But the brahmin remained silent so the P'usa jeered at him saying— "Why dont you explain. The sprites you serve should hasten to give you language". Then Aśvaghosha at once removed the screen which the brahmin kept before his face in order to ascertain what was strange in the possessed one's face. The brahmin, now put to utter confusion, prayed him to desist, and Aśvaghosha merely said to the audience— The collapse of this man's reputation today is an instance of "an empty name does not endure". Then the king addressing Aśvaghosha said— Had it not been for your abundant virtues, sir, this delusion would not have been exposed: the genius who knows others excels posterity, and reflects glory on predecessors, and according to the laws his great services must be recognized.

In this passage Yuan-chuang represents Asvaghosha as having secular learning which embraced all things and "spiritual attainments extending to the Three Vehicles".

The Chinese for the last clause is *tao-poh-san-shêng* (道播三乘) and it is rendered by Julien "dans sa carrière il avait su faire usage des trois Vehicules". But this rendering is not in accordance with the construction of the passage, or the meaning of the word *poh*. In a note Julien gives the three Vehicles as those of the śrāvaka, the Pratyeka Buddha, and the Bodhisattva. These are the three mentioned in Buddhist books, and they are states or degrees of spiritual attainment, the lowest being that of the śrāvaka and the highest that of the Bodhisattva, which is also called the "Great Vehicle". Our pilgrim makes Aśvaghosha have a twofold test for detecting the cooperation of evil spirits with a man who is a fine talker. The test is that the man does not give a real answer to a question, and that he cannot repeat what he has once said to another. In the public discussion the test is applied with marked success. Julien's translation misses all the point of the passage, and spoils the story. Then Julien makes Yuan-chuang state that Ma-ming (Aśvaghosha) "connaissait les démons", but Yuan-chuang merely states that Ma-ming "mentally recognized evil spirits" that is, became convinced that his suspicion as to the source of the brahmin's powers was correct. Julien translates the phrase *chüi-hou* (絕後) by "n'a pas de successeurs", and he supports his rendering by a reference to an expression quoted in the "P'ei-wên-yun-foo". But the reference is an unfortunate one, as the painter in the passage cited had a successor by whom he was surpassed. The translation is not good, and it is un-Chinese as an expression of praise. *Chut-hou* or *Chui-yü*(于)*-hou* means to *stand out to posterity* or *to be above those who follow* The man who has genius to know others sheds a glory on his ancestors, and is a standard of superiority to his followers or posterity. The Ma-ming P'u-sa or Aśvaghosha Bodhisattva of this passage is apparently the bhikshu who flourished 300, or according to some 600 or 800 years after Buddha's decease. This Aśvaghosha was originally a brahmin, and was converted and ordained, according to

some authorities by Fu-na-shê supposed to be for Puṇyayaśa,[1] and according to others by the great Pārśva.[2] This last defeated Aśvaghosha in a controversy held in *Shi-ka*, apparently in or near Magadha. As a Buddhist monk Aśvaghosha attained to great eminence by his powers of argument and discussion, and he was given to Ka-ni-t'a (Kanishka perhaps), king of the Yue-ti country, as part of a war indemnity. This king treated the bhikshu with much kindness and esteem,[3] and Aśvaghosha continued his labours in his new place of abode in Kashmir. He was the author of the "Ch'i-hsin-lun" (起信論), the "Ta-chuang-yen-ching-lun" (大莊嚴經論) and numerous other treatises. In the Patriarchal succession Aśvaghosha is the next after Puṇyayaśa, and in Japan he is regarded as a teacher of the "Pure Land' doctrine and is the first patriarch of the Avataṁsaka sūtra sect and the 12th of the "Contemplatist School" [4] We read, however, of several eminent bhikshus with this name, one living so early as the time of the Buddha.[5] These, however, may all be the same man assigned to different dates. He was called "Horse-voice" (Aśvaghosha) because at his birth horses neighed, or because on one occasion when he preached hungry horses forgot to feed, and listened to his sermon neighing with pious delight. There are also other stories told to account for the name which in one treatise is given as *Giu-lo-wei-ni*, perhaps for Ghoravin.[6] Here we have probably the original vernacular sobriquet given to the monk because he held horses (ghora) spell-bound by his lute (vīṇā). This great Buddhist, who apparently lived in the second century of our era, was a poet, musician, scholar, religious contro-

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[1] Fu-fa-tsang-yiu-yuan *ch.* 5.

[2] Ma-ming-p'u-sa-chuan (No. 1460).

[3] Tsa-pao-tsang-ching *ch.* 7.

[4] B. Nanjio's Short Hist. Twelve Jap. sects pp. 59, 106, 115.

[5] Shih-Mo-ho-yen-lun, or An Exposition of Mahāyānism, *ch.* 1; Mahāmāya-ching *ch.* 2 (No. 382); Ch'i-hsin-lun-su-pi-hsiao-chi *ch.* 1 (No. 1626).

[6] The name is written 瞿羅尾儞 in No. 1626.

versialist and zealous Buddhist monk, orthodox in creed, and a strict observer of discipline.

We return again to the pilgrim's description. Above 200 *li*, he states, from the south-west angle of the city, were the foundations of an old monastery with a tope. These were on a site which had been used as sitting place and exercise ground by the Four Past Buddhas. The tope had manifestations of divine light and other miracles, and people from far and near came to it and offered up prayers.

In his translation of this passage Julien instead of "200 *li*" has 200 paces, but in all the texts and in the "Fang-chih" the reading is 200 *li*. By using the form of expression "south-west angle of the city" the pilgrim may perhaps have meant to indicate that the direction was exactly south-west, and not merely between south and west. It was not from the south-west corner of the city, as Mr. Fergusson seems to have supposed,[1] but from the Cock-Monastery to the south-east of the city that the pilgrim renewed his journey.

The pilgrim continuing his narrative tells us that from the old monastery a journey south-west above 100 *li* brought him to the *Ti-lo-shi-ka* monastery. This establishment, erected by the last descendant of king Bimbisāra, had four courts with three-storeyed halls, lofty terraces, and a succession of open passages. It was the rendezvous of eminent scholars who flocked to it from all regions. The Brethren in it, all Mahāyānists, were above 1000 in number. At the head of the road[2], through the middle gate, were three temples (*ching-shê*) with disks on the roofs and hung with small bells; the bases were surrounded by balustrades, and doors, windows, beams, walls, and stairs were ornamented with gilt work in relief. The middle temple had a stone image of the Buddha thirty feet high; the left-hand one had an image of Tāra Bodhisattva; and the right-hand one had an image of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva: these three images were

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[1] J. R. A. S. Vol. VII. Art. IX

[2] The common meaning of *tang-tao* (當道) is "on the road" and this may be its signification here. But as the temples could not have been actually *on* the highway the phrase may mean *at the head of the passage*, that is, at the place where the road to the middle gate began.

all of bronze (*t'u-shi*). Each of the temples had a pint of relics which occasionally yielded miraculous phenomena.

This is an interesting account, and has to be studied in connection with statements in the Life. This latter treatise makes Yuan-chuang travel south-west from the Cock-Monastery six or seven yojanas (about 50 miles) to the *Ti-lo-li* (var. *Che-*)*ka* monastery, from which some score of the Brethren came out to welcome him. This is evidently the *Ti-lo-shi-ka* monastery of our text, and Julien writes the name so in his translation of the Life. The difference in the distance may be accounted for by the pilgrim giving the length of his journey, and the Life giving the distance in a straight line. In another passage of the Life we read that when Yuan-chuang, on his way back to China, visited Nālanda for the second time, he learned that three yojanas from it west was a monastery called *Ti-lo-shi-ka*, in which was a learned Buddhist Doctor by name Prajñā-bhadra. Here the reading in Julien's text was *Ti-lo-tse-ka* for which he suggests Tilaṭaka as the original, but the old Sung edition has *Ti-lo-shi-ka*. This monastery is evidently the *Ti-lo-che-ka* of the previous passage in the Life, the learned Doctor having come to reside in it after the pilgrim's first visit to Nālanda. Böhtlingk-Roth suggest Tilāḍhaka as the name of this Buddhist establishment, but the suggestion cannot be adopted. All the texts of the Records have Ti-lo-shi-ka, and the *tse* (擇) of the second passage in the Life is apparently a copyist's error for the *shi* (釋) of the old texts. Then this monastery has been identified with I-ching's *Ti-lo-t'u* and *Ti-lo-ch'a* which probably represent one word like Tiladha.[1] He gives the name to a monastery in Magadha about two yojanas from Nālanda. It was probably in the great Buddhist establishment of Ti-lo-shi-ka that Pārśva and Aśvaghosa had the meeting already mentioned as having

[1] Yuan-chuang writes the name T'i-lo-shi-ka (鞮羅釋迦), the Life has *Ti-lo-li* or *che-ka* (底羅磔 or 磔迦), and also *Ti-lo-tse* or *shih* (擇 or 釋)-*ka*; I-ching has Ti-lo-*ch'a* or *t'u* (茶 or 荼).

taken place in Shi ka. Cunningham by manipulating his texts finds Yuan-chuang's Tilo-shika, which he calls Tiladaka, in the modern Tillāra, and Fergusson places it in the Barabar hills. The full name of the monastery may have been Tila-śakā or as Julien suggests Tila-śākya, its designation among the people being something like Tiladha. It was a large and famous establishment flourishing in the 7th century, between 40 and 50 miles in a south-west direction from the Kukkutārama, and about 20 miles to the west of Nālanda. Yuan-chuang tells us that the monastery was built by the last descendant of Bimbisāra, but according to the books the last descendant of that king on the throne of Magadha was Pushyamitra, an enemy and persecutor of Buddhism. We note the temple of Buddha flanked by a temple to Tāra on one side, and by a temple to Kuan-yin on the other. Here, as in a subsequent passage where we have another temple of Tāra, that person is simply a Bodhisattva without any indication of sex. This P'usa, "the Saviour", became "Holy Mother Tārā", the spiritual wife of Kuan-yin. She resides at the foot of a mountain in the Southern Ocean, and Kuan-yin sojourns on the top, but it is in Tibet and Mongolia that Tārā is chiefly worshipped.[1]

Our pilgrim's narrative proceeds. Above 90 *li* southwest from the Ti-lo-shi-ka monastery was a lofty mountain. Among its sombre masses of clouds and rocks lodged immortals, poisonous snakes and fierce dragons lurked in the hollows of its marshes, fierce beasts skulked and birds of prey roosted in its thickets. On its top was a flat rock surmounted by a tope above ten feet high. This was on the spot where the Buddha once sat all night in the „Samādhi of the end of extinction". The pious devas had made a tope of precious gold and silver to commemorate the event, but in the long course of time the precious metals had changed to stone. No human mortal had ever visited the tope, but from afar serpents and wild beasts could be seen in compa-

[1] Fo-tsu-li-tai-t'ung-tsai *ch.* 2 (No. 1637); Waddell's 'Buddhism of Tibet', p. 367 ff. See also G. de Blonay's 'Materiaux pour servir à l'histoire de la Déesse Bouddhique Tārā.'

nies performing pradakshiṇa, and angels and saints giving praise and worship.

The mountain here mentioned was apparently not visited by Yuan-chuang on his way to Gayā but he may have passed near it on some other occasion. We must remember that he spent above five years in this district and visited it again on his return. So the Records here do not give us a consecutive narrative of a journey, but rather the results of excursions and investigations.

Our pilgrim goes on to describe that on the east ridge of this mountain was a tope on the spot on which the Buddha stood to obtain a view of Magadha. He then goes on to relate that above 30 *li* to the north-west of the mountain, on the slope of a mountain, was a monastery the high bases of which were backed by the ridge, the high chambers being hewn out of the cliff. In this monastery there were fifty Brethren, all adherents of the "Great Vehicle". It had been built in honour of Guṇamati Bodhisattva who here vanquished in discussion the great Sāṅkhya Doctor Mādhava. The pilgrim adds an account of the discussion and of the results of Mādhava's defeat.

The story of the controversy here related by Yuan-chuang was apparently derived from an unscrupulous Buddhist of Magadha. It does not agree with Yuan-chuang's statement that the site of the mountain monastery was the scene of the discussion, and it need not be taken seriously. The Guṇamati of our author cannot be the āchārya of the same name who was the teacher of Vasumitra and wrote a commentary on the "Abhidharmakośa". Nor can he be the Guṇamati of Tāranātha, contemporary with king Pantshama-siṁha, and beaten in discussion by a disciple of the philosopher against whom he had written a treatise.[1] I-ching mentions a distinguished Buddhist named Guṇamati as having lived in a time not remote from his own period, but this sage was devoted to dhyāna.[2] Our pilgrim styles his Guṇamati a Bodhisattwa, and describes him as coming from "South India"; he also asso-

[1] Tār. S. 159.

[2] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei *ch.* 34; and Takakusu, 'I-tsing', p. LVIII ff. and p. 181.

ciates him with Sthiramati; and represents the two as being distinguished in Nālanda for the elegance of their compositions, and as having sojourned and written in Valabhi in South India.[1] It may have been this Guṇamati who composed the treatise with the name, as rendered in Chinese, "Sui-hsiang-lun" (隨 相 論). This work, translated by Paramārtha about A. D. 560, is apparently only an extract from a large treatise with this name. B. Nanjio retranslates the title by "Lakshaṇānusāra śāstra", but the original name may have been something very different. This treatise cites the Vibhāshā and Sūtra-Upadeśa Masters, Vasubandhu, Bavarika (?), and others, and it shews an intimate acquaintance with the Sāṅkhya teachings[2]

The pilgrim proceeds to relate that above 20 *li* south-west from the Guṇamati Monastery was an isolated hill, with a monastery said to have been built by the Śāstra-Master Śīlabhadra, who made a religious offering of the city which he had obtained on his victory in a discussion; taking advantage of the resemblance of the steep peak to a tope, Śīlabhadra had deposited in the peak Buddha-relics. Then we have the story of this monastery to the following effect. Śīlabhadra was a scion of the Brahminical royal family of Samataṭa (in East India); as a young man he was fond of learning and of exemplary principles. He travelled through India seeking the wise, and in Nālanda he met Dharmapāla P'usa who gave him instruction, and in due time ordained him as a bhikshu. Then Śīlabhadra rose to be eminent for his profound comprehension of the principles and subtleties of Buddhism, and his fame extended to foreign countries. A learned but proud and envious brahmin of South India came to Magadha to have a discussion with Dharmapāla. Śīlabhadra, at the time the most eminent of the disciples of Dharmapāla, although only thirty years of age, proposed to meet the brahmin in controversy, and the offer was accepted. At the discussion the brahmin was utterly defeated, and the king to mark his appreciation of the victor's success wished to endow him with the revenues of a certain city. But Śīlabhadra declined the gift saying— "The scholar with dyed garments is satisfied with the requisites of his Order; leading a life of purity and continence what has he to do with a city?" The king, however, urges him

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[1] *chuan* 9 and 11.

[2] Sui-hsiang-lun (No 1280).

to accept the reward— "The prince of religion has vanished" he says, "and the boat of wisdom has foundered; without public recognition there is nothing to stimulate disciples: for the advancement of Buddhism be graciously pleased to accept my offer". Then Śīlabhadra, unable to have his own way, accepted the city, and built the monastery. Carrying out the rule of right to the end, he offered up [the revenue from] the inhabitants of the city for the proper maintenance of the establishment.

Although the context of this passage seems to require us to regard Yuan-chuang as having actually gone to the Śīlabhadra monastery yet we need not suppose him to have visited either it or the Gunamati Monastery on his way from Pāṭaliputra to Gayā. In the translation here given the words "Carrying out the rule of right to the end" are for the Chinese *Ch'iung-chu-kuei-ku* (窮諸規矩), "carrying out right procedure thoroughly". Julien makes these words apply to the monastery and translates them by "vaste et magnifique", a rendering which seems inadmissible. In the description of the Deer.Wood Monastery in the previous *chuan* there is a similar expression-*li*([illegible]-) *ch'iung-kuei-chü*, which is used of the monastery, and means "perfectly artistic in ornamentation" (in Julien's rendering "d'une admirable construction.") But here we must take *ch'iung-chu-kuei-chü* as applying to Śīlabhadra. As a Buddhist bhikshu he could not receive such a gift as the revenue of a city for himself. At the king's urgent request, and for the good of the Church, he accepts the gift, but extremely punctilious in keeping the rules of his Order, he gives up the revenue as an offering to the Church. Then Julien understood the text of our passage to mean that Śīlabhadra gave the inhabitants of his city as slaves to his monastery. But this is not the meaning of the author, who does not distinguish between *city* and *city*-householders, and by each term means the revenue derived from the city.

From the Śīlabhadra Monastery the pilgrim travelled 40 or 50 *li* south-west, crossed the Nairañjanā River and came to Gayā. This city was strongly situated but had few inhabitants; there were only above 1000 brahmin families, descendants of the original

(or according to some texts, great) rishi, and these were not subject to the king, and were treated by all with reverence. Above 30 *li* to the north of the city was a clear spring, the water of which was regarded as sacred and purifying. Five or six *li* to the south-west of the city was the Gayā Mountain with dark gorges and inaccessible cliffs, called by Indians "Spiritual Mountain". From ancient times sovereigns who have spread their good government to distant peoples, and in merit have excelled previous dynasties, all ascend this mountain and solemnly announce what they have done. On the top of the mountain was a stone tope above 100 feet high built by Asoka at the place where Buddha uttered the "Pao-Yun" and other sūtras.

The city Gayā of this passage was supposed to have received its name from the great rishi named Gaya.[1] But in some of the Chinese translations the name is translated by "Elephant", as if for Gaja, and in some we find it so transcribed. The Gayā mountain also is called "Elephant-Head", the original being *Gayā-śiras.*[2] The "Pao-yun-ching" mentioned here is the "Ratnamegha-sūtra" which professes to have been communicated on the top of Gayā mountain to an immense congregation of disciples and superhuman beings. It is a Mahāyāna sūtra, and there are two translations of it in Chinese.[3]

The pilgrim proceeds to tell that south-east from the Gayā Mountain was a tope at the native city of Kāsyapa, and that to south of it were two topes at the places where Gayā Kāśyapa and Nadī Kāsyapa "served fire".

The three men here mentioned were brothers, the eldest, called in this passage simply Kāśyapa, being generally distinguished as Uruvilva Kāśyapa from the name of the place at which they lived. These brothers were great scholars and magicians, they were worshippers of the element of fire, and they had numerous disciples. Their home was at the town of Uruvilva on the Nairanjana

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1 Chung-hsü-ching *ch.* 6.

2 Chêng-fa-hua-ching *ch.* 1; Yin-kuo-ching *ch.* 3; Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 24. But the mountain called Gayāśiras is placed by some in a different part of the district.

3 See Nos. 151. 152 in Mr. Bunyio Nanjio's Catalogue.

(Phalgu) river, the youngest living a little down the stream. The story of their conversion is told in several of the Buddhist books and our author refers to it a little farther on.

> Eastward from the place where Gayā Kāśyapa served fire, the narrative proceeds, on the other side of a great river was the Prāg-bodhi mountain. When Ju-lai, the pilgrim explains, had been six years striving for bodhi without obtaining it, he renounced austerities, and accepted milk-gruel. Then coming from the north-east, and seeing this mountain, he liked its solitude and wanted to attain bodhi on it. Going up by the north-east ridge he reached the summit, an earthquake then occurred, and the oread told him that the mountain could not be used for the attainment of bodhi. The P'usa then went on down by the south-west side, and came to a cave in a cliff. In this he sat down intending to go into samādhi, when again the earth quaked and the mountain shook. Heavenly devas then called out to him— "This is not the place for the Ju-lai to attain bodhi fourteen or fifteen *li* south-west from this, not far from the scene of your austerities, there is a peepul tree with an adamant (*chin kang*) seat, and there the past and future Buddhas all attain bodhi, please go there". The P'usa rose to go, but at the request of the Dragon of the cave he left his shadow there. Going on preceded by the devas, he reached the Bodhi Tree. In after times king Asoka marked the various places in the P'usa' ascent and descent of the mountain by various kinds of monuments. All these present miracles, such as showers of aerial flowers and lights in the gorges; and every year. when the period of Retreat is over, stranger Brethren and laymen ascend to make offerings.

The account here given of the Pre-bodhi (Prāgbodhi) mountain, and the P'usa's experiences on it, was probably derived from local legend. Our pilgrim evidently did not visit the mountain on his way from Pāṭaliputra to the Bodhi Tree. According to the Life he proceeded from the Tilacheka (Tiloshika) monastery southwards, and after a journey of above 100 *li* arrived at the Bodhi Tree; but this statement probably means no more than that from the monastery to the Tree was above 100 *li* in a straight line south. Yuan-chuang apparently went first to the city of Gayā, thence to the Gayā mountain, and from that eastwards to the Tree. So also Fa-hsien went from Gayā

to the Bodhi Tree, but it is not easy to learn from his narrative the exact position of the Tree. Prāg-bodhi is evidently a Buddhist name of late origin, but the mountain is apparently the "isolated hill" of the Sarvata Vinaya. This work represents the P'usa as going to this hill with the intention of realising on it perfect enlightenment (bodhi); but the devas, as in Yuan-chuang's story, explained to him that the convulsions which had occurred indicated that this was not the proper place, and told him whither he should go.[1]

> The pilgrim next goes on to tell us that a journey of 14 or 15 *li* south-west from the Prāgbodhi Hill brought one to the Bodhi Tree. The enclosing walls, he relates, are built of brick, high and strong; the inclosure is long from east to west, and narrow from north to south, and it is above 500 paces in circuit. Rare trees and noted flowers make continuous shade; fine grass and strange plants climb over and cover everything. The principal gate opens east towards the Nairañjana River, the south gate is connected with a large flower-tank, the west limit is a natural defence, and the north gate communicates with the grounds inside the walls of a large monastery. The sacred traces are very close together; topes or shrines (*ching-shê*) have been raised, as memorials, by sovereigns, high officials, or nobles of India who were pious Buddhists.

Although the text of this passage seems to state that the pilgrim actually visited the Prāgbodhi Hill, and from it went on to the Bodhi Tree, yet it is better to take the words in a general sense. Yuan-chuang may have made the journey, following the P'usa's footsteps, during his stay in the district. The reader will observe that the great or outer inclosure of the Bodhi Tree is a wall with a gate on three sides, but on the west side there is a natural defence. This agrees with other accounts, and the Burmese tradition is thus given by Bigandet— "To consecrate, as it were, and perpetuate the remembrance of the seven spots occupied by Buddha during the forty-nine days that he spent round the tree Bodi, a Dzady was erected on

[1] Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shih *ch.* 5.

each of these seven places. King Pathanadi Kosala surrounded them with a double wall, and subsequently king Dammathoka added two others. There were only three openings or gates to penetrate into the enclosed ground, one on the north, another on the east, and the third on the south".[1]

Julien's translation here makes the pilgrim describe the enclosing wall as having a gate on the west side: this is probably due to his text having the *O* (戹) of the B edition instead of the *O* (阨) of the other editions. The former character is sometimes used in the sense of a *door*, and the latter character means a *barrier* or *obstruction*. The "fine grass" of this passage is *hsi-so* (細沙), the reading of the B text, but C and D have "fine sand". Then instead of the *yuan* (緣) "to climb", of the B and old Chinese texts, C and D have *lü* (綠) "green". Thus the D text makes the pilgrim state that "fine sand and strange vegetation cover all with a green mantle". The reading "fine sand" does not seem to suit the passage, but it is apparently in agreement with the account of the Vajra-seat in the next paragraph. There that sacred spot is described as being covered with sand earth. In this passage "India" is for the *Chan-pu-chou* or Jambudvipa of the original, and the pilgrim may have used this term in a comprehensive way including India and the adjacent countries. As the space enclosed within the walls of the sacred place of the Bodhi Tree was not great, the topes and shrines erected as memorial structures must have been of small dimensions.

Proceeding with his description the pilgrim relates that in the centre of the Bodhi Tree Inclosure is the "Adamant (Vajra, in Chinese *Chin-kang*) Seat" which came into existence at the beginning of the Bhadra Kalpa together with the world; it is in the middle of the Three Thousand Great Chiliocosm, reaches from the surface of the earth down to the Gold Wheel, is made of adamant (*chin-kang* or vajra) and is above 100 paces in circuit. The name is derived from the fact that here the 1000 Buddhas

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[1] Bigandet, 'Legend', Vol. I. p. 107.

of this kalpa go into the Vajra-samādhi; and as they attain bodhi at this spot it is also called the "Bodhi-Arena" (*Tao-ch ang*, that is Bodhi-maṇḍala or Bodhi-maṇḍa). This spot is undisturbed by cosmic convulsions; but since the decline of Buddhism in latter times it cannot be seen on account of the sand with which it has become covered. After the decease of the Buddha princes set up sitting images of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva (Kuantszŭ-tsai-P'usa) facing east at the north and south boundaries according to Buddha's description. Tradition said that when these images sink out of sight Buddhism will come to an end; the image at the south corner had already disappeared up to the breast. The Bodhi Tree at the Adamant-Seat is a peepul which in the Buddha's time was some hundreds of feet high, and although it had been cut down several times it remains forty or fifty feet high. This tree, the *Pusa shu* (or Bodhisattva Tree) is an evergreen, but every year on the day of the Buddha's decease it sheds its leaves, which are instantly replaced. On this day princes, Buddhist Brethren, and laymen, come of their own accord in myriads to the Tree, and bathe it with scented water and milk to the accompaniment of music, flowers are offered at the time and lights are kept continually burning. The pilgrim next relates the stories of Asoka and his queen, in succession, making determined efforts to destroy the Bodhi Tree, the attempts being in each case frustrated. When the Tree grew again, after the queen had caused it to be felled, Asoka surrounded it with a stone wall above ten feet high which was apparently still in existence. In recent times Śaśāṅka, the enemy and oppressor of Buddhism, cut down the Bodhi Tree, destroyed its roots down to the water, and burned what remained. A few months afterwards Pūrṇavarma, the last descendant of Asoka on the throne of Magadha, by pious efforts brought the tree back to life and in one night it became above ten feet high. This king then built round it a stone wall 24 feet high, and so the Bodhi Tree is now 20 (in D text, ten) feet above its protecting wall.

According to the Life the *Chin-kang-tso* or Vajrāsana was so called because it was made of adamant (vajra), an indestructible substance which could destroy everything. The two images of Kuan-tzu-tsai P'usa here mentioned apparently did not exist at the time of Fa-hsien's visit, and they are not in other treatises. Asoka's stone wall round the Bodhi Tree is apparently the wall which Fa-hsien says was made of brick. Then Fa-hsien tells of a tope here, and the Asokāvadāna mentions the building of

one at the spot by Asoka: the tope at the Bodhi Tree, moreover, was one of the Eight Great Topes, and was visited by pilgrims. So it is strange that Yuan-chuang does not make any reference to a tope at the place where the P'usa attained Buddhahood.

The description in our text proceeds to tell us that to the east of the Bodhi Tree was a temple (*ching-shê*) above 160 feet high, and with a front breadth at the base of above twenty paces. This temple was made of bricks and coated with lime; it had tiers of niches with gold images; its four walls were adorned with exquisite carvings of pearl-strings and genii; on the roof was a gilt copper āmalaka; connected with the east side of the temple were three lofty halls one behind another, the woodwork of these halls was adorned with gold and silver carvings and studded with precious stones of various colours, and an open passage through them communicated with the inner chamber. On the left-hand side of the outside door of these halls was an image of Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa, and on the right one of Tzŭ-shi (Maitreya) P'usa, each made of silver and above ten feet high. On the site of the Temple there had once stood a small chaitya (or temple) built by Asoka. The present Temple had been built by a brahmin acting on advice given to him by Śiva in the Snow Mountains, and the neighbouring tank had been built by the brahmin's brother also according to Śiva's advice. The pilgrim goes on to tell the wonderful story of the image of Buddha made by Maitreya in the disguise of a brahmin. This artist asked only for scented clay, and a lamp, and to be left alone in the Temple for six months. When this time was up except four days (not four months as in some texts), the people became curious, and opened the door to see. They found the beautiful likeness complete except for one little piece above the right breast, but the artist had disappeared. The image he had made represented the Buddha as he sat under the Bodhi Tree in the act of pointing to the earth and telling Māra that the earth would bear him witness. The pilgrim in continuation relates the abortive attempt of king Śaśāṅka to have the image removed and replaced by one of Śiva. He adds that Ju-lai attained supreme bodhi on the 8th (or according to the Sthavira school the 15th) day of the second half of the month Vaiśākha, being then 30 (or according to some 35) years of age.

The temple or chaitya here described as being on the east side of the Bodhi Tree was apparently within the large inclosure. It was approached through a succession

of three halls or pavilions, on the east side, and it was only through these that light reached the innermost shrine. In the "Fang-chih" the base of the temple has a continuous stone railing ten feet high all round. This Temple is not mentioned by Fa-hsien, and from our pilgrim's description we must infer that the whole was a comparatively recent structure. Cunningham regards the present "Mahâbodhi Temple" as the building described by our pilgrim, and gives his reasons.[1] But these, as usual, do not agree with the Chinese texts, and are not convincing. Thus he says that the present Temple is 48 feet square at its base, and so agrees with Yuan-chuang's statement; but the latter is to the effect that on one side the base measured above 20 paces, and nothing is said about the dimensions of the other sides. Then Yuan-chuang says that the building was made of bricks and coated with lime, the term for "bricks" being *ch'ing-chuan* (青甎). Beal translates this by "blue bricks" and Cunningham finds the present Temple made of bluish bricks. But *ch'ing-chuan* denotes simply common dull-coloured bricks, and it was evidently of such bricks the Temple was made, otherwise there would not have been a coating of plaster. The "Fang-chih" here, however, has merely *ch'ing-chuan* without any mention of a lime coating. Further the four faces of Cunningham's Temple have several tiers of niches for images, but Yuan-chuang does not say that the tiers of niches were on all sides of the brahmin's temple. Then Cunningham finds that the entrance to the east side of "Mahâbodhi Temple" was certainly an addition to the original building, and he thinks this agrees with Yuan-chuang as translated by Cunningham from Julien— "Afterwards on the eastern side there was added a pavilion." The Chinese text, however, has nothing corresponding to "afterwards" and Julien's "on a construit, à la suite" was perhaps used in the sense of "there was built in continuation", which would give Yuan-chuang's meaning. Moreover

[1] Mahâbodhi, Preface and Historical Notices.

there does not seem to be any authority whatever for Cunningham's title for his book, and for his statement that certain ruins were called "Mahābodhi Temple". This name is not found in any one of the texts Chinese, Burmese, or Indian, that he cites in support of his allegation. The Burmese inscription which he quotes is concerned with the "Páyatha-bhat (Pāyāsa-bhatta) the temple at the spot where Siddhārtha ate the "rice-milk" or milk-gruel. This, we are told, was near the "Maha Baudhi Paribauga Zedi (Mahābodhiparibhogacetiya) the consecrated shrine of the Mahabodhi [tree].[1] It could not be the Tsaokuṭa Temple of Yuan-chuang which was on a different site. Yuan-chuang does not give any name to this temple, and it is not mentioned in the Life. That work and I-ching's treatises mention the Mahābodhi-ssŭ or vihāra to be noticed presently. It was in this vihāra or monastery that the pilgrims Hsüan-chao, I-ching, and Chĭ-hung saw the beautiful image of Buddha— his "true likeness"— which I-ching also says was made by Maitreya. Among the Chinese texts cited by Cunningham is an inscription found in the Bodhi Tree district and dated in the cyclic year which corresponds to A. D. 1022. This inscription, the original text of which will be found in the Journal of the R. A. S. Vol. XIII. p. 556) was made by a pilgrim named K'o-yun. It contains verses which that pilgrim composed on the "true likeness" that is, the Maitreya-made image of Buddha but it does not contain anything corresponding to "Mahābodhi Temple". The characters are not distinct, but the pilgrim's first ode seems to run thus— "The great Hero Maitreya (tzŭ-shĭ) in compassion to all creatures left them the real: although there is no oracular utterance (無言說) yet there is the Deity; it (i. e. the image) is respected by the heterodox and loved by the discerning: although 2000 years old its face remains new". K'o-yun's next ode praises the separate parts of this image, its thirty two superior marks,

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[1] As. Res. Vol. XX. p. 161 ff.

the ushṇîsha, the ûrṇâ, the hands and the robed body. This pilgrim's verses were apparently cut in the stone slab which he set up above 30 paces to the north of the Bodhi Tree, and thus near the Mahâbodhi vihâra, in which he was probably lodging. The kasha robe which his two companions brought is represented as having been put on "the Buddha-seat of Mahâbodhi". It is possible that the beautiful image made by Maitreya may have been transferred to the great monastery. Yuan-chuang does not seem to have actually seen this image, and all his information about it seems to have been obtained from others. He gives us to understand, indeed, that the image was not to be seen by all visitors. As the brahmin Temple was made by a Śaivite brahmin for his own worldly advancement it may have been neglected and allowed to fall into decay. It does not seem to be impossible, however, that it may be the present old ruins which Cunningham calls the "Mahâbodhi Temple". The reader will remember that the Tibetans tell of a *Dri-gtsan-k'an*, that is, a gandhakûṭa or temple to Buddha at the Bodhi-maṇḍa. In this temple, which was originally nine storeys high, was an image of Buddha which had a curious history. The temple was built by a converted young brahmin named Dge-ba, that is Kalyâṇa, "the virtuous" or "auspicious", the youngest of three brothers. The making of the image was undertaken for him by divine artists, and they required seven days within which to finish the work. But on the sixth day the mother of Kalyâṇa insisted on seeing the image to console her in death. It was shewn to her as it stood unfinished, but the artists disappeared and the image remained incomplete. Here Târanâtha seems to represent the Mahâbodhi as being within this temple of Kalyâṇa.[1]

The pilgrim proceeds to relate that to the north of the Bodhi Tree was the place of Buddha's walking up and down. Julai, he states, on the attainment of bodhi remained motionless under the Tree for seven days. Then he rose, and going to the north

[1] Târ. 18ff., 242, 256.

of the Tree he walked up and down, east and west, for seven days. There were eighteen strange ornaments for the footsteps in the ten paces of his walking: here men of after times made a base of bricks above three feet high. Yuan-chuang adds that he learned from local records that this base for the sacred footprints indicated the duration of a person's life, its length being greater or less to a devotee according to the years of his life.

This interpretation of our author differs from the rendering given by Julien who seems to take liberties with his text here. The words *hsing-shi-yü-pu* (行十餘步) "going above ten paces", cannot be rendered "sur un espace d'environ dix pas", but belong to the words which follow. These are in Julien's translation— "Des fleurs extraordinaires, au nombre de dix-huit, surgirent sur ses traces". But there is nothing in the text for *surgirent* and *wên* (文) is not a classifier of *flowers*. *Hua-wên* is an ornamental tracing or figure and there were eighteen such figures, one for each of Buddha's footprints for the ten paces. Then Julien adds— "Dans la suite, on couvrit cet endroit d'un massif en briques de trois pieds de hauteur". The text for this is Hou-jen-yü-tzŭ-lei-chuan-wei-chi-kao-yü-san-chih (後人于此壘甎爲基高餘三尺) that is, "later men here raised a brick base above three feet high". The *chi* or "base" was the wall which fronted and protected the actual walk, the latter being at Yuan-chuang's time probably made of chunam. In the next sentence Julien has— "Le massif en brique, posé sur les vestiges du Saint" for "*t'sŭ-shêng-chih-chi*, that is, "this base for the sacred footprints". The Buddha's Walk of our pilgrim corresponds to the Ratanacaṅkamacetiya or Jewel-walk chaitya of the "Jātaka", which was between the Bodhi Tree and the Animisacetiya, and so to the north-east of the Tree.[1] Fa-hsien tells of a tope (that is, Chaitya) at the spot where Buddha walked east and west under the Pei-to (i. e. Bodhi) Tree for seven days, but he does not mention an artificial raised and covered passage.[2] With

[1] Jāt. Vol. I. p. 77.

[2] Fo-kuo-chi *ch.* 31.

im, as with the Pali writers, the Walk is evidently only place (thāna or ch'ü) marked by a chaitya. Cunningam devotes ch. III. of his "Mahābodhi" to this "Buddha Walk" which, he says, "still exists close to the north side f the Temple" and is "a simple brick wall 53 feet long, feet 6 inches broad, and a little more than 3 feet in eight".

The pilgrim's narrative continues— North of the Walk, and on a flat rock to the left (according to the D text, the right) of the road, was a large chaitya (*ching-shê*). In this was an image of the Buddha gazing with uplifted eyes. The explanation Yuan-chuang gives is that here Ju-lai for seven days contemplated the Bodhi Tree without moving his eyes gazing at it in gratitude.

The chaitya here mentioned is the Animisacetiya of he "Jātaka",[1] and the Animisalochana-chaitya of other ooks,[2] the Pu-shun-mu-t'a (不瞬目塔) or "Tope of uninking eyes" of Chinese translation.[3] This was the second f the Seven Places at which Buddha remained seven days n attaining bodhi, the place where, according to Fa-hsien, e "beholding the Tree experienced the joy of emanciation."

Our pilgrim goes on to tell that near the Bodhi Tree, on the west side, was a large temple containing a bronze (*t'u-si*) standing image of the Buddha adorned with precious stones. This image faced east, and in front of it was a dark-blue stone beautifully ornamented. The temple represented the Hall of the seven precious substances made by Brahmā for Buddha on his attainment of bodhi, and the stone was the seat of similar substances presented by Sakka on the same occasion. Here Buddha remained for seven days, absorbed in meditation, and lit up the Bodhi Tree with light emitted from his body. In the long lapse of time, however, the precious substances had changed into stone.

The Temple here described represents the fourth of the leven Places, and is the Ratanaghara cetiya or "Jewelouse chaitya" (the Yatanagara of the Burmese). It was uilt by the devas according to some authorities, and was

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[1] Jāt. l. c.
[2] Spence Hardy's 'Manual', p. 185; Lalitavistara *ch.* XXIV.
[3] Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 81.

to the north-west (or south-west) of the Bodhi Tree. This Ratanaghara, or "House of the seven precious substances" as Fa-hsien calls it, was used by the Buddha for seven of the 49 days he spent near the Bodhi Tree. In it he meditated on the way of salvation he had thought out, and on the doctrines in which it was to be embodied for future teaching.[1]

> Continuing his narrative Yuan-chuang relates that not far from the Bodhi Tree, on the south, was an Asoka tope above 100 feet high at the spot where the P'usa on his way to the Bodhi Tree got grass for a seat from Indra disguised as a grass-cutter. Near this, he adds, on the north-east side was a tope where the "dark-coloured birds" in flocks gave the P'usa as he was going to the Tree a happy omen.

The story of the P'usa obtaining kuśa grass for a seat as he was approaching the Peepul Tree under which he was to become Buddha is well known. In some treatises Indra, changed into a grass-cutter for the occasion, supplies the grass,[2] and in some the P'usa obtains it from a deva, or a brahmin, or a peasant.[3] The name of the grass-cutter is given as Santi or Svastika, and the grass is also called by the latter name. This word is rendered in Chinese by *Chi-hsiang* (吉祥) or *Chi-li* (吉利), the two terms having the same meaning of lucky or *auspicious*.[4] For the "dark-coloured birds" of this passage the Chinese is *ch'ing-chio* (青雀) which Julien translates „des passereaux bleus". But in old Chinese literature this name denoted a water-bird, apparently of a dark green colour, which was painted on flags as a signal. In popular literature, however, *ch'ing-chio* is another name for the *Sang-hu* (桑扈) which is a *finch*. Now in the "Hsing-chi-ching" and

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[1] This Hall which is mentioned in the Introduction to the Jātaka, (Vol. 1. p. 78), and in other works, is not mentioned in the Lalita-vistara or the Hsing-chi ching, or the Pali Vinaya.

[2] Rockhill, 'Life', p. 31, Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 26. Yin-kuo-ching *ch.* 3

[3] Rgya Tcher Rol pa p. 273; Hsiu-hsing-pên-ch'i-ching *ch.* 2 (No. 664).

[4] Fo-kuo-chi *ch.* 31

other sūtras *ch'ing-chio* is evidently used to translate the śukaśārikā of the Lalitavistara.[1] Śukaśārikā is rendered "parrots and mainahs (or jays)", but the Indian teachers of the Chinese evidently regarded the term as a compound denoting a bird which partook of the characters of the parrot and the mainah, and to them the śukaśārikā were birds of one kind and like the finches of China. This was perhaps the sense in which the pilgrims use the term *ch'ing-chio*. Fa-hsien, in accordance with some scriptures, gives the number of the "Dark birds" as 500.[2] The Chinese for "in flocks" here is *ch'ün-lu* (群鹿) literally "flocks deer", and Julien translates "une troupe de cerfs", but the term means "changing groups". The birds as they flew made one set of flocks, and then broke off and formed themselves into other groups. It is evident that Yuan-chuang understood these birds to be disguised devas escorting the P'usa to the Bodhi Tree, and the context shews that he did not think of other creatures joining in the escort. So also some accounts of the incident mention only the convoy of birds, but others have in addition elephants, horses, oxen, and boys and girls with other objects.[3] The deer is not an animal of good omen in India, and the sight of "une troupe de cerfs" would not have been cheering to the P'usa.

Yuan-chuang, proceeding with his enumeration, states that on the east of the Bodhi Tree were two topes, one on the right, and one on the left of the highway. It was here, he says, that Māra tempted the P'usa as the latter was about to become Buddha. Māra advised the P'usa to become a supreme sovereign, and when his advice was not taken he went back greatly chagrined. His daughters with his permission went to seduce the P'usa, but

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[1] Lal. *ch.* XIX. In the "Fang-kuang-ta-chuang-yen-ching" *ch.* 8 we find parrots and mainahs where the other treatises have *ch'ing-chio*. Rājendralāla Mitra thought that the *ch'ing-chio* of our passage were "the blue-necked jays which are held by the Hindus to be very auspicious if seen when starting on a journey" (Buddha Gayā, p. 32, and see p. 58 note.)

[2] T'ai-tzŭ-sui-ying-pên-ch'i-ching *ch.* 2.

[3] Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 26.

by the mysterious influence of the latter, their fascinating bodies were changed, and they went away, lean and decrepit, in each other's arms.

Māra's exhortation to the P'usa referred to in this passage was the beginning of the Evil One's attempts to prevent the P'usa from attaining Buddhahood. In the Introduction to the Jātaka Māra is represented as announcing universal sovereignty to the Prince Siddhārtha when the latter is leaving Kapilavastu to become an ascetic."[1] Other treatises, such as the "Buddha-charita", the "Yin-kuo-ching", the "Hsing-chi-ching", make Māra appear to the P'usa under the Bodhi Tree, and solemnly counsel him to leave that spot, and go to do his duty as a Kshatriya by becoming a Chakravartī ruling over the four divisions of the world, and Lord of earth.[2] Māra's daughters are three in number, Rati, Arati, and Tṛishṇā (or Ragā, Arati, Tanhā), and they in the legends have recourse to various artifices in the design of seducing the P'usa.[3] In some accounts, however, they do not take action until the defeat of their father and all his forces, and they are sometimes represented as flying away from their attempt on the P'usa, or as retiring with his pardon.

The next object mentioned by our pilgrim is the temple (or Chaitya) of Kāśyapa Buddha, which was to the north-west of the Bodhi Tree. In this temple, he tells us, was an image of that Buddha which was reputed to be of efficacious sanctity: believing devotees by making seven circumambulations obtained a knowledge of their previous existences. To the north-west of this temple were two brick houses each with an image (or a picture) of an Earth-god. Of these two gods one had told the P'usa of the approach of Māra, and the other had come forth as witness for the Red, in his struggle with the Evil One.

For this account of the two brick houses to the Earth-gods Julien had a defective text, and he did not use all

[1] Vol. I. p. 63.

[2] Bud. Char. B. XIII; Yin-kuo-ching ch. 3; Hsing-chi-ching ch. 28.

[3] For the attempts of Māra and his daughters to prevent Prince Siddhārtha from at the Bodhi see Windisch 'Māra u. Buddha'.

he had. He translates— "Jadis, lorsque *Jou-lai* était sur le point d'obtenir l'intelligence accomplie, l'un des esprits de la terre servit de temoin au *Bouddha*". The reading in the A, C, and D texts after "Formerly when Ju-lai was about to become Buddha" is *i-pao-Mo-chih-i-wei-Fo-chêng* (一報魔至一爲佛證), "one announced the arrival of Māra, one became Buddha's witness". By some mistake the Ming texts leave out the *i-pao*, "one announced" and Julien, equal to the occasion, leaves out "the arrival of Māra".[1]

Our pilgrim's description next tells of a tope near the west (D) or north-west of the Bodhi Tree inclosure. It was above 40 feet high and was called the Saffron Tope. The head of a trading company from Tsaokuṭa had with his fellows been miraculously preserved at sea by the interference of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva. On his return to his native land the merchant built a tope which he coated with saffron-scented plaster. Then he and his companions made a pilgrimage to the Bodhi Tree, and while they were at this place, the Saffron Tope suddenly appeared before them.

This Saffron Tope seems to be known only from Yuan-chuang's mention of it here. As a work of private religious merit, like the brahmin's temple, it was probably allowed to fall into decay and ruin.

The pilgrim next relates that at the south-east corner of the Bodhi Tree inclosure was a banyan tree beside which were a tope and a temple. The latter contained a sitting image of the Buddha, and was on the spot where Brahmā besought Buddha, on his attainment of bodhi, to begin the preaching of his religion.

The incident here referred to is related in several treatises. The Buddha was despairing of being able to teach his way of salvation, when Brahmā came down from Heaven and urged him to preach his religion among men.[2] According to the Pali accounts the visit of Brahmā to

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[1] In the account of the image in the brahmin's temple, it will be remembered, Buddha is pointing to the earth. It is the "second Earth-God" who comes forth and bears witness for the Buddha.

[2] Hsing-chi-ching ch. 33; Rockhill, 'Life', p. 35; Ssŭ-fên-lü ch. 31.

Buddha took place while the latter was staying at the Ajapāla tree.[1]

> At each of the four corners of the Bodhi Tree inclosure, the pilgrim continues, was a large tope. These four topes marked the places, on the verge of the Vajra-seat, where on the P'usa's arrival earthquakes occurred, these disturbances ceasing when he found the Vajrāsana. Within this inclosure, the pilgrim adds, the sacred memorials were crowded together, and it would be impossible to enumerate them. He goes on to describe that a tope to the south-west of the Bodhi Tree inclosure marked the home of the two cowherd maidens who presented the P'usa with milk-gruel, and near it were two other topes also connected with this incident.

In this passage, as before in *chuan* VII., Yuan-chuang applies the term *mu-nu* (牧女) or "cowherd-girls" to the maidens who gave the P'usa rich boiled milk and rice when he gave up extreme fasting and returned to his daily meal. There is one Chinese sūtra in which we find the person who gave the milk-gruel described as a „cowherd woman", *mu-niu-nu-jen* (牧牛女人) named Nandabalā.[2] This woman lived outside a village on the Nairañjana river, and the gruel was a miraculous creation found on the leaves of a lotus. But other texts Pali and Sanskrit, with the Tibetan and Chinese translations, describe the gruel as presented by a young lady, or by two sisters, whose father was the chief or the rishi of his village. In some versions of the legend the one lady is Sujātā, the *Shan-shêng* or "Well-born"— "Eugénie" of the Chinese translations. Her father is Nandika,[3] or he is Senāpati (or Sena or Senāni),[4] or he is simply "the head of the village" (grāmika).[5] Other versions describe the offering as being

[1] Bigandet, 'Legend', Vol. I. p. 112; Maj. Nik Vol. I. p. 168 (P. T. S.).

[2] Yin-kuo-ching *ch.* 3. In the Sar. Vin. Ch'u-chia-shih *ch.* 2 the expression "two cowherd girls" is applied to Nandā and Nandabalā, but on the same page these girls are daughters of the chief Senāyana.

[3] Hsing chi ching *ch.* 24; Rgya Tcher. p. 258 ff.

[4] Fang-kuang-ta-chuang-yen-ching *ch.* 7. Jāt. Vol. I. p. 68.

[5] Mahāvāstu T. II. p. 268.

made by the two sisters Nandā and Balā (or Nandabalā), their father also being called Nandika or Senāpati.[1] In some texts we find two gifts of milk, one by Sujātā the daughter of Nandika at an early period of Siddhartha's course of asceticism, and one by Nandā and Balā, daughters of Senāni, when his mortifications are over. In all versions the place of the milk-gruel offering is the neighbourhood of Uruvilvā near the Nairañjana river.[2]

The pilgrim proceeds with his description. Outside of the south gate of the Bodhi Tree, or the Bodhi Tree inclosure (D), was a large tank, above 700 paces in circuit, of pure clear water, the home of dragons and fish. This was the tank made by the younger brother of the brahmin who built the beautiful temple already described.

To the south of this tank, the pilgrim continues, was another. When Buddha had attained samyak sambodhi he wanted to wash his clothes, and Indra created this tank for him. On its west side was a large rock: when Buddha had washed his garments he wanted to have them dried, and Indra brought him this rock from the Snow Mountains. Beside this was a tope where Julai put on the old clothes, and south from it, in a wood, was a tope at the place where he received the poor granny's offering of old clothes.

The tank, rock, and two topes of this passage were all associated in the pilgrim's mind with one story, and Julien has somewhat spoiled the description by translating *huan-cho* (浣濯) by "se baigner". The words, as the context shews, mean "wash his garments". All the four objects here mentioned preserved the memory of the following legend. Sometime before Siddhārtha became Buddha an old woman of the Uruvilva district was left out to die in the wood near the Bodhi Tree. While here she gave her

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[1] Hsiu-hsing-pên-ch'i-ching ch. 2, where the father of the two girls is the Sena rishi; Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shih ch. 5, the two girls are daughters of Senāpati; Rockhill, 'Life', p. 30 and note.

[2] The Saŭ-fên-lü does not make mention of any giving of milk by a young girl; it describes the P'usa as getting food from a brahmin of Uruvilvā and afterwards from Sujātā the wife of the brahmin. In Hardy's authorities (M. B. p. 170) also Sujātā, who gives the milk-gruel, is a married lady.

poor ragged garment to the P'usa, and when he became Buddha he wished to wear it. But as it was dirty he wanted to wash it before putting it on, and Indra, knowing his desire, produced a river (or tank) near the Bodhi Tree. Having washed the garment, Buddha wanted a rock on which to dry it, and Indra produced the rock.[1] Other versions of the legend represent Buddha as picking up the dirty garment in a cemetery, and, when he wanted to wash it before putting it on, a deva produced a tank, and Indra a rock.[2] Some accounts describe Indra as producing the tank by pointing to the ground, and so it was called "Pointing-to-earth-Tank (chĭ-ti-chĭ 指地池).[3] In the "Lalitavistara" it is called Pāṇihata or "Hand-struck" because a deva produced it by striking the ground. The garment which Buddha washed in Indra's tank is often called a "dirt-heap garment", and in the "Lalitavistara" it is a pāṇḍudukūla or yellow robe, the burial-dress of the slave girl which Buddha took from the dead body to wear.[4]

The pilgrim proceeds to describe that in a wood to the east of the Indra Tank was the tank of the Dragon-king Muchalinda, the water of which was clear and dark with a sweet agreeable taste. On the west bank was a small temple with an image of the Buddha. It was here that Buddha on attaining bodhi sat in samādhi for seven days while the Dragon-king, with his body in seven coils round the body of the Buddha and with several heads specially produced for the purpose, screened and protected him. On the opposite bank was the home of this Dragon-king.

In his translation of this notice of the Muchalinda Tank Julien makes a change in the text which cannot be accepted. For *ch'ing-hei* (清黑), "clear and black" applied to the water he substitutes *ch'ing*(青)-*hei* which he translates "de couleur noir-bleu", adding in a note that 清 is "une faute grave" for 青. But all the texts and the "Fang-chih" have the former which, as the construction

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[1] Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 32.
[2] Fang-kuang-ta-chuang-yen-ching *ch.* 7.
[3] Yin-kuo-ching *ch.* 4.
[4] Lal. *ch.* XVIII.

shews, is the correct reading. This Muchilinda Tank was the sixth of the Seven Places,[1] but we also read that the Buddha spent here the fifth of his seven weeks near the Bodhi Tree.[2] One or two of the legends give the dragon seven heads,[3] but these are not as in Yuan-chuang, described as made for the occasion. In Palı the snake has only one head and his name is Muchalinda.[4] The account of him shielding the Buddha, absorbed in samādhi, from rain wind and irritating insects, is well known.

> The description continues. In a wood to the east of the Muchilinda Tank was a temple with an image of the Buddha in an emaciated condition; near it was his exercise ground with a peepul at its north and south ends. Educated and common people now as formerly when attacked by a malady smear the image with fragrant oil and, in many cases, cures are effected It was here the P'usa went through a course of austerities. Julai in order to subdue the other systems also accepted Māra's invitation and went through austerities fo. six years: his daily allowance here was one grain of hemp or wheat, and he became wasted and emaciated; it was here that when walking up and down he raised himself by the help of a tree.

In this passage Yuan-chuang gives us to understand that the temple of the Starving P'usa and his exercise ground were at the very place where the P'usa mortified his flesh for six years. The text presents difficulties and it is perhaps corrupt. The statement that "Ju-lai in order to subdue the other systems also accepted Māra's invitation" (如來爲伏外道又受魔請) is rather perplexing. Julien's translation— "Après avoir dompté les hérétiques et reçu une prière du Māra," which reverses the order of things in the text, is not correct. The extreme emaciation of the P'usa at the end of his six years' fasting and mortification is told with painful minuteness in several

[1] As. Res. Vol. XX. p. 187.

[2] Fang-kuang-ta-chuang-yen-ching l. c.

[3] Hsing-chi-ching ch. 31.

[4] Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shih ch. 5; Ssŭ-fên-lü ch. 31. Vinaya (Pali) 1. 3. A different version of the legend will be found in the notice of the blind dragon.

treatises. He is represented as mere skin and bone, with sallow complexion and sunken eyes, unable to stand erect, and apparently as good as dead.[1]

The pilgrim next tells us that near the Peepul tree of the place of austerities was a tope to mark the spot at which Ajñāta Kauṇḍinya and his four companions lodged while they were in attendance on the P'usa. When the latter left his home to wander among mountains and marshes, and lodge by wood and spring, king Suddhodana, his father, had sent these five men to watch and wait on him. When he adopted a life of austerity the five also made diligent quest (that is, for emancipation).

We have already had the story of these five men in the account of Benares in *Chuan* VII. They were Ajñāta Kauṇḍinya (also called Kauṇḍinaja or Kondañña), Aśvajit, and Vāshpa paternal uncles of Prince Siddhārtha, and Mahānāma and Bhadrika his maternal uncles, according to some authorities.[2] But the story of these men being sent by king Suddhodana, or by him and the king of Koli, to watch and tend Siddhartha, does not square with their proceedings. They join the prince in practising austerities, approving of his extreme mortifications; and when he gives up his course of suicidal fasting, they leave him in disgust and go away to the Deer Park at Benares. The version of the legend which makes these five men to be merely ascetics or bhikshus living at the same place with the P'usa, and practising the same sort of austerities with the same object, is more in keeping with the sequel of the story.[3]

The pilgrim goes on to describe that south-east from this tope was one at the spot where Buddha went into the Nairanjana river to bathe, and near it was the place where he received and ate the milk-gruel. Near this were topes where Buddha received his first food for 49 days from the two travelling merchants, and where the four Deva-rājas offered him four

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[1] A representation of him in this emaciated state will be found in the 'Journal of Indian Art and Industry' No. 62.

[2] Rockhill, 'Life', p. 28 and note. Divyâvadâna III. 328.

[3] Yin-kuo-ching *ch.* 3; Ssŭ-fên-lü *ch.* 31.

golden alms-bowls in which to hold this food. The pilgrim goes on to tell that, when the Buddha declined these bowls as unsuitable for a religious mendicant, the deva-rājas presented in succession alms-bowls of silver, crystal, lapislazuli, agate, nacre, and pearls, but these also were declined. Then each of the deva-rājas brought from his palace a stone bowl of a dark-violet colour, bright and lustrous. Bhagavān in order to prevent jealousy accepted these four bowls, put them together and compressed them into one, and this procedure accounts for the four-fold rim of the Buddha's alms-bowl.

This story of the two travelling merchants and the Deva-rajas agrees closely with the accounts in other books such as the "Hsing-chi-ching" and the Tibetan translation of the "Lalitavistara". The two merchants are Trapushr and Bhallika whom we have met already. For the "nacre" of my rendering the Chinese is Ch'ê-ch'ü (車 渠) which Julien wrongly translates "amber". The word, which is evidently of foreign origin, denotes not only mother of pearl, but also a white precious stone imported into China from India It is used to translate Musāragalva which denotes "coral", and it is also found as transcribing or translating Karketana, the name of a white mineral. In several versions of the story there is no mention of the bowls of gold, silver, and other precious substances but each of the four Deva-rājas brings one stone bowl. Buddha accepts all these to prevent jealousy, and deals with them as in the text.[1]

Our pilgrim next tells us that close to the tope of the Alms-bowls offering was one where Buddha preached on his mother's behalf. As soon as Julai, having attained bodhi, was styled "Teacher of devas and men", his mother Māyā descended from Heaven at this place; and Bhagavān taking advantage of the opportunity imparted instruction for her edification and happiness. Beside this on a bank of a dried-up tank was a tope at the spot where Julai exhibited miraculous appearances, converting those with the efficient karma. Close to this was a tope at the place where Buddha received into his communion the three brothers Kāśyapa, and their 1000 disciples. When Julai began his career

[1] Oldenberg's 'Vinaya', I. 4; Wu-fên lü ch. 5.

of religious leader and conqueror, the 500 disciples of Uruvilvā Kāsyapa requested permission to join him and their master said—Let us all leave error's way. So they went to Buddha, who told them to cast away their deer skin garments and utensils of Fire-worship. The brahmins thereupon threw their clothes and utensils into the Nairañjana. Nadī-Kāśyapa, seeing the sacred vessels borne down the river, went to enquire about his elder brother's conduct, and seeing Uruvilva had changed his religion he also became a Buddhist. Then Gayā-Kāśyapa, with his 200 disciples, learning that his brothers had given up their system, also joined Buddha, wishing to lead his religious life. To the north-west of the Kāśyapa Tope was one at the spot where Buddha vanquished the Fire-dragon (that is, nāga or cobra) worshipped by the Kāśyapas. In order to convince these brahmins Buddha resolved to make himself master of their god. So he spent a night in the Fire-dragon's cave; when the dragon spouted smoke and flames, Buddha produced a glare which made the cave appear to be in flames; then he took the Fire-dragon in his alms-bowl and shewed him to the brahmins. Beside this tope was one on the place where 500 Pratyeka-Buddhas died at the same time. To the south of the Muchilinda Tank was a tope where Kāśyapa went to rescue Buddha from apparent drowning. The brothers Kāsyapa at this time were adepts in occult lore, and were respected and believed in by all. Bhagavan then proceeding to lead men out of error and reduce them to submission by great exercises of power produced rain-clouds which caused great downfalls of water all round the place where he was. Kāśyapa seeing the floods thought the Buddha might be drowned and went in a boat to rescue him, but he found Buddha walking on dry sand, water on all sides, and so Kāśyapa went away convinced.

In Julien's translation of this account of the topes to commemorate Buddha's complete triumph over the three brothers Kāśyapa there is a rendering which requires to be noticed. According to the pilgrim at the time of Buddha's visit to them, that is, very soon after he had become Buddha, the three brothers *t'ui-shên-t'ung* (推神通) according to the old texts, but *t'ui-shên-tao* (道) in the Ming edition. These words mean "were advanced in iddhi", or "were adepts in occult sciences", skilled in supernormal ways. Julien renders the words by "ayant adopté la doctrine sublime du *Bouddha*", a rendering which is not in accordance with either the facts of the case, or the

meanings of the words. Uruvilvā Kāśyapa was 120,[1] or according to some 300 years old. when Buddha came to visit him with the view of making him a convert.[2] He was a fire-worshipper, a great astrologer and fortune-teller, he had extraordinary magical powers, and was held in high esteem and reverence by all the people of Magadha.[3] In a cave called the Fire-sanctuary he worshipped the fierce wicked Fire-dragon of which Yuan-chuang tells Buddha coming to Uruvilvā to convert Kāśyapa insisted or being allowed to spend a night in the Fire-sanctuary. His contest with and victory over the dragon there is told in many books.[4] So also the story of Buddha and the flood at this place is related in other treatises. In some of these, however, the waters amid which Buddha stands and walks on dry ground are only a natural flood, not a magic deluge made by Buddha. These two miraculous exhibitions, along with many others, were made by Buddha in competition, as it were, with Uruvilvā Kāśyapa. This rishi was an arhat of position and distinction, and Buddha was desirous of gaining him over to the Brotherhood he was establishing. So he wrought some thousands of miracles, and argued and expounded until he prevailed on the great Fire-worshipper to give up his religion and prestige, and take the vows of a Buddhist mendicant. When the eldest brother had gone over, his disciples followed his example, and afterwards his two brothers in succession, with their disciples, also became Buddhists. All soon rose to be arhats in the new religion, but we find little mention of them after their ordination beyond certain miraculous exhibitions made by the eldest brother in honour of Buddha.[5]

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[1] Chung-pên-ch'i-ching *ch.* 1 (No. 556); Rockhill 'Life', p. 41.

[2] Chung hsü-ching *ch.* 9.

[3] Fang-kuang-ching *ch.* 12; Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 40, 41, 42.

[4] Vinaya, Vol. I. pp. 24—35, Mahāvastu T. III, p. 424 ff. The legend in this work differs in some particulars from the versions in other treatises.

[5] Chung-a-han-ching *ch.* 11

The pilgrim proceeds to relate that two or three *li* outside of the east gate of the Bodhi Tree inclosure was the home of the Blind dragon. As the result of bad karma in former births, he states, this dragon had been born blind. When Julai on his way from the Prāgbodhi Hill to the Bodhi Tree was passing the dragon's cave, the dragon suddenly obtained, eyesight and predicted to the P'usa the attainment of Buddahood that day. He explained that when the three Past Buddhas in succession began their careers he had been released from blindness on each occasion, and so the present opening of his eyes told him that the P'usa was about to become Buddha.

In this account of the Dragon-rāja giving the P'usa assurance of success at the Bodhi Tree our pilgrim follows certain scriptures. These tell us that after being refreshed by the maiden's offering of food the P'usa was on his way to the Bodhi Tree, and passing the den of a blind dragon. By the prodigies which occurred at the moment and the opening of his own eyes, the dragon knew that a Buddha had appeared, and predicted to the P'usa immediate success.[1] In other books the dragon Muchilinda is blind, and gains his eyesight after his protection of Buddha for seven days.[2] Then there are several treatises which call the prophesying dragon Kāḷa or Kāḷika (in Chinese Kāṭa written 迦荼) meaning "Black", and do not represent him as blind.[3] In some of these he has a queen and family, and has lived through several kalpas, having witnessed the coming of the three Past Buddhas.

The pilgrim next tells of the tope at the place where Māra rāja tried to frighten the P'usa at the side of the east gate of the Bodhi Tree inclosure. When Māra, he adds, learned that the P'usa was about to attain perfect enlightenment, having failed in his wiles to lead the P'usa astray, he became gloomy and desponding. Then collecting all his gods he marshalled them in battle array to terrify the P'usa. And now there were tempest and showers, thunder and lightning and gloomy darkness, shooting fire and flying smoke, sand and stones were heaved up all kinds of arms (lit. spears and shields and bows and arrows)

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[1] Yin-kuo-ching *ch.* 3; Chung-hsü-ching *ch.* 6.

[2] T'ai-tzŭ-sui-ying-ching *ch.* 2: Fo-kuo-chi *ch.* 31.

[3] Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 26; Lal. *ch.* XIX; Mahāvastu T. II. p. 397 ff

were applied everywhere. Hereupon the P'usa went into the samādhi of "great compassion", and all the warlike weapons were changed into lotus flowers, and Māra's army panic-stricken fled in all directions.

In his rendering of the original here Julien has failed to express his author's meaning. Thus his "le tonnerre gronda dans l'espace, et des éclairs menaçants sillonnèrent les sombres nues" is for the Chinese *lei-tien-hui-ming* (雷電晦冥) "thunder, lightning and darkness". Then follows— "Des jets de feu et des tourbillons de fumée, *un déluge de sable et une grêle de pierres remplacèrent les boucliers et les lances, et tinrent lieu d'arcs et de flèches.*" The italics here are mine and the original is given below,[1] its literal meaning being "stirring up sand and agitating stones, full equipment of spears and shields, and exhaustive use of bows and arrows." It is not possible to get "remplacèrent" out of *pei-chu*, or "tinrent lieu" out of *chi-yung*. Moreover in the next sentence the narrative tells how the "warlike weapons" of Māra's host were changed into lotus flowers. Yuan-chuang had evidently read the legends which describe the motley terrible army summoned by the Evil One to intimidate the aspirant to Buddhahood and drive him from the Bodhimaṇḍa, and the means by which the army tried to carry out their chief's command. The fierce creatures howled and yelled, raised tempests and sent down deluges, hurled thunderbolts and flashed lightnings, made day into night enveloping the P'usa in darkness, upheaved rocks and raised sandstorms, flung spears and arrows and all kinds of warlike missiles at the P'usa. These weapons, however, as they passed through the air became lotus flowers, and fell harmless at his feet. All the time he sat calm and motionless, absorbed in an ecstatic contemplation of universal compassion. The account of Māra's attempt to overpower the P'usa and drive him from the Bodhi Tree is given at length in the "Lalitavistara", the "Hsing-chi-ching", and several other treat-

[1] The text is 揚沙激石備矛盾之具極弦矢之用.

ises.[1] In the Pali Vinaya the attainment of bodhi is described without any mention of an attack by Māra and his army, but the attack was probably taken to be known as the passage speaks of "scattering Māra's host".[2] The corresponding sections in the "Ssŭ-fên" and "Wu-fên" Vinayas also do not contain any reference to the great onslaught.[3] It may be noticed that in the latter of these two works instead of "Māra's host" we have "Māra's darkness", and this agrees with the words which follow.

The description proceeds. "Outside of the north gate of the Bodhi Tree is the Mahābodhi Saṅghārāma built by a former king of Ceylon". Its buildings formed six courts, with terraces and halls of three storeys, enclosed by walls between 30 and forty feet high; the sculpture and painting were perfect. The image of Buddha was made of gold and silver, and ornamented by precious stones of various colours. There were elegant topes lofty and spacious containing bone and flesh relics of Buddha. On the last day of every year when the relics were brought out to be shewn a light shone and flowers fell in showers. In this establishment there were nearly 1000 ecclesiastics all Mahāyānists of the Sthavira school, and all perfect in Vinaya observances. The pilgrim then narrates the origin and foundation of the monastery at some length.

The vihāra or monastery here called "Mahābodhi-saṅghārāma" was evidently a very large and splendid establishment in excellent preservation. It is not mentioned by name by Fa-hsien, but it may have been one of his three saṅghārāmas. The six courts were evidently large quadrangles, planted with trees, and surrounded by houses

[1] Lal. *ch.* XXI: Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 28; T'ai-tzŭ-sui-ying-ching *ch.* 1; Mahāvastu T. II. p. 410. [Watters thinks that the expression in the Pali Vinaya implies a knowledge, at the time when it was composed, of this legend of Māra's Temptation. Windisch in his '*Māra und Buddha*' (pp. 304 foll.) has carefully discussed the history of this legend. He shows that it cannot be traced in Pali earlier than the 5th century A. D., and that the expression Watters refers to does not imply any knowledge of the temptation legend.]

[2] Vinaya, Vol. 1, p. 2.

[3] Ssŭ-fên-lü *ch.* 31; Wu-fen-lü *ch.* 15.

which served as residences for the Brethren and lodging-places for guests. I-ching tells of a pilgrim sitting in one of these quadrangles under an asoka tree making images of Buddha and Kuanyin.[1] He, like some others, uses the name "Mahābodhi" to designate a district, and it seems to correspond roughly to the old Uruvilvā. He writes, for example, of the "vihāras of Mahābodhi and Kusinārā", and of the countries "from Mahābodhi east to Lin-i".[2] He translates Mahābodhi-vihāra by *Ta-chiao-ssŭ* or "Monastery of Great Enlightenment", but he and others also call it simply P'u-t'i-ssŭ or „Bodhi monastery". I-ching also seems to use Mahābodhi and Mahābodhi-vihāra as convertible terms, and as general designations for the locality including its various sacred objects. Thus some of his pilgrims going to Mahābodhi-vihāra or Mahābodhi "inspect the sacred traces": the Muchilinda dragon was at Mahābodhi,[3] and so was the image of Buddha made by Maitreya.[4] But this image cannot have been found by I-ching in the same building in which it was found by our pilgrim. I-ching and his friends had a good view of the image— "the real portrait"—, and I-ching was able to measure it for a silk robe, and afterwards dress it in the robe. If the beautiful image had been in the brahmin's temple, into which daylight could not penetrate, these things could not have occurred. In one place I-ching specialises the monastery calling it the "Vajrāsana Mahābodhi-vihāra", adding that it had been made by a king of Ceylon, and used as a lodging place by pilgrims from Ceylon.[5] But in the seventh century this monastery was evidently an Indian institution, and under government control. When the Chinese ambassador sent by T'ang T'ai Tsung, Wang Yuan-tsê, came to the district, he was lodged

[1] Hsi-yü-ch'iu *ch.* 1.
[2] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei *ch.* 30 and *ch.* 10.
[3] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei *ch.* 9.
[4] Hsi-yü-ch'iu *ch.* 1 for Hsüan-chao and *ch* 2 I-ching's account of his own career.
[5] Hsi-yü-ch'iu *ch.* 1.

here as the guest of the head of the establishment;[1] so also was the pilgrim Tao-fang; and when Wu-hsing and his companion came to the Monastery the government officials made them honorary members (*chu-jen* 主人).[2] It will be noticed that Yuan-chuang describes the monks of this establishment as Mahāyānists of the Sthavira School, and he applies the same terms to the Brethren of Ceylon in his account of that island. As the Sthavira School is generally represented as belonging to the early and Hīnayāna form of Buddhism it would seem that in these and other passages Yuan-chuang uses the term Mahāyāna in a peculiar sense, as has been already stated. At his time many of the Brethren in the Magadha Monasteries were evidently Mahāyānists in that sense.

Our pilgrim goes on to tell us that for ten *li* and more south of the Bodhi Tree the sacred traces were too close together to be all enumerated. Every year, he adds, when the bhikshus break up the Rain-Retreat, clergy and laity come from all quarters in myriads and for seven days and nights bearing fragrant flowers and making music they wander through the wood and perform acts of worship. He relates that the Brethren in India in accordance with the Buddha's instructions entered on Retreat on the first day of the month Śrāvaṇa, corresponding to the Chinese 16th day of the 5th month, and went out of Retreat on the last day of the month Aśvayuja, corresponding to the Chinese 15th day of the 8th month. In India the months' name go according to stars, and the course of time makes no change nor do schools vary. But [in China] perhaps from erroneous interpretation a wrong time has come to be taken for Retreat, viz. a month too early, from the 16th day of the 4th month to the 15th day of the 7th month.

In *Chuan* II, as we have seen, our pilgrim complains of incorrect names for the Rain-Retreat having come into use in China. Here he points out how misinterpretation

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[1] Hsi-yü-chih quoted in Fa-yuan-chu-lin *ch.* 39.

[2] Hsi-yu-ch'iu *ch.* 2. The student in reading I-ching's two treatises quoted in this chapter will find valuable assistance in M. Chavannes' translation of the Hsi-yu-ch'iu and Mr Takakusu's translation of the Nan-hai-ch'i kuei.

or mistranslation had brought about an error as to the time of keeping the Retreat. The word for "stars" in this passage is *hsing*, the common word for "star", but here our pilgrim evidently meant by it asterisms or Nakshatras. Thus Śrāvaṇa, the name of the month July-August, is from Śravaṇa, the name of an asterism, and Āśvayuja, the month September-October, is from Aśvayuj, the name of an asterism.

In this passage, as in the previous one about the Rain-Retreat,[1] we have the two readings *liang* meaning "two" and *yü* meaning "rain". Here the latter is to be taken as the proper reading, and the pilgrim in the last sentence drops the qualifying prefix and uses simply *an-chü*.

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[1] Above Vol 1, pp. 144—146.

CHAPTER XV.

MAGADHA CONTINUED.

CHUAN IX of our Records begins by telling us that in a wood, to the east of the Bodhi Tree and on the other side of the Nairanjana river, was a tope, and to the north of this a tank which was the place where the "Scent-elephant" served his mother. Formerly, the pilgrim continues, Ju-lai in his career as a P'usa was a young "scent-elephant", his home was in the North Mountains and he wandered to the banks of this tank, his mother was blind, and he gathering lotus-roots and drawing pure water, waited on her with filial piety, going about as the seasons changed. Once a man lost his way in this wood and cried out in helpless distress; the young elephant thereupon kindly led him out of the wood, and shewed him the way home. When the man returned to his native place he told the king about the "scent-elephant", and then went as guide with the force which the king sent to capture the animal. At the instant this man pointed out the elephant his arms fell down as if lopped off. The king had the elephant brought to his stables and tied up there, but the creature would not take any food. In reply to the king's question he said he could not enjoy any food knowing that his blind mother was starving; thereupon the king moved by the filial display of the elephant set him free.

This curious story of the Buddha in one of his previous existences having been a "scent-elephant" or Gandhahastin is the Mātiposakai Jātaka (No. 455 of the Pali Jātaka). There is a different version of it given in the late work the "Bhadrakalpa Avadāna", and still another version in a Chinese translation of a Sanskrit treatise.[1] In the latter

[1] Bud. Lit. Nep. p. 46; Tsa-pao-tsang-ching ch. 2 (No. 1329).

work the king of Videha, who is at enmity with the king of Kāsi, owns a scent-elephant which makes him unconquerable by his enemy. The king of Kāsi manages to get possession of the elephant, but the latter refuses to take food because his blind parents are starving on account of his absence. He is allowed to go and nurse them, and finally he effects a reconciliation between the two kings. The Gandhahastin was apparently an unknown and imaginary creature which was supposed to have the strength of ten ordinary elephants. It is mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, and the word occurs as a proper name, two Buddhas and a Bodhisattva being so called. The words rendered in the above passage by "going about as the seasons changed" are yü-shi-t'ui-i (與時推移). Julien, separating these from their connection translates them by— "Dans la suite des temps", a rendering which does great violence to the text.

By the side of this tope, the pilgrim tells us, was another one in front of which a stone pillar had been erected where the Buddha Kāśyapa had sat in meditation, and beside it was a place with vestiges of the sites used for sitting and exercise by the Four Past Buddhas. From this, the narrative proceeds, going east across the *Mo-ha* river you come to a stone pillar in a large wood. It was here that the Tīrthika *Yü-t'ou-lan tzŭ* (that is, Udra-rāma-putra) went into Samādhi and uttered his wicked vow. This man, the pilgrim explains, had led a life of ascetic seclusion in this "religious wood", and had attained supernormal powers. He was greatly reverenced by the king of Magadha, who invited him into the palace for his midday meal, and waited on him personally. When the king went away for a time he entrusted one of his daughters with the duty of attending to the holy man, and she was careful to carry out her father's desires. As she prepared a seat for the Tīrthika, however, she came in contact with him, and he thereupon felt the stirrings of desire and lost his spiritual powers. Pretending to the princess that he was about to return to his hermitage, not through the air as he had always done before, but on foot for the benefit of the people, he walked to this wood. Here he tried to go into samādhi, but the chattering of the birds and the brawling (R gambols) of the watery tribes when he went to the tank, distracted his mind and spoiled his spiritual exercises. So he became enraged, and made a vow to return into the world as a fierce ani-

mal with the body of a gigantic wild cat and the wings of a bird. His passion now gradually abated, and he regained the power of samādhi; soon afterwards he died and went to Heaven where he is to remain for 80000 kalpas. At the end of that period, according to Buddha's prediction, he is to realize his old evil desire, and there is no period fixed for his release from this bad state of existence.

The original invention of the silly story here told was perhaps due to a punning explanation of the great rishi's name. This is given by Yuan-chuang here, as in a previous passage, as Uddo (or Udra) Rāma-putra, but another form of the name, viz. Udraka, is given by our pilgrim in his translations. Then we have also the forms Rudra and Rudraka with Rāma-putra added. The word udra denotes an *otter* and I-ching translates it in this name by *Shui-t'a* or "Water otter". But the uddo or udra does not live in the water, he lives in the jungle, and hunts his prey on land and in water. Then Rudra or rudraka means *fierce* and *terrible*, and so we find Rudraka Rāma-putra rendered by *Mêng-hsi-tzŭ* or "the fierce son of joy". This Udra or Rudra was, we know, a great religious teacher living in a hermitage near Rājagaha at the time when Siddhārtha left home to enter on his career. Siddhārtha went to him to learn the way of salvation, but finding that the teaching did not lead to absolute final results he went away to work out his problems alone. On becoming Buddha he proposed to go to his former master Udra and impart to him the new method of salvation. But a voice from the heavens told him that Udra had died the night (or seven nights) before. The Buddha sighed over Udra's misfortune in not surviving to hear the new way of deliverance, for he knew that Udra, who had attained "the samādhi of the negation of thought", would have grasped his doctrines quickly, and thus have obtained release from all future births. As matters stood the rishi, according to some accounts, had gone to the "Heaven of the negation of the absence of thought", and is to remain there for an immensely long period. When his life there is over he is to be reborn in this world as

a wild cat or a fox, and go about with an insatiable appetite preying on birds, beasts, and fishes.[1] Then dying of starvation he is to go to Hell for a period, and, as Yuan-chuang has stated, the Buddha did not announce how long this purgatory is to last. There is no satisfactory explanation for this descent of Udra into lower lives, and the myth does not seem to suit the affectionate respect with which the Buddha is represented in some treatises as speaking of his old teacher.[2]

The river which Yuan-chuang in this passage says he crossed, going east from the Bodhi Tree district, is called by him *Mo-ha*. Julien turns this into Mahī, and Cunningham calls the river the *Mohana-nadī*. But the Chinese Mo-ha cannot be for Mahī, and it is possible it may be for the Sanskrit *mahā*, *great* or *large*, and *moha ho* may be either a proper name or simply "a large river". We have a *mahā ho* here in Magadha, and in Chuan XI we have one in the Malva Country

Returning to the pilgrim's narrative it tells us that going east from the *Moha* river through a forest and jungle for above 100 *li* you come to the Kukkuṭapāda (Cock's foot) or Gurupāda (Sage's foot) Mountain. The lofty peaks of this mountain are endless cliffs, and its deep valleys are boundless ravines; its lower slopes have their gullies covered with tall trees, and rank vegetation clothes the steep heights. A threefold cliff projects in isolated loftiness, reaching to the sky and blending with the clouds. As time went on since the Venerable Mahā Kāśyapa took up his abode in it, in nirvāṇa, the people not venturing to speak plainly talked of it as the Gurupāda mountain. This Mahā Kāśyapa, the pilgrim goes on to relate, was a disciple who had attained full supernatural powers. When the Julai having finished his mission was about to pass away he addressed Kāśyapa, saying—"For vast kalpas I devoted myself zealously to austerities seeking to obtain the highest religion (*fa* 法) for all creatures; my aspirations have been all realized; as I now wish to pass away, I commit to you all my canon to preserve and preach in its entirety; my gold-embroidered monk's robe, the gift of

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[1] Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 38; Chung-a-han-ching *ch.* 28; Abhi.-shun-chêng-li-lun *ch.* 68 (No. 1265).

[2] In the Pali Vinaya Vol. I, p. 7 for instance.

my aunt, keep to hand over to Maitreya when he comes to be Buddha; those who will then be adherents of the religion which I am leaving, monks and nuns. male and female lay-believers, are all to be saved first, and released from renewed existence". Kasyapa thereupon undertook the charge of Buddha's religion. Twenty years after he had drawn up the canon, wearied with impermanence, he proceeded to "enter nirvāṇa". So going up the north side of the Cock-foot Mountain, and thence to its south-west ridge where there were steep precipices and narrow tortuous paths. with his monk's staff he opened a way by which he reached the summit emerging on the north-east side. There he entered the triple peak, inside which he stands holding Buddha's robe, the threefold summit having closed over him by the force of his prayer, and the mountain still retains the dorsal triple elevation Hereafter when Maitreya has come, and has had his three assemblies, there will still remain an immense number of unbelievers, these Maitreya will lead to this mountain and shew them Kāśyapa; but the sight will only increase their pride of spirit. Then Kāśyapa will, in their presence, give over the Buddha's robe to Maitreya and bid him farewell; having done this he will soar into the air, work miracles, and pass away by magic combustion. Seeing all this the unbelievers will be moved to faith, and eventually will all attain arhatship. At the tope on this mountain bright lights are seen occasionally in the stillness of the night, but they may not be visible to you when you ascend the mountain.

The mountain here called by our pilgrim Cock's-Foot and Sage's-Foot is also called Wolf's-Traces (Lang-chih 狼跡) that is perhaps, Kokapāda.[1] It is placed by Fa-hsien three *li* south from the Bodhi Tree. In some treatises the country of the mountain is not given, or it is said to be in Magadha,[2] or at the P'i-t'i (Videha) village in Magadha.[3] I-ching places the Gurupāda mountain seven yojanas to the south from Nālandā, and so near the Bodhi[4] Tree. The story of Mahā

[1] Mahāmāya-ching *ch.* 2 (No. 382); Fo-shuo-Mi-lê-ta-ch'êng-Fo-ching (No. 209); The "Wolf's-Traces" mountain was apparently part of Gṛidhrakūṭa.

[2] Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih *ch.* 40; A-yü-wang-chuang *ch.* 4.

[3] Fo-shuo-Mi-lê-hsia-shêng-ching (No. 208), where the title is different.

[4] Hsi-yu-ch-u *ch.* 1; Chavannes. 'Mémoires', p. 47.

Kāśyapa going into and remaining within the Cock's-Foot mountain is told in several Buddhist treatises, but with some differences of detail. When Kāśyapa has finished his work of compiling the canon he hands over charge of the Church to Ānánda, and goes away to worship at the four great chaityas, and the topes over relics of Buddha. Then after trying in vain to take farewell of king Ajātaśatru he proceeds to the Cock's-Foot mountain, enters it at the triple peak, and sits down inside to await the coming of Maitreya. Soon afterwards Ajātaśatru comes to the place, the hill opens, the king sees Kāśyapa, whereupon he builds a tope on the mountain.[1] When Maitreya comes he will find, according to the Divyāvadāna and other treatises, only the perfect compact skeleton of Kāśyapa, and he will lift this with his right hand, and placing it on the palm of his left, shew it to his unbelieving congregation.[2] Some accounts, however, represent Kāśyapa as only remaining in samādhi, or in a state of torpor, and he is to be roused on the advent of Maitreya by Indra rubbing him with sweet-scented oil.[3] This was probably our pilgrim's conception; but he does not express himself clearly and consistently. The pride of the unbelievers being increased on the sight of the mummy is due to the fact that the people of Maitreya's time will all be giants compared with those of the time of Gautama Buddha.[4] According to some versions of the legend it was not the gold-embroidered robe, but his ordinary one of dirt-heap rags that Buddha gave to his successor to keep for Maitreya.[5] And in some accounts Kāśyapa puts on the robe and goes into the mountain to wait for Maitreya apparently of his own motion, and without any instructions from

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[1] Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih *ch.* 40.

[2] Divyāv. p. 61; Abhi-kośa-lun *ch.* 28 (No. 1267); Sar. Vin. Yao-shih *ch.* 6.

[3] Fo-shuo-Mi-lê-ta-ch'êng-Fo-ching.

[4] Ta-chih-tu-lun *ch.* 3, here Kāśyapa is in the Gridhrakūṭa mountain.

[5] Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih l. c.

the Buddha.[1] We must also notice that in at least one treatise we find the Buddha delivering the gold-embroidered robe to the disciple of whom he predicts that in the distant future he will become Maitreya Buddha.[2]

The pilgrim, continuing his narrative, states that he went from the Kukkuṭapāda Mountain north-east. above 100 *li*, and came to the Buddhavana Mountain, with lofty peaks and closely packed cliffs. Buddha, he adds, had rested in a cave in its steep side. At the side of this was a flat stone which Śakra and Brahma had once used for grinding Oxhead Sandal to rub over Buddha's body: the stone still retained the perfume. On this mountain also the 500 Arhats remained dormant: those who moved them to an interview might see them going as śrāmaneras into a village to beg food: whether secret or open the effects of their supernormal action could not be recorded From this mountain a journey eastward of above 30 *li* through a valley led the pilgrim, he tells us, to the Yashti (or Stick) Wood, a dense forest of bamboos which covered a mountain. This leads the pilgrim to record how an unbelieving brahmin, doubting the statement that Śākyamuni Buddha was sixteen feet high, had a stick of that length made to take his measure. But as the figure always exceeded the height of the stick he could never learn the true height of Buddha. So in a fit of disgust he threw away the stick, which took root, and from it came the wood which got the name Yashṭivana. In this Asoka had erected a tope and Buddha had exhibited miracles and preached for seven days to devas and men. Our pilgrim then tells the story of the devoted upāsaka of recent times by name Jayasena who had lived in this Wood Above ten *li* to the south-west of the Yashṭivana, the pilgrim continues, were two hot springs made by Buddha and used by him. Six or seven *li* to the south-east of the Wood, on a ridge of a mountain. was a tope where Buddha had preached to men and devas for two or three months, when king Bimbisāra had constructed a road through the mountain above twenty paces wide and two or three *li* in length.

The miracle which our pilgrim here narrates as originating the name of the Yashṭi-vana or Stick-Wood is unfortunably not in agreement with other Buddhist texts. From these we learn that the name and place were well known

[1] Ta-pei-ching *ch*. 2 (No 117)

[2] Fo-shuo-ku(or Mi-lê)-lai-shi-ching (No 206).

at the beginning of the Buddha's career. These books tell us that when he proceeded from the neighbourhood of the Bodhi Tree to pay his first visit, as the Buddha, to Rājagṛiha, he rested on the way in the Yashṭi-vana, the Stick (or Staff) wood.[1] As a variant for Yashṭi we find Lashṭi,[2] and there are the two Pali forms Yaṭṭhi and Laṭṭhi. Moreover we find the place called the *Su-p'o-lo-ti*, that is, Subhalaṭṭhi with the word for *trees* added.[3] It is called in some books a *garden* or *park* and in others a *mountain*. In it was a noted shrine called the Supratishṭha-chaitya. This Supratishṭha (in Pali Supatiṭṭha) was the god of a banyan tree in the Wood,[4] and the chaitya, at which Buddha lodged, was apparently only the foot of the banyan. The name of the chaitya is rendered in Chinese by *Shan-an-chu* (善安住), "well settled" and by *Shan-chien* (善建) "well established".[5] It was evidently this name, Supratishṭha, which the Tibetan translator had before him in the passage given by Rockhill; and the tentative rendering "Consecrated" given by the latter[6] should be replaced by "Well-established" or a similar phrase. This Wood is not mentioned by Fa-hsien, and the Sung pilgrim[7] places it 100 *li* north-west from the Cock's-Foot Mountain, which according to him was 100 *li* south-east from the Bodhi Tree. In one book it is said to be 40 *li* from Rājagriha, and it was evidently to the west of that city, and not far from it. It is still, according to Cunningham, "well known as the *Jakhti-ban*, which is only the Hindi form of the Sanskrit word".[8] As to the two Hot Springs mentioned by our pilgrim these

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1 Sar. Vin. Ch'u-chia-shih, *ch.* 2, Mahavastu III. 441; Yin-kuo-ching, *ch.* 4. Pali Vinaya 1. 35.

2 Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 48.

3 Chung-pên-ch'i-ching *ch* 1 (No. 556).

4 Ssŭ-fên-lü *ch.* 33.

5 Hsing-chi-ching l. c ; Tsa-a-han-ching *ch.* 38; Dh p. 119.

6 Rockhill's, Life', p. 42 and note.

7 Ma T. L *ch.* 338.

8 'Ancient Geog. of India'. p. 461.

are still, Cunningham tells us, to be found "at a place called Tapoban". In Buddhist writings we find mention of a T'a-pu (Tapo) Ho or Hot river,[1] and of a Tapodārāma or Hot-water Monastery near Rājagaha.[2] These may represent the "Hot-springs" of the pilgrim, but they were there before Buddha's time, and there is mention of several hot-water springs in the neighbourhood of the city.

Our pilgrim's narrative next goes on to tell that three or four *li* north from the great mountain with Bimbisāra's road was an isolated hill on which the rishi Vyāsa once dwelt as a hermit. Four or five *li* north from this was a small isolated hill in the rocky side of which was a cave large enough to seat above 1000 men: at the south-west corner of it was the Asura's Palace. With reference to this the pilgrim tells a story of a "mischievous" (好事者) man (in Julien's rendering "un ami du merveilleux") who induced 13 friends to go with him into this cave. They all went forward about 30 or 40 *li* when they came to a city of gold, and silver, and lapis-lazuli. Two female servants told the party they must all, except their magician leader, take a bath before going in; when the thirteen men had bathed they found themselves in a rice-field about 30 *li* up the valley. Beside the cave ran the causeway made by king Bimbisāra to get to the Buddha. It was about four *li* long by ten paces wide, formed by cutting throught banks of rock and filling up valleys, piling up stones, boring through precipices, and making a succession of steps. From this going east across the mountain for above 60 *li* the pilgrim came to the Kuságrapur city, "the city of the superior reed-grass", the centre of Magadha and its old capital. The city derived its name from the excellent fragrant reed-grass which abounded there. High hills formed its outer walls; on the west it had a narrow outlet: on the north was a passage through the mountain; it was above 150 *li* in circuit: *kanika* trees with fragrant bright golden blossoms were on all the paths, and these made the woods in late spring all golden coloured.

The term here rendered "causeway" is Chan-tao (棧道) properly a gangway made to span two isolated points. In this passage it is evidently an artificial stone road forming a long series of steps across and up the mountain to the

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[1] Tsa-a-han-ching *ch.* 38.

[2] Sam. Nik. Vol. I. p. 8.

place where the Buddha lodged. For the "filling up valleys" of the present translation the Chinese is *tien-chuan* (塡川), but in the B text the reading is wrongly *tao*(導)-*chuan*, "leading streams in their courses". In his translation of this passage Julien restores *kü-shê-ka-lo-pu-lo* by Kuśāgārapura or "Palace of the Kuśa house". But the translation *shang-mao* (上茅), "superior reed-grass" apparently supposes the word Kuśāgra. The *city* was called Kuśāgrapura on account of the "very excellent lucky fragrant grass" which it produced. It is the Rājagaha or Old Rājagaha of the Pali scriptures.

> Our pilgrim next goes on to tell that outside the north gate of the [old] capital was a tope to commemorate the following event. Devadatta and Ajātaśatru having become friends let loose the intoxicated elephant Wealth-guarding in the desire of killing Ju-lai, but the latter from the tips of his fingers produced five lions, whereupon the elephant became gentle, and went away.

This ridiculous story of the intoxicated elephant is told with variations in several of the Buddhist books. According to one of these[1] a rich layman of Rājagaha had invited the Buddha and his disciples to breakfast. Devadatta with the consent of Ajātaśatru hires men to make the king's elephant Dhanapāla mad with wine, and then let him loose on the morning of the breakfast to trample Buddha to death. The Buddha, who is staying in the Bamboo Park, is warned, but he sets out for the house of his host in the city. The drunken elephant rushes towards him. The Buddha thereupon produces five lions from the tips of the fingers of one hand: at the same time, according to some versions,[2] he also causes a wall, and pit, and great fires to appear. The elephant is cowed and sobered, and becomes a devoted follower of the Buddha. Julien in his translation of the pilgrim's account gives "gardien du trésor" as the meaning of the author's *Hu-ts'ai* (護財), but this is a proper name. It translates the Indian *Dhanapāla* "wealth-guarding",

[1] Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shih *ch.* 19. Cf. Hardy, Man. Bud. 331.
[2] Vibhāsha-lun *ch.* 11.

the name given to the savage elephant owned by king Ajātaśatru.[1] and another rendering is Shou-ts'ai (守 財) with the same meaning. In some older versions of the story there are no magic lions, or fires, and the Buddha sobers and tames the elephant by gentle words.[2] Fa-hsien differs from others in making the king himself send a black elephant to murder Buddha.[3]

North-east from this tope, the narrative in our Records continues, was another at the place where Śāriputra having heard Buddhism from the bhikshu Aśvajit became an arhat. The pilgrim hereupon tells briefly how the arhatship was attained. Not far from this tope, he continues, was a deep hollow beside which was another tope. It was here that Śrīgupta tried to kill Buddha, first by a pit with burning fire, and then by poisoned food. The story of this rich dupe of Buddha's rivals making, on their suggestion, a burning pit with a treacherous covering in order to kill Buddha, and of a further attempt to poison Buddha on the same occasion, is then told.

This story of Śrīgupta as told in our text is related also in several other books, e. g. in the "Avadāna Kalpalatā"[4] and the "Tsêng-i-a-han-ching".[5] In Fa-hsien's narrative the murderous plot is ascribed to an unnamed Nirgrantha.[6]

The pilgrim's description proceeds— North-east from Śrīgupta's Fire-pit, and in a bend of the mountain wall, was a tope at the spot where Jīvaka, the great physician, had built a hall for the Buddha. Remains of the walls and of the plants and trees within them still existed. Julai often stayed here. Beside the tope the ruins of Jīvaka's private residence still survived.

The great physician Jīvaka of this passage was a distinguished follower and attached friend of the Buddha. He was an illegitimate son of king Bimbisāra according to some

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[1] 'Questions of Milinda' by Rhys Davids Vol. I p. 297—8 and note.

[2] Pali Vinaya, II. 195 Rockhill's, 'Life', p. 93 where the elephant's name is given as Ratnapāla or Vasupāla; Shi-sung-lü ch. 36.

[3] Fo-kuo-chi ch. 28.

[4] Journal Bud. Text Soc. Vol. III. Pt. II. p. 10.

[5] Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching ch. 41.

[6] Fo-kuo-chi l. c.

accounts,[1] but of Abhaya, a son of Bimbiṣāra, according to the Ceylon authorities.[2] In his youth he chose the medical profession for his career, and went to Takshaśilā to study the art of healing under the famous teachers of that city. When he returned to Rājagriha and settled there, he lived in a Mango orchard, which was apparently in the inclosure between the city proper and the hills which formed its outer defences on the east side.[3] It was in this orchard that Jīvaka made for Buddha a chapel or a monastery, according to some accounts in the 20th year of Buddha's career. In some Chinese translations the word āmra, *mango*, is rendered by *li* (梨) "a pear", but generally the Indian name is merely transcribed. Fa-hsien writes this *an-p'o-lo*, that is, abra, the *m* of Sanskrit becoming *b* in his transcription, as in his Yabunā for Yamunā. He places the chapel of Jīvaka, whom he calls *Ch'i-chiu* (耆舊), in a bend in the north-east corner of the city. Instead of *Ch'i-chiu* we also find Fa-hsien using *Ch'i-yü* (耆域) that is Jīva, and the character for *chiu* is probably a mistake. As a son of a king or a prince Jīvaka is frequently styled a Kumārabhūta, in Chinese a *wang* or a *t'ung*, "boy", with the same meaning.

The pilgrim's narrative proceeds. From the capital (li. e. the walled city of Old Rājagaha) he went north-east 14 or 15 *li* to the Gṛidhrakūta or Vulture Peak Mountain. This, he says, is continuous with the south side of the North Mountain, and rises to a great height, blending with the empyrean. Its summit is a perch for vultures, and is like a terrace. During the fifty years of his spiritual administration the Buddha lived much and taught his religion on this mountain. There is a road from the foot to the top, made by king Bimbisāra in order to reach the Buddha and hear him preach. The top is elongated from east to west, and narrow from north to south. Close to a cliff on the west side is a magnificent brick hall (*chung-shê*), opening to the east, in which the Buddha often preached. In it is a life-size image of the Buddha in the attitude of preaching. To the east

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1 Rockhill, 'Life', p. 64; Hsing-ch'i-ching *ch.* 1.
2 Hardy, 'Man. Bud.' 244; Bigandet, 'Legend', Vol. I. p. 196
3 Fo-shuo-shêng-ching *ch.* 2; Fo-shuo-chi-chih-kuo-ching (No 593).

of this hall is a large stone, an exercise-place of the Buddha, and at its side a rock, about fourteen feet high and above 30 paces in circumference, where Devadatta hurled a rock at the Buddha. South of this, and below the cliff, is a tope on the spot where the Buddha delivered the "Fa-hua-ching". To the south of the temple, and at the side of the cliff, is a large cave in which the Buddha once sat in samādhi. North-west from this is another cave, with a large flat stone, in front of which Māra as a vulture frightened Ananda. Near the temple are caves in which Śāriputra and other arhats went into samādhi.

This description of the Gṛidhrakūṭa, or Vulture Peak, is apparently all derived from Buddhist books and local information. This mountain, the Gijjhakūṭa of the Pali scriptures and early writers, has been identified by Cunningham with the present *Śailagiri*, and the identification is possibly correct.[1] But it is very remarkable that while its natural caves, great and small, are important features of the Gṛidhrakūṭa mountain, Cunningham "could not hear of the existence of any cave" in the Śailagiri mountain. In addition to the caves in the Vulture Peak mentioned by our pilgrim, and by Fa-hsien, we read of others such as the cave which was the residence of the Yaksha Gambhīra, transcribed in Chinese *Kin-p'i-lo* (金毗羅) and sometimes translated *Shên-yuan* (深遠) or "Very far" that is "Profound".[2] It was in this cave or "Yaksha's Palace" that the Buddha was sitting when Devadatta hurled the rock at him, and it may be our pilgrim's cave in which the Buddha sat in samādhi. When we are told here by Yuan-chuang that the Buddha delivered the "Fa-hua-ching", that is the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra, and by Fa-hsien[3] that Buddha delivered the "Shou-lêng-yen", that is the Sūrāngamasamādhisūtra, on this mountain, we must remember that these pilgrims are writing as Mahāyānists, and that they are following the opening statements of these two sūtras. To the pilgrims the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra and the Sūrān-

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[1] 'Anc. Geog. of India', p. 466.
[2] Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shih *ch.* 18, Pi-nai-ye *ch.* 5; Shi-sung-lü *ch.* 36.
[3] *Fo-kuo-chi ch.* 29.

samasamadhi-sūtra, composed long after the Buddha's lecease, were his genuine utterances delivered in the ircumstances set forth in their opening paragraphs. There re also several other Mahāyāna sūtras which profess to ave been delivered by the Buddha to large congregations f believers on the Gṛidhrakūṭa. The magnificent brick all of which our pilgrim tells us here as being on this nountain, must have been a recent structure erected after he time of Fa-hsien, and perhaps on the ruins of the all which that pilgrim mentions. That Yuan-chuang's rick hall was not an old building may also be inferred vith probability from the statement that it contained a ife-size image of the Buddha preaching, that is evidently, n the later heterodox standing position. This mountain, he Vulture Peak, was from the earliest times of Buddhism favourite place of resort for serious meditative bhikshus, nd the Buddha seems to have retired to it occasionally vith his immediate disciples. A vihāra grew up on the nountain, probably near the site of the hall mentioned by Fa-hsien, and a Vinaya treatise tells of the Buddha giving he Brethren there permission to make permanent water-ourses for the supply of water to the establishment.[1] The Gṛidhrakūṭa is in some books given as one of the ive mountains which surrounded Rājagṛiha, but it is also epresented as a part of the north mountain, and near the ast side of the city. King Bimbisāra, we are informed, rom his prison window in the city, could see the Buddha and is disciples on the mountain, but this statement need not e taken literally. We also find mention of the Buddha eing at the Sūkarakhatā on the Gṛidhrakūṭa mountain vith the disciple Sāriputra.

The pilgrim goes on to tell us that to the west of the north gate of the "Mountain City" was the *Pi-pu-lo* (Vipula) mountain. According to local accounts, he adds, on the north side of the south-west declivity there had once been 500 hot springs, of which there remained at his time several scores, some cold and

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[1] Ssŭ-fên-lü *ch.* 50.

some tepid. The source of these springs was the Anavatapt Lake to the south of the Snow Mountains, and the streams ra underground to this place. The water was beautifully clear, an it had the same taste as that of the Lake. The fountain strean flowed in 500 branches past the Small Hot wells, and this mad the water of the springs hot. All these springs had carve stones such as heads of lions or white elephants, or they ha stone aqueducts to lead the water into tanks made of stone slab People came from various lands to bathe in these tanks, an often went away healed of old maladies. About the springs wer the foundations of topes and temples in close succession, an and also the sites of sitting and exercise places of the Fou Past Buddhas. This place having a succession of hill and strean was a hermitage of benevolence and wisdom, and in it wer hidden many scholars unknown to the world. To the west o the Hot Springs was the *Pi-po-lo* (Pippula) Cave in which th Buddha often lodged. Through the rock at the back of thi was a passage into the Asur's Palace in which bhikshus practisin samādhi lodged notwithstanding the strange sights which drov some of them mad. We then have a story of a bhikshu and small female of the Asur's Palace. The pilgrim adds— "On th Vipula Mountain is a tope on the spot where the Buddha onc preached; many Digambaras now lodge here and practise auste rities incessantly; they turn round with the sun, watching it fron its rising to its setting."

The "Mountain city" of this and other passages of th Records is evidently the city known as "Old Rājagaha" and the Girivraja of certain non-Buddhist writers. Ac cording to the "Hsing-chi-ching"[1] and the Pali authoritie the Vipula mountain of the present passage was one o the five mountains which stood round Old Rājagaha city But in certain other treatises it is merely a mountain nea that city, and is an occasional resort of the Buddha. Fa-hsien does not mention it or the Hot Springs, but th Sung pilgrim tells of the mountain to the north of Rāja gaha with above twenty hot springs at its base. A con temporary of our pilgrim, the Chinese ambassador Wan Hsüan (or Yuan)-tsê, washed his head in one of thes springs, and for five years afterwards his bair retained

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[1] *Ch.* 48.

[2] Pie-yi-Tsa-a-han-ching *ch.* 16.

remarkable glossy cleanness.[1] Our pilgrim's *P'i-po-lo* (畢鉢羅) cave is apparently the Pippala or Peepul Cave of other writers. Fa-hsien and the Sung pilgrim visited this cave in a mountain which was evidently the Vipula of our text. In some books, however, the Peepul cave is placed in the Vulture-Peak Mountain. In his translation of the last paragraph of the present passage Julien makes the pilgrim describe the Digambaras as circumambulating the Buddhist tope all day. But this does not seem to be the proper interpretation of Yuan-chuang's words— 自旦至昏旋轉觀察— "from sunrise to sunset they revolve and watch". It was the sun which these Digambara devotees, like others already mentioned, followed in his daily course, turning with him, and observing him in all his journey from rising to setting.

The pilgrim proceeds to relate that to the left of the north gate of the mountain city on the north of the south cliff there, going east two or three *li*, you come to the large cave in which, Devadatta went into Samādhi. Near this was a flat rock, stained as if with blood, and beside it was a tope. This was the spot at which a bhikshu, practising samādhi, committed suicide, attaining arhatship in the act. We have then the story of this desponding bhikshu's proceeding. To the east of this spot, on a cliff, was a stone tope to commemorate the suicide of another bhikshu in order to attain arhatship. The pilgrim then narrates the circumstances of this suicide, telling how the Buddha wrought a miracle to encourage and help the fervent bhikshu in accomplishing his pious design.

The Devadatta-samādhi Cave of this passage is apparently the Devadatta Cave of Fa-hsien, the situations being similar.[2] It was probably in this cave that the ambitious Devadatta practised samādhi with the design of attaining supernormal powers, and thus becoming perfectly equal to his cousin, the Buddha.

The reader will observe that in the passage now under notice the pilgrim narrates with evident approval the accounts of suicide committed, at the places he mentions

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[1] Fang-chih *ch*. 2.
[2] Fo-kuo-chi *ch*. 30.

by two bhikshus, and that he represents the Buddha as assisting the second bhikshu in carrying out his deliberate intention of taking his own life. Fa-hsien tells of a bhikshu wearied and disgusted with mortal life committing suicide, and the "black rock" of his story is evidently the red-stained rock of our text, and his bhikshu is the pilgrim's bhikshu who takes his own life at the rock. But Fa-hsien represents the bhikshu as knowing that suicide was prohibited to a follower of Buddha, and as getting over this difficulty by saying to himself that in taking his own life he is only killing the three venomous enemies of spiritual perfection. I-ching has some very interesting observations on the tendency of some Buddhist Brethren to encourage suicide, and even to put their teachings into practice.[1] But both he and Fa-hsien seem to go too far when they allow their reader to suppose that there is in the Vinaya any express prohibition against a bhikshu taking his own life.

Our pilgrim's description proceeds to tell that above one *li* from the north gate of the "Mountain city" was the Kalanda Bamboo Park with the original lodging (*ching-shê*) of stone and brick opening to the east; in this Ju-lai lodged much while as Buddha he was preaching and converting, and it contained a life-size image of him of recent origin. Once, the pilgrim explains, there was in this city a great citizen named Kalanda who had given his Bamboo Park to Tirthikas. But when he came under the Buddha's influence he was sorry he had given away the Park to these persons, and wished he could have it again that he might give it to the Buddha. The gods, knowing Kalanda's *earnest desires, wrought on his behalf*, and frightened the Tirthikas into giving up the Park. When they had withdrawn from it the owner built a lodging (*ching-shê*) in the Park, and gave all to the Buddha who accepted the offering at once.

The *ching-shê* of this passage is evidently the *ching-shê* of the early translators, that is, monastery or vihāra. Here Yuan-chuang gives to the famous Buddhist establishment outside the north wall of Old Rājag 'a its

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[1] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei *cha.* 38. P'

common designation in the Chinese translations, viz— Kalanda Bamboo Park. His version of the story of the establishment follows mainly the accounts given in certain books such as the "Chung-pên-ch'i-ching".[1] These describe the Bamboo Park as the property of a rich and influential man of Rājagaha who gives it to the Tīrthikas. On his conversion to Buddhism he takes the Park back with the help of Yakshas, builds a hall and lodging-places in it, and gives the whole to the Buddha. But in some versions of the story the Bamboo Park was the property of king Bimbisāra, and it was he who gave it to the Buddha and his order.[2] This king, while a prince, had taken a fancy to the Park then owned by a rich subject; the Prince wanted to buy it, but the owner refused to sell, and the Prince vowed to have it whe. he became king. In due course he ascended the throne, and then proceeded to take possession of the Park; the owner dying vowed to have revenge in his next birth: he came back into the world as a poisonous serpent, and watched for an opportunity to bite the king. This came one day when the king lay down to sleep in the Park under a tree while his attendants were wandering about. The serpent came out, and was proceeding to bite the king when a *squirrel* (or according to other versions *jays* or *magpies*) made a noise, and saved the king. As this squirrel (or the bird) was called Kalantaka (or Kalandaka) the king ordered that the animal should be allowed to live in security and that its name should be given to the Bamboo Park.[3] In the "Shan-hsien-lü" it is the king of Vaiśāli whose life is saved in this Park by a squirrel; and it is this king who perpetuates memory of the act by giving the name Kalantaka to the village of the Park. The Pali name is Veḷuvana Kalandakanivāpa, that is, the Bamboo Paık the squirrel's (or jay's) Portion, and this

[1] *Ch*. 1; Fo-pên-hsing-ching *ch*. 45.

[2] Fo-shuo-chu-fên-shuo-ching *ch*. 2 (No 946); Yin-kuo-ching *ch*. 4; Ssŭ-fên-lü *ch*. 33.

[3] Chung-hsü-ching *ch*. 11; Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shih *ch*. 8; Rockhill 'Life', p. 43

corresponds to the name in a Chinese translation, *Chio-fêng* (鵲 封) or Magpie fief. This Bamboo Park, which as Fa-hsien tells us,[1] was on the west side of the highway about 300 paces from the north wall of Old Rājagaha, was the chosen residence of anchorites, and all devoted to solitary religious meditation. It was also a favourite residence of the Buddha, and it was the first piece of property acquired by the young Buddhist Order. It was a charming place not too near the city, still by day and quiet at night, away from the noise and bustle of common life; it had tanks of clear cold water; the air was mild; there were no stinging insects; and it was in all respects a place eminently adapted for deep and prolonged religious meditation.[2] The vihāra in it did not belong to the original establishment, and is not mentioned among the residences of the Buddhist Brethren at or near Rājagaha in the Buddha's time. In one treatise it is said to have been built by Indra at the request of Moginlin.[3]

Our pilgrim's description proceeds to tell that to the east of the Bamboo Park was the tope which king Ajātaśatru built over his share of the Buddha's relics; when king Asoka having become a believer took out these relics for the topes he was about to build, a remnant was left, which constantly shone with a bright light.

The meaning of the text here seems to be tolerably clear, yet Julien has apparently misunderstood the latter part of the paragraph. He translates— "Le roi Açoka ayant conçu une foi sincère, ouvrit le monument, prit les reliques, et bâtit [à son tour un autre] *stoupa*. [On en voit] encore les restes, qui repandent constamment une lueur brillante". The words which I have enclosed within square brackets are not required and injure the sense. Yuan-chuang does not state that Asoka built here a tope the remains of which were still visible and shed a brilliant

[1] Fo-kuo-chi *ch.* 30.

[2] Chung-a-han-ching *ch.* 36; Pali Vinaya, Vol. I. p. 39.

[3] Fu-kai-chêng-hsing-so-chi-ching *ch.* 9.

ht. He says that when Asoka took away the relics om Ajātaśatru's tope to build topes over them, there was remnant left, which constantly shone with a brilliant light. the Life the account of the matter is very clear. Asoka, having become a believer, wishing to build topes erywhere, extracted the relics, leaving a few behind; and ese now are constantly emitting a brilliant light." In curious sūtra of the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka group the rtunes of Ajātaśatru's share of the Buddha's relics is us narrated. The king placed the relics together with copy of the sūtra, written on gold cloth, in a box made precious substances; this box he deposited in a trench g outside Rājagaha, and over it he built a splendid pe; then 100 years afterwards king Asoka came to ājagaha, dug out the box, and took the relics for his 000 Buddha-relics topes.[1] We have already had a refence to this curious legend of Asoka's topes, (above p. 21).[2]

The pilgrim proceeding with his description tells us that at the side of Ajātaśatru's tope was one over the half-body-relics of Ānanda. He continues—About five or six *li* south-west from the Bamboo Park, on the north side of the South Mountain in a great Bamboo wood, was a large cave. Here Mahā-Kāśyapa with 999 great arhats after the Buddha's death compiled the Tripiṭaka. In front of the cave were the foundations of the large Hall which king Ajātaśatru built for the arhats. Yuan-chuang then proceeds to give a short account of the summoning and composition of this Council and of its work. He adds that the Tripiṭaka then drawn up was called the "President's Collection" because Kāśyapa was *president* of the Brethren. To the north-west of this cave, he continues, was a tope on the spot where Ānanda attained arhatship before joining in the formation of the canon. Above twenty *li* to the west of this was an Asoka tope at the place where the canon of the Great Congregation was compiled. Those Brethren, arhats and others, some myriads in number, who were not admitted to Kāśyapa's Council assembled here. They said among themselves— "While Ju-lai was living we all had one Teacher, now he is dead we

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[1] Ta-sa-cha-ni-kan-tzŭ-so-shuo-ching ch. 10 (No. 179).

[2] On the origin and history of this legend see Rhys Davids's ticle in the J. R. A. S. for 1901. (pp. 397—410) on 'Asoka and the uddha-relics'.

are put aside as strangers; to requite Buddha's kindness we must compile a canon". So the common brethren and Arhats united and drew up a fivefold Canon of Sūtras, Vinaya, Abhidharma, Miscellaneous, and Dhāraṇis; this was called the "Great Congregation's Collection" because Arhats and common brethren formed the assembly by which it was drawn up.

The account here given by our pilgrim of the original formation of the Buddhist canon merits some attention. He agrees with Fa-hsien in giving as the place of Kāśyapa's Council a cave in the north side of the South Mountain (the Dakshiṇa-giri or Dakkhiṇa-giri) to the north of Old Rājagaha. Fa-hsien calls the cave *Ch'ê-ti* (車帝),[1] which may be the *Cha-ti* (制底) of a Vinaya treatise, and perhaps for the Pali *chetiya*.[2] The account of the First Council given in the canon merely says it was held at Rājagaha. The Mahāvaṁsa makes the Council to have been held in the Sattapaṇṇi cave in the Vebhāra mountain;[3] the "Sarvāta Vinaya" and certain other treatises describe the Council as meeting in the Pippala Cave on the Gridhrakūṭa[4] and this is probably the Nyagrodha cave of Rockhill's Tibetan authority;[5] and other places are given in other works.

Our pilgrim makes the Council to have been composed of 1000 members. This is the number given in the "Ta-chi-tu-lun",[6] but the earliest account gives only 500.

Passing over the pilgrim's fanciful account of the summoning and formation of the Council we come to the words which I have translated "the President's Collection" (Shang-tso-pu). The text reads—"At the end of two or three months the compilation of the Tripiṭaka was finished; because Mahā-Kāśyapa was president among the Brethren, they called

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[1] Fo-kuo-chi *ch.* 30.
[2] Sêng-ki-lü *ch.* 33.
[3] *Ch.* 3.
[4] Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih *ch.* 39; Fu-fa-tsang-yin-yuan-chuan *ch.* 1 (No. 1340).
[5] Rockhill, 'Life', *ch.* V.
[6] *Ch.* 2.
[7] 'Vinaya Texts' III. 372, 385.

it the President's collection" (兩三月盡集三藏訖以大迦葉僧中上座因而謂之上座部焉). Julien translates— "Au bout de deux ou trois mois, la collection des trois recueils se trouva achevée. Comme Mahā Kāśyapa avait eu, au milieu des religieux, le titre de président, on appela son école *Chang-tso-pou* (Sthaviranikāya)". Here the introduction of the words "son école" seems to violate the construction and to make an anachronism. In like manner the words *ta-chung-pu* (大衆部) in the passage which follows seem to mean "the Collection of the Great Congregation", and not "l'école de la Grande Assemblée" as Julien translates. It was the Scriptures declared by Kāśyapa's Council to be canonical which were called the Sthaviranikāya or Shang-tso-pu, and these together with the additions made by the excluded Brethren constituted the Mahāsaṅghika-nikāya. Yuan-chuang's words seem to imply that two sets of Sūtra, Vinaya, and Abhidharma were drawn up, but this is perhaps more than he meant to state. The mixed majority Brethren accepted all that the Sthaviras pronounced canonical, and we find it expressly stated that the Vinaya settled by Kāśyapa's Council was called the Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya.[1] But there were various discourses or teachings which the Sthaviras excluded from their canon; and some of these were declared by the mixed majority of Brethren, with Pūrṇa (or Purāṇa) at their head, to be canonical. Such scriptures came to be called Mahāsaṅghikanikāya-āgama, and we find them quoted by this name in the śāstras of Buddhist writers.[2] The Chinese word *pu* translates the Sanskrit word Nikāya in its senses of *group of persons* and *collection of scriptures*, but we know that the Sthavira and Mahāsaṅghika *Schools* did not arise until after the time of Kāśyapa.

Proceeding with his narrative the pilgrim tells us that above 200 paces to the north of the Bamboo Park Chapel (*ching-shê*)

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[1] Questions of Śāripatra (No. 1152).

[2] Shê-ta-shêng-lun, ch. 1 (No. 1183).

was the Kalanda Tank now without any water. Two or three *li* to the north-west of this was an Asoka tope beside which was a stone pillar, above 50 feet high, surmounted by an elephant, and having an inscription recording the circumstances of the tope. Not far to the north-east from this was Rājagṛiha city the outer wall of which was utterly destroyed; the foundations of the inner wall stood out prominently and were above 20 *li* in circuit with one gate. King Bimbisāra had his capital at Kuśāgrapur which was constantly afflicted by disastrous fires; on the advice of his statesmen this king made a law that the inhabitant with whom a fire originated was to be banished to the cemetery. When a fire broke out in the palace he made his heir king, and went to live in the cemetery. Hearing this the king of Vaiśāli proceeded to invade Magadha, whereupon this city was built, and the inhabitants of Kuśāgrapur all removed to it, and because the place had been the abode of their king the city came to be called "the king's abode" (Rājagriha). But there was another story which ascribed the building of this city to Ajātaśatru whose successor made it his capital. When Asoka removed the seat of government to Pāṭaliputra he gave Rājagṛiha to the brahmins, and so the only inhabitants of the city were 1000 brahmin families.

The legend which Yuan-chuang here relates about the founding of Rājagṛiha in the time of king Bimbiśāra is apparently a distortion of the legend about the founding of Old Rājagṛiha, the Kuśāgrapur of our author.[1] Another city, the name of which is not given, was afflicted by frequent conflagrations, and the inhabitants removed to the site on which they built Rājagṛiha. There are, however, various explanations of the name given by later commentators or historians.[2] The old city called Rājagṛiha is represented as a very ancient one, the third in the history of the world.[3] That New Rājagṛiha was the work of Bimbisāra or his son and successor seems to agree with some of the Buddhist scriptures.

In the south-west corner of the "Palace city" were two small monasteries in which Brethren from other countries got lodging. North-west from these was a tope at the place where the house-

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[1] Ta-chi-tu-lun, *ch.* 3.

[2] Sar. Vin. Vibhāshā, *ch.* 2.

[3] Ta-lu-t'an, *ch.* 6.

holder (Elder) Jyotishka was born. On the left side of the road, outside the south gate of the city, was a tope where Buddha preached and ordained Rahula.

The name Jyotishka of this passage, transcribed as *Chu-ti-se-ka* or Jotiska, is explained in a note as meaning "Heavenly body" (*hsing-lih* 星 曆), and an old transcription is given as *Shu-ti-ka*. Our pilgrim here calls Jyotishka an "Elder", using that word apparently in the sense of grihapati or "householder". This is the term applied to him in the Mahavastu.[1] But in other works Jyotishka is a very remarkable layman who enters Buddha's church and becomes an arhat. His story is an interesting and curious romance related with certain variations in several treatises. An extremely wealthy man of Rājagriha (or Champā) whose wife was with child was told by the Kshapaṇaka (or Tīrthikas), to whom he was devoted, that the offspring would be a daughter. But Buddha told the man that his wife would give birth to a son who would join the Buddhists, become very distinguished, and attain arhatship. Listening to the wicked talk and counsel of the Tīrthikas the husband killed his wife, and had her body taken to the cemetery to be buried. When the corpse was blazing the baby was seen, and at Buddha's request Jīvaka ventured into the fire and rescued the infant. As the father refused to take charge of his son the latter was at Buddha's request adopted by king Bimbisāra, and Buddha gave him the name Jyotishka because he had been saved from *fire* (Jyotis). In the course of time the boy was claimed by his maternal uncle, and he rose to be a man of wealth and magnificence beyond imagination. In his house the walls were of silver and the floors of crystal, the furniture was of gold and other precious substances, his slaves were of heavenly beauty, and unseen devices wrought visible wonders. King Ajātaśatru coveted the house and its contents, and Jyotishka in order to avoid

[1] Mahāvastu T. II, p. 271 gives only the story of Jyotishka's previous existence.

trouble gave away everything in alms, then entered the Buddhist church and rose to be an arhat. All the temporal and spiritual greatness of this man was explained by the Buddha as the result of religious merit acquired by him in the time of a Buddha who belonged to an era in the far off past.[1] This story of Jyotishka does not seem to be known to the Pali scriptures so far as these are at present accessible.

The narrative proceeds. From the Râhula tope a journey of above 30 *li* brings one to the Nâlandâ Monastery. The tradition was that in a Mango wood to the south of this monastery was a tank the dragon of which was called Nâlandâ and that his name was given to the monastery. But the facts of the case were that Ju-lai as a P'usa had once been a king with his capital here, that as king he had been honoured by the epithet Nâlandâ or "Insatiable in giving" on account of his kindness and liberality, and that this epithet was given as its name to the monastery. The grounds of the establishment were originally a Mango Park bought by 500 merchants for ten koṭi of gold coins and presented by them to the Buddha. Here soon after the decease of the Buddha, Śakrâditya, a former king of this country, esteeming the one Vehicle and reverencing the Three Precious Ones, built a monastery. This king's son and successor Buddhagupta, continuing his father's good work, to the south of this monastery built another one; to the east of this king Tathâgatagupta built a third monastery, and to the north-east of this king Bâlâditya added a fourth. At the formal opening of this last monastery Brethren from all quarters were present by invitation of the king, and among these strangers were two who said they were Chinese. When the king went to visit these latter they had disappeared in a mysterious manner, and His Majesty was so affected by the incident that he abdicated and joined the Buddhist fraternity [in the monastery he had built]. The rule of seniority placed him below all the Brethren, and he

[1] This account is taken chiefly from the Fo-shuo-shu-t'i-ka-ching (No. 543), with which the Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching, *ch.* 28 (No. 114) is in general agreement. The Wu-pai-ti-tzŭ-tsŭ-shuo-pên-ch'i-ching (No. 729) has no mention of a miraculous birth, and the disciple relates his karma. The whole story is told at great length in the Jyotishkâvadâna of the Divyâv. (XIX). See also Rockhill's 'Life' p. 65 and 94; Bud. Text S. Vol II, Pt. II, p. 12 and B. Texts Appx. p 43.

did not like this change in his social position. He put his case before the ordained Brethren who thereupon made a rule that members of the establishment who were not fully ordained should rank according to age, a rule which is found in this monastery and in no other. To the west of this monastery Bâlâditya's son and successor Vajra built another; and to the north of this a king of Mid India afterwards erected a large monastery. Then round all there was built a lofty enclosing wall with one gate. In this establishment, the work of a succession of sovereigns, the sculpture was perfect and really beautiful. "In the monastery built by Śakrâditya", the pilgrim continues, "there is now an image of Buddha and every day 40 Brethren are sent to take their food there to requite the bounty of the founder". In the establishment were some thousands of Brethren all men of great ability and learning, several hundreds being highly esteemed and famous; the Brethren were very strict in observing the precepts and regulations of their Order; they were looked up to as models by all India; learning and discussing they found the day too short; day and night they admonished each other, juniors and seniors mutually helping to perfection. If among them were any who did not talk of the mysteries of the Tripiṭaka such persons, being ashamed, lived aloof. Hence foreign students came to the establishment to put an end to their doubts and then became celebrated, and those who stole the name [of Nâlandâ Brother] were all treated with respect wherever they went. Of those from abroad who wished to enter the schools of discussion the majority, beaten by the difficulties of the problems, withdrew; and those who were deeply versed in old and modern learning were admitted, only two or three out of ten succeeding. The pilgrim then gives the names of some celebrated men of Nâlandâ who had kept up the lustre of the establishment and continued its guiding work. There were Dharmapâla and Chandrapâla who gave a fragrance to Buddha's teachings, Guṇamati and Sthiramati of excellent reputation among contemporaries, Prabhamitra of clear argument, and Jinamitra of elevated conversation, Jñânachandra of model character and perspicacious intellect, and Śîlabhadra whose perfect excellence was buried in obscurity. All these were men of merit and learning, and authors of several treatises widely known and highly valued by contemporaries

Here we have an interesting but unsatisfactory account of the great Buddhist establishment at Nâlandâ, the name of which is not even mentioned in Fa-hsien's narrative. But the establishment was visited by the Sung pilgrim

who located it 15 *li* north from the site of Jyotishka's house which was in Rājagriha. The Life places it above seven yojanas north-east from Mahābodhi, and this is in agreement with I-ching's account. Cunningham's identification of Nālandā with the modern village of Baragaon is well known, and it may be correct. The journey from Gayā to Nālandā was probably one of between 50 and 60 miles, and between Rājagriha and Nālandā was a Mango Park with a tank.

Our pilgrim does not accept the explanation of the name Nālandā which derives it from that of the dragon of the tank in the Mango Park, but I-ching was satisfied with this explanation.[1] Yuan-chuang preferred the Jātaka story which referred the name to the epithet "Insatiable in giving (na-alam-dā)" given to Buddha in a former existence as king of this country. In the Buddhist scriptures, however, we find mention of a Nālandā village near Rājagriha with a Pāvārik (or Pāvā) Mango Park in Buddha's time;[2] and the word *āmra* (mango) seems to be used as the name of the original owner of the site of the Nālandā establishment.

Our pilgrim mentions six monasteries as having been built here by as many kings, and as forming the Nālandā establishment in his time, but the last of these, the one erected by the king of South India, is not in the "Fang-chih". The story of the two Chinese pilgrims appearing at Bālāditya's inauguration of his monastery is not clear, and the sudden disappearance of these Brethren is not explained. This king, the pilgrim tells us, became a member of the Buddhist fraternity, but we are apparently to understand that he only joined his own monastery as a lay-brother. Then being the last lay novice he was below all the other members of the establishment, and his pride was wounded. So the monks made a rule that

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[1] Hsi-yü-ch'iu, *ch.* 1; Chavannes, 'Memoires' p. 84.

[2] Maj. Nik. Vol. 1, p. 371; Chung-a-han-ching, *ch.* 32, 55 See also Digha I. 211, 212; II 81—84 (translated in Rhys Davids, 'Buddhist Suttas'. p 12-16)

in their monastery "unordained members were to rank according to their age" (未受戒者以年齒爲次). Julien apparently understood these words to mean that the lay members were to rank among themselves according to age, but this would not help the king's position as "ranking after the Brethren" (位居僧末). Further, the text for "in the original monastery of king Śakrāditya there is now an image of Buddha" is "Ti-jih-wang-pen-ka-lan-chê-chin-chi-Fo-hsiang (帝日王本伽藍者今置佛像). Julien having 曰 for 日 translates—"Le roi dit: Dans le couvent fondé par le premier roi (le couvent de *Nālanda*), je vais placer aujourd'hui la statue du *Bouddha*". This is a most unhappy rendering, and the bad text cannot be held responsible for all its faults. In the next sentence of Julien's translation the future tense should be substituted for the present, and the inverted commas should be removed from the paragraph The words are Yuan-chuang's statements, and are not put in the mouth of a king. It is probable that the Śakrāditya monastery was in ruins when Yuan-chuang visited the place, and that the forty Brethren were sent from another vihāra to eat their breakfast at it, to keep up the memory of the establishment and its founder. At I-ching's time there were only the foundations of this monastery visible.

In his description of the high tone and austere lives of the Nālanda Brethren Yuan-chuang writes—"If there were any who did not talk of the mysteries of the Tripiṭaka such persons, being ashamed, kept aloof". The Chinese is—其有不談三藏幽旨者則形影自愧矣. Julien's rendering is—"S'il y avait des hommes incapables de traiter les matières abstraites des trois recueils, ils étaient comptés pour rien et se voyaient couverts de honte". This is not fair to the devout students, as there is nothing in the text to show that they despised their idle brethren. The latter felt they were without companions, alone and miserable. Our pilgrim's expression about them was apparently suggested by the saying of an old statesman who described his lonely sorrow to the emperor by the words *hsing-ying-*

hsiang-tiao (形影相弔), "he and his shadow having to exchange condolences". Finding their indolence isolated them the idle Brethren "felt ashamed of themselves". Further in the translation here given of Yuan-chuang's account the words—"Of those from other lands who wished to enter the schools for discussion the majority, beaten by the difficult problems, withdrew", are in Julien's rendering—"Si un homme d'un autre pays voulait entrer et prendre part aux conférences, le gardien de la porte lui adressait des questions difficiles. Le plus grand nombre était réduit au silence et s'en retournait". The text is—殊方異域欲八談議門者詰難多屈而還學深今古乃得入焉. In Julien's rendering of this passage the words *mên-che*, it will be seen, are severed from the preceding words to which they belong and are taken in the sense of *janitor* or *porter*. Julien's text, however, may have had *shou-mên-che* (守門者), meaning "gate-keeper", which is the reading in the Fang-chih. But in the A, B, and D texts the reading is simply *mên-che*, and C has 閽 which is evidently a misprint. The continuation of the sentence in the original has been given above, and it will be seen that context and construction require the interpretation here given which is also that of native scholars. The phrase *ju-mên* is a very common one in popular and literary use, and means to *join a school* or *enter a trade or profession*. Here the pilgrim tells his reader that of those who came from other countries to Nālandā in the desire of becoming disputants—religious controversialists—the majority went back beaten by the difficult problems, while those who were profound in ancient and modern lore "obtained entrance", that is joined the schools of debate. But it is true that *mên-che* means a *janitor* and a disciple who acts as such.

Of the "great P'usas" here mentioned by Yuan-chuang as having rendered good service to Buddhism in Nālandā by their expository commentaries three are mentioned in other parts of the Records viz. Guṇamati, Dharmapāla, and Śīlabhadra. Of these the last was the abbot of the

Nālandā establishment at the time of Yuan-chuang's visit, and became the pilgrim's friend and teacher. Dharmapāla probably died about A. D 600, and Gunamati was much earlier. Contemporary with the latter apparently was another of the "great P'usas", Sthiramati. This scholar was the author of an "Introduction to Mahāyānism' which was translated into Chinese about A. D. 400; and he composed another short metaphysical treatise which was translated in A. D. 691.[1] Jinamitra, another of the "great P'usas", is known as the author of a valuable compendium of the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins which we have in I-ching's translation.[2] The three other great luminaries of Nālandā cited by our pilgrim, viz. Chandrapāla, Jñānachandra, and Prabhamitra do not appear as authors of books in the collections of Buddhist works. The Jñānachandra mentioned by I-ching as one of the famous Brethren of West India at his time, and as attached to the Tiladha Monastery, may be the learned Brother of that name in the passage before us. I-ching mentions also Dharmapāla, Śīlabhadra, and Guṇamati in his list of the Buddhist sages who flourished in the period not long before his time. Mr. Takakusu makes him include also Sthiramati, but I-ching's text has An-hui which is the translation for Sthilamati. The latter was contemporary with Dharmapāla while Sthiramati must have lived before A. D. 400.[3] In Julien's translation of the part of the present passage which tells of the "great P'usas" of Nālanda we have "Çighrabouddha" as one of them. But this is an error of the translator, who mistook the words *ming-min* (明敏) for a proper name. These words here form part of the descriptive statement about Jñānachandra "whose character formed an example of bright activity"; the clause is parallel to the next one which mentions the perfect virtue of Śīlabhadra, which was in dark seclusion.

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[1] Bun. Nanjio's Catalogue Nos. 1243, 1258, 1127.

[2] Bun. No. 1127.

[3] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, ch. 34. Takakusu pp. 181, 225.

The words *ming-mun* are omitted from the account in the Fangchih.

We now return to the pilgrim's description which proceeds to relate that all around the Nālandā establishment were 100 sacred vestiges of which two or three are to be briefly noticed. To the west was a temple at a place where the Buddha had lodged for three months and preached to devas and men, and above 100 paces to the south of this was a tope where a foreign bhikshu had visited Buddha. This bhikshu on meeting Buddha prostrated himself and prayed for rebirth as a universal sovereign; Buddha hereupon remarked with sorrow that as this man's merit was vast, and his faith firm, he would have attained Buddhahood if he had so desired. Now he would have to become a sovereign once for every atom of dust from the place of his prostration down to the "gold wheel". As he was given up to worldly joy the sacred fruit would be thus remote (that is, he would attain arhatship only after all these countless rebirths). To the south of this tope was a standing image of Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa, sometimes seen with a censer in the hand performing pradakshiṇa to Buddha's temple. To the south of this was a tope which contained the shaven hairs and nail-clippings of the Buddha for three months; and devotees who performed pradakshiṇa to this tope were often cured of their ailments. Near the tank outside the west wall was a tope where a Tirthika holding a small bird in his hand asked Buddha about life and death. South-east from this and above 50 paces within the wall was a remarkable bifurcated tree, according to the A and C texts 80 or 90 (but according to B and D eight or nine) feet high. This tree, the height of which never varied, had grown from a tooth-stick thrown on the ground by the Buddha. To the east of the Tooth-stick tree was a large temple above 200 feet high where the Buddha had preached. To the north of this above 100 paces was a temple with an image of Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa which believing worshippers saw in various forms and at different positions. To the north of this was a large temple above 300 feet high built by king Bālāditya. In its size and ornamentation and in its image of Buddha this temple resembled the one at the Bodhi Tree.

The Tirthika with the small bird, *ch'io*, of this passage is mentioned also by I-ching who calls the man a brahmin and represents him as coming to question the Buddha. I-ching tells us also that the chaitya, about ten feet high, at the spot was called in Chinese the *Ch'io-li-fu-t'u* (雀

縷 浮 圖) or the Ch'io-li Tope.[1] In his account of the Buddha's Tooth-stick Tree here, as before, Yuan-chuang uses the common Chinese term *Yang-chih* or "Willow-branch" instead of the correct term *Chih-mu* or "Tooth-stick". This tree was afterwards seen by I-ching who is at pains to tell us that it was not a willow.[2] The Bālāditya Temple here mentioned was the Buddha Hall of the Monastery built by that king. In the Life this hall is placed to the north-east of Nālandā. It is probably the Bālāditya chaitya which I-ching describes as very beautiful, and as containing an image of the Buddha in the attitude of preaching.

The pilgrim proceeds to relate that to the north-east of Bālāditya's Temple was a tope where Buddha had preached and to the north-west was a sitting-place of the Four Past Buddhas; to the south was a bronze (*t'u-shi*) temple in course of construction by king Śilāditya. To the east of this above 200 paces and outside the wall of the establishment was king Pūrṇavarma's copper image of the Buddha more than 80 feet high in a six-storeyed building. Two or three *li* north from this was a brick temple with a large image of Tāra P'usa, a popular object of worship. Within the south gate of the wall was a large well which had been miraculously produced in the Buddha's lifetime. To the south-west of the Nālanda saṅghārāma, eight or nine *li*, was the town *Kou-li-ka* (Kolika) in which was an Asoka tope; this was the place of Mudgalaputra's birth and death. This leads to an account of the conversion and ordination of Mudgalaputra and his friend Śāriputra. Three or four *li* to the east of Kolika, the pilgrim continues, was a tope at the place where king Bimbisāra came in great state to meet the Buddha on the latter's first visit to Rājagṛiha as Buddha. Above twenty *li* south-east from this was *Ka-lo-pi-na-ka* town with an Asoka tope; this was the birth place of Śāriputra, and the scene of his death. The pilgrim then tells the story of Śāriputra's birth, his religious life, and his final passing away.

In this passage our pilgrim calls the birth place of Maudgalyāyanaputra Kolika (or Kulika) and describes it as being eight or nine *li* to the south-west of Nālandā.

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[1] Hsi-yü-ch'iu, *ch* 1.

[2] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch*. 8. Hsi-yü-ch'iu, *ch*. 1.

In the Life the place is called the "Monastery (i. e. Nālanda) Village", and it is represented as being seven yojanas north-east from the Bodhi Tree; the Mahāvastu calls it Kolitagrāmaka and places it half a yojana from Rājagriha.[1] In the "Hsing-chi-ching"[2] and other works the name is Kolika as here, and in the Sarvata Vinaya it is *Lin-yuan* (林園). "Wood-Garden" or Lin-wei (圍). "Wood-inclosure".[3] Kolita, a designation of Maudgalyāyanaputra, was probably derived from the name of his native town. But it is translated into Chinese by *T'ien-pao* (天抱) or "Carried in the arms by devas",[4] and into Tibetan by *Pan-skyes*, the "Lap-born" of Csoma's rendering.[5] The name which Yuan-chuang gives here for Śāriputra's birth-place does not seem to be known to other authors. Julien restores the *Ka-lo-pi-na-ka* of the text as Kālapinaka, but this is merely a conjecture. It is apparently only another name for the Nāla (or Nālada) of Fa-hsien and other Buddhist writers. Yuan-chuang's town was 20 *li* south-east from the Bimbisāra tope which was on the south side of Nālandā, and the village of Nāla, the Nālagrāmā of some Pali writers, was above 20 *li* south-east from Nālandā.[6] In the Mahāvastu the birthplace of Sariputra is called Nālandagrāmaka and it, like Mudgalaputra's home, is placed half a yojana from Rājagriha. Fa-hsien places Nāla one yojana to the east of this city,[7] and this agrees with Yuan-chuang's location of his Ka-lo-pi-na-ka. Another name given to Sāriputra's birth-place is Upatishya (or Upatissa), which is also his own proper name.[8]

Going back to our pilgrim's narrative, it proceeds to tell us that four or five *li* south-east from the town of *Ka-lo-pi-na-ka*

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[1] T. III, p. 56.
[2] *Ch.* 48.
[3] Tsa-shih, *ch.* 18.
[4] Sar. Vin. Chu-chia-shih. *ch.* 1
[5] As. Res. Vol. XX, p. 49; Rockhill, 'Life', p. 44
[6] Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih, *ch.* 18.
[7] Mahāvastu III, 56. Foe-kuo-chi, *ch* 28
[8] Hardy M. B. p. 200.

was a tope at the place where, according to one story, a disciple of Śāriputra, and according to another legend three Koṭis of Kāśyapa Buddha's arhats passed away for ever. At a distance of above thirty *li* east from this tope was the Indra-śālaguhā or Indra's Cave Mountain. This mountain, whose sombre gorges were covered with vegetation, had two peaks, and in the precipitous south side of the west peak was a broad low cave in which the Buddha often lodged. While the Buddha was staying here once (or according to another reading, from time to time), Indra delineated on a stone 42 doubts which he wished to have solved, and Buddha gave the solutions; the marks still existed. The image [of Buddha] recently made here is after the old sacred style. On the east peak of this mountain was a monastery, and the Brethren in it saw lights burning before the Buddha image in the cave of the peak opposite. In front of this monastery was the *Hêng-sha* (or Hamsa) that is Wild-goose Tope. The Brethren of this monastery had been Hīnayānists and so "Gradualists", who accepted and observed the rule as to the three lawful kinds of flesh for food. It happened, however, on one occasion that these kinds of food were not to be had; a Brother walking up and down saw a flock of wild geese flying overhead. He said aloud in joke—"To-day there is no breakfast for the Brethren, the Mahāsattva must know the right time". Before he had finished speaking one of the wild geese, dropping to the ground, gave up his dead body for the Brethren The bhikshu went and reported the matter to them, whereupon all were greatly moved They said among themselves—Ju-lai preached and taught the right thing at the right occasion—with dogged stupidity we have followed the "gradual" teaching—it is the "Great Vehicle" which is the right system and we must give up our former tenets and follow the holy ordinances—this wild goose has come to warn us, and be our true guide, and we must make a lasting memorial of its substantial merit. So the goose was buried, and this tope was erected over its body.

The mountain of Indra's Cave of this passage has been indentified by Cunningham with the small isolated mountain of Fa-hsien, and both with the modern Giryek.[1] But this double identification, as Fergusson has pointed out, is open to objections.[2] In a sūtra of the Digha Nikāya and in the corresponding Chinese texts, Indra's Cave was in

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[1] 'Anc. Geog. of India', p. 471.

[2] J. R. A. S. Vol. VI, p. 229.

the mountain called Vediyaka, to the north of the Āmra-Park Village on the east of Rajagṛiha, and in the north side of the mountain.[1] The Cave of the canonical books could not have been in the side of a precipice, as Buddha is represented in them as walking up and down in front of it in conversation with Ānanda.[2] Then Yuan-chuang represents the mountain as being covered with a dense growth of vegetation, and the Vediyaka mountain was, at least in the Buddha's time, without any trees to give shade and shelter to the bhikshus. Indra once visited Buddha in the cave in this mountain, and the god came attended by the Gandharva musician and a company of other gods. On this occasion Indra stated his doubts and difficulties to Buddha who replied to them one by one. This visit had no connection with one paid to the Buddha on the Gṛidhrakūṭa mountain by the same Gandharva musician by name Pañchasikkha. Fa-hsien's small isolated hill may be, as Ferguson supposes, at Behār, although the difference in distance is very great. Yuan-chuang's Indra-Cave mountain may possibly be the Videha of other writers, by mistake for Vediyaka. In the sūtras which tell of Indra's questions there is no mention of the number 42, nor is there any writing down of question or answer.

The very interesting passage, here condensed in translation, about the Brethren in the monastery with the Haṃsa tope, to which reference has been made in a previous chapter, deserves the attention of students of Buddhism. Here we have in Magadha a community of Buddhist monks, which had been following the Vinaya as it has come to us in the Pali language, giving up suddenly one of its rules as unworthy of their creed and unorthodox. The Brethren in the Monastery had adhered to the rule prescribed by Buddha that flesh-food might be taken if three specified conditions were fulfilled. One day they

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[1] Digha Nikāya II. 263,269, Chang-a-han-ching, *ch.* 10, Fo-shuo-shêng-ching, *ch.* 2

[2] Sêng-ki-lü, *ch.* 28.

could not get any animal food lawful for them to eat; a thoughtless Brother seeing wild geese flying overhead said jesting — The Brethren today have no breakfast, the Mahāsattva must know the right time". Julien missing the drift of the whole passage makes the joking bhikshu address the others saying — "Aujourd'hui, la pitance des religieux est insuffisante. *Mo-ho-sa-to* (Mahāsattvas—nobles êtres), il faut que vous sachiez que voilà le moment". There is no point or sense in this latter sentence, and bhikshus are not styled Mahāsattvas. The Mahāsattva of the speaker was evidently the candidate for future Buddhahood, and as such he was to be ready to give up his life in charity at the right opportunity. While the bhikshu was speaking a goose, being it is to be supposed a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva in that incarnation, fell from the flock, and gave up his body for food to the hungry monks. These, however, were so moved with sad feelings that they could not cook the goose; they buried it and became Mahāyānists. As such they gave up the "gradual" system which allowed of exceptions and relaxations in rule and doctrine. They were henceforth to observe the strict rule that flesh was not to to be eaten by then in any circumstances. This is the Mahāyānists' version of Buddha's teaching, but in the Vinaya, as has been seen, the expressly allows fish and flesh to his disciples on the three conditions of not having seen, not having heard, and not having had suspicion.

Our pilgrim's narrative goes on to state that a journey of 150 or 160 *li* north-east from the mountain of Indra's Cave brought him to the *Kapota* (or Kapotaka) Ka-lan or Pigeon Monastery The Brethren of this establishment, over 200 in number, were disciples of the Sarvāstivādin school. To the north-east of the monastery was an Asoka tope, and the pilgrim tells the foolish unBuddhistic story which accounted for the name of the monastery. He goes on to state that two or three *li* south from the Pigeon Monastery was a tall isolated hill well wooded and abounding in flowers and streams, on the hill were numerous sacred buildings with miraculous powers and executed with consummate art In the central temple was a small image of Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa majestic and grave, holding a lotus in

one hand, and having an image of Buddha above his forehead. Devotees fasted seven or fourteen days, or even a month, in the earnest desire of seeing the P'usa, and those who came under his influence beheld him in all his grandeur emerge from the image and address to them comfort and counsel. This temple was erected by a king of Ceylon who one morning looking into his mirror saw, not himself, but this P'usa in a tāla wood on a small hill in Magadha; deeply affected the king made search and found the image here like the one in his mirror; so he erected this temple and established worship. Other princes followed his example and built temples by its side, and religious services with flowers and music have been kept up continuously. A journey of above 40 *li* south-east from this hill brought one to a monastery with above fifty Brethren all Hīnayānists, and near to this was a miracle-working tope. To the north-east of this monastery above 70 *li* and on the south side of the Ganges was a large populous town with elegant Deva-Temples; near the south-east side was a large tope where the Buddha had once preached. Going east from this, and passing for above 100 *li* over hill and through wood, the pilgrim reached the *Lo-pan* (or *yin*)-*ni* (or *yi*)-*lo* town. In front of the Monastery here was a large Asoka tope on the spot where the Buddha had preached for three months; north of this two or three *li* was a large tank above thirty *li* in circuit with lotus flowers of the four colours blooming in all seasons.

According to the Life the marvellous image of the Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa here mentioned was made of sandal-wood, and it was enclosed by railings; the worshippers tried their fortune by casting flowers and garlands at the image. At the present day worshippers of Kuan-yin P'usa in many parts of China may be seen throwing a flower, or a small silk scarf, or some other small article, at the image of the P'usa; and the response to the worshipper's prayer is read in the fate of the object thrown.

The name of the town here given as *Loh-pan-yi* (or *Lo-pan-ni*)-*lo* (洛般膩羅) was in Julien's text *Lo-yin*(殷)-*ni-lo* and he restored this as Rohinila. The restoration has of course been adopted by subsequent writers, but it cannot be accepted; the reading -*yin*- is found only in the B text, A, C, and D all having *Lo-pan-ni-lo*. These syllables may represent an original like Lavanila, but

there is no hint as to the meaning of the word, and it may have been Lavaṇanīla.

Our pilgrim here writes of lotus-flowers of four colours, but commonly only three colours are mentioned; these are the red, white, and blue lotus-flowers, and each of these has a variety of names. But we read of four varieties of lotus-flowers in one tank, and these four are usually represented as the padma (which is red), the utpala (blue), the puṇḍarīka and kumuda (which are white).

CHAPTER XVI.

CHUAN X.

I-LAN-NA-PO-FA-TO COUNTRY.

The narrative in the Records relates that from the monastery of the town *Loh-pan-ni-lo* (Lavananīla?) the pilgrim journeyed east through a mountain forest for more than 200 *li* to the *I-lan-na-po-fa-to* country. This country was above 3000 *li* in circuit, and its capital, which was 20 *li* in circuit, on its north side was close to the Ganges. The region was fertile with a genial climate and inhabitants of honest ways, there were above ten Buddhist monasteries and more than 4000 Brethren the most of whom were Hīnayānists of the Sammitīya school; there were above twenty Deva-temples and the adherents of the various religions lived pell-mell. In recent times the king of a neighbouring state had deposed the ruler and given the capital to the Buddhist Brethren, erecting in the city two monasteries each of which had about 1000 Brethren of the Sarvāstivādin school. Beside the capital and close to the Ganges was the *I-lan-na* mountain, the dark mists of which eclipsed sun and moon; on this an endless succession of rishis had always lodged and their teachings were still preserved in the Deva-temples; moreover the Buddha had lived here, and preached his religion to devas and men. To the south of the capital was a tope where Buddha had preached, and to the west of this was the tope of the bhikshu *Shi-lu-to-pin-shê-ti-kou-ti* (Śrotavimsatikoṭi) at the place where he was born. The pilgrim then relates the well-known legend about this disciple. He then goes on to describe that in the west of this country to the south of the Ganges was a small isolated mountain with two tall summits one above the other. Here the Buddha once kept the Summer Retreat, and reduced to submission the yaksha *Po-ku-lo* (Bakula); at the foot of the south-east ledge were traces of Buddha's sitting on a large rock, above which was a tope On a rock

adjoining this on the south side were traces of the Buddha's water-jar which he had placed on it, the traces being above an inch deep and forming an eight-whorled flower. A short distance to the south-east of the Buddha's sitting-place was a footprint of *Bakala*, one foot five or six inches long, by seven or eight inches wide and nearly two inches deep. Behind this was a stone sitting image of the Buddha about six feet high; and on the west side of this was an exercise-place of Buddha. On the top of this mountain was the old house of the Yaksha, and to the north of this was a foot-print of Buddha at which was a tope. The Yaksha Bakula when overcome by Buddha promised to give up the killing of human beings and the eating of flesh, he then became a Buddhist, and on his death was reborn in Heaven. To the west of this mountain were six or seven springs the water of which was very hot. In the woods among the mountains in the south of this country were numerous large wild elephants.

The name given by our pilgrim to the country here described, viz— *I-lan-na-po-fa-to* has been restored by Julien as *Hiraṇyaparvata*, or "Golden Mountain", and the restoration has been blindly accepted. The latter part of this restoration is apparently correct, but *I-lan-na* cannot be taken to represent Hiraṇya, nor is there anything *golden* in the country or mountain in the pilgrim's description. The syllables *I-lan-na* apparently stand for *īraṇa* which denotes a piece of *wild or barren land*. We find the word used by Nāgārjuna who compares a Brother living in violation of the Vinaya to an Iraṇa (*i-lan*) in a wood of sandal trees.[1] In the Life *I-lan-na*, or as we may provisionally restore the word, Iraṇa is used to designate the country. St. Martin, followed by Cunningham and Fergusson, identifies this region with the modern district of Monghyr.[2] In the statement that the capital "on its north side was close to the Ganges" I have followed the D text which has *lin* (臨), *near to*. Instead of this the other texts have *lu* (路), *a road*, which does

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[1] Ta-chih-tu-lun, *ch.* 18. But in this, as in some other passages, *i-lan-na* is probably the name of a tree disliked and avoided on account of its offensive odour.

[2] [illegible]

not seem to make good sense. Our pilgrim, we learn from the Life, remained at the capital a year studying the "Vibhāsha-lun" (No. 1279) and the "Abhidharma-shun-chêng-li-lun", (No. 1265). His teachers were apparently Tathāgatagupta and Kshāntisiṃha, two prominent Brethren of the Sarvāstivādin Monasteries of which he makes mention. In the notice of the Īraṇa mountain in the above passage the pilgrim describes it as "having dark mists" which eclipsed sun and moon. For the words within inverted commas the original is *han-t'u-yen-hsia* (含吐煙霞) literally "holding ejecting smoke-mists". Julien's translation is "d'ou sortent des masses de fumée et des vapeurs". This is much more than is in the text, which is merely a poetic expression for "over the mountain hang dark clouds which efface sun and moon". As the mountain had always been inhabited it could not have been an active volcano.

The bhikshu whom Yuan-chuang in the above passage calls Śrotaviṃsatikoṭi, translated by him "Heard 200 *yi*", and of whose life he gives a few wellknown particulars, was a famous arhat among the disciples of the Buddha. In the canonical books he is a native of Champā and his death, according to Yuan-chuang, took place in the Konkanapur country. The "200 *yi*" of our author is a mistake for twenty *yi*, that is, twenty Koṭi, and for Śrota we should have Śroṇa apparently, the name of the constellation under which the bhikshu was born.[1] The chief circumstances of his life are given in the Vinaya, and he is to be distinguished from another disciple named Śroṇakoṭikarṇa (Soṇakūṭikaṇṇa) also mentioned in the Vinaya.[2]

The small isolated hill of the present passage which was in the west of Īraṇa was identified by Cunningham with the hill now called Mahādeva. But Dr. Waddell has

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[1] M. B. p. 254; Pali Vinaya 1. 179; Ssŭ-fên-lü, *ch.* 38; Rockhill, 'Life', p. 72; Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching, *ch.* 13 where the name given is that of the other disciple.

[2] Pali Vinaya 1. 194; Sar. Vin. P'i-ko-shih; Ssŭ-fên-ly l. c.

given reasons, which seem to be conclusive, against this identification and in favour of his own suggestion that the hill is Mount Uren.[1] Is it possible that in the latter name we have a corruption of Īraṇa? The Fang-chih makes the small isolated hill to have been one *li* or about $^1/_5$ of a mile in length. The Yaksha Bakula (or Vakula) of this hill does not seem to be known to the Buddhist scriptures. But in these we read of a carnivorous anthropophagous Yaksha whom Buddha reduced to submission, converted, and received into his religion.[2] In the Chinese translations this Yaksha lived in *Kuang-ye* (壙 or 曠 野) that is, the wild *wilderness* or *uninhabited country*. The Sanskrit original for Kuang-ye is Aṭavi and this is apparently the Alawee of Bigandet and the Alawaka of Hardy. But it cannot be the Īraṇa-parvata country of our pilgrim, which was to the east of Rājagaha, whereas the Kuang-ye was to the west of that city.

CHAMPĀ.

The pilgrim, continuing his narrative, relates that from the Īraṇaparvata country he proceeded east, following the south bank of the Ganges, and after a journey of above 300 *li* he came to the *Chan-p'o* (Champā) country. This the pilgrim describes as above 4000 *li* in circuit, with its capital more than 40 *li* in circuit, situated on the south side of the Ganges. There were some tens of monasteries mostly in ruins, and there were above 200 Brethren all Hīnayānists. At the beginning of this kalpa, he relates, when men were homeless savages, a goddess came down from Heaven, and after bathing in the Ganges became pregnant. She bore four sons, who divided the world among them, and built cities, and the first city built was Champā. To the east of the capital about 140 *li* on the south side of the Ganges was a high islet on which was a Deva-temple, a place beautiful and enchanting.

The statement here made by Yuan-chuang that Champā was the first city built on the renovation of the world is found in several of the Buddhist scriptures, but without

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[1] A. G. I. p. 476; J. A. S. Ben. 1892 Pt. I, p. 1.

[2] Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching, *ch.* 15 (No. 114).

the story of the goddess.[1] In the scriptures we find the Buddha often visiting this city, and lodging at the tank called Gaggarā, in Chinese transcriptions *Ka-ga* or *Ga-ga* (揭伽 or 伽伽).[2] The country was ruled for a time by the Aṅga dynasty, and it is called the Aṇga country, but in the Buddha's time was subject to Magadha.[3] Fa-hsien makes Champā to have been 18 yojanas east from Pāṭaliputra down the Ganges, and on the south side of that river; he calls it a large country; he mentions topes at the site of Buddha's *ching-shê*, that is, vihāra, and exercise ground, and at the sitting-place of the Four Buddhas, with resident Brethren.[4] In several of the Buddhist scriptures the capital of this country is represented as a large and flourishing city. The transc iption of the name given here by our pilgrim, *Chanp'o* (瞻波 or 婆), is that used by Fa-hsien; another way of transcribing the name is *Chan-p'o* (占波). Cunningham has identified the city Champā of this passage with the modern Bhāgalpur, and this identification has been accepted.[5] But Champā was the name given also to a large district which apparently included our pilgrim's Īraṇaparvata as we find the scene of the story of the Buddha and Śroṇavimsatikoṭi laid in Champā. Īraṇa and Champā are also mentioned together as having a great supply of war elephants.

KA-CHU-WÊN(?)-K'I-LO.

From Champā, the pilgrim proceeds to relate, he travelled east above 400 *li* to the *kie(ka)-chu-wên(?)-k'i-lo* Country. This country was above 2000 *li* in circuit, low and moist, yielding good crops; the climate was warm and the people were straight forward; they esteemed superior abilities and held learning in

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[1] Ta-lu-t'an-ching, *ch.* 6 (No. 551).

[2] Digh. Nik. Vol. I, p. 111 (P. T. S.); Sam. Nik. Vol. I, p. 195; Chang-a-han-ching. *ch.* 15; Sar. Vin. Yao-shih, *ch.* 2.

[3] Chang-a-han-ching, *ch.* 5; Vinaya Texts Vol. II, p. 1 and note; Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shih, *ch.* 16. 17. Rhys Davids, 'Buddhist India', p. 24

[4] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 37.

[5] A. G. I. p 477; Fergusson J. R. A. S., Vol. VI. 1873. c. p. 235.

respect. There were six or seven Buddhist Monasteries and above 300 Brethren; the Deva-Temples were ten in number and the various systems lived pell-mell. The native dynasty had been extinguished some centuries before the time of the pilgrim's visit, and the country had come under a neighbouring state, so the capital was deserted and the people lived in towns and villages. Hence when king Śīlāditya in his progress to "East India" held his court here, he cut grass to make huts, and burned these when leaving. There were many wild elephants in the south of this country. In the northern part of the country, not far from the Ganges, was a lofty belvedere built of stone and brick; its base was broad and high, and its artistic ornamentation was exquisite; on each of its sides were carved images of holy beings, the Buddhas and the devas being made different in appearance.

The name of the country here described by our pilgrim is "Kie-schou-ou-khi-lo" in Julien's transcription. This agrees with the reading in the D text which is 羯朱嗢祇羅, but instead of the third character of this transcription (read *wu* or *wo*) the other texts have 唱, which is properly pronounced *wên* or *mên* The Fang-chih agrees with the D text; and in one text of the Life we have *mo* (末) instead of *chu* and the name is given as *Ka-mo-wu-k'i-lo*. As we are told to pronounce the character for *wên* here as *wo*, and as this character is used in another place to transcribe the syllable *ut* or *ū*, we should perhaps read the name here *Ka-chu-wo-k'i-lo*. Julien restores the Indian original as Kajughira, and this restoration has been generally followed, although it seems to leave out the third character. In a note to our text we are told that the popular name for the country was *Ka-ying-kie-lo*. Julien's reading here was apparently *Ka-shêng-kie-lo* which may be the correct reading. This would give us an original like Kajangala, and Kajangala or Kajangalā is the name of a place in this neighbourhood mentioned in very early Buddhist Pali texts[1]

Cunningham makes the country of our passage to be Kānkjol now Rājmahal, and Fergusson fancies that "the place must be sought for either at Sicligully or Rajmahal, or somewhere between these places". In the T'ang-Shu

[1] [See J. R. A. S. 1904 pp. 86–88.]

we have the name of a country given as in our text except for the omission of the character for *khi*, probably a slip of the copyist. There this country is described as being 400 *li* south-west from *Pun-na-fa-tan-na*, in the east of "Mid-India", and on the south of the Ganges.[1]

For the last clause of the above passage Julien has—"Sur les quatre faces de la tour, on a exécuté en bas relief, dans des compartiments séparés, les images des saints, des *Bouddhas* et des *Dêvas*". This does not seem to express the author's meaning, which seems to be that the images of the Buddhist worthies, or of the Buddha, were of a different character from those of the devas. The phrase *chü-pie* (區別) which we have met already, is explained as meaning *yi-chung* or "of different kinds", and we read of the *chü-pie*, distinctive differences of the 80 000 axioms of Buddhism.

PUN-NA-FA-TAN-NA.

Our pilgrim's narrative proceeds to relate that from *Ka-chu-wu-khi-lo*, travelling east, he crossed the Ganges, and after a journey of above 600 *li* reached the *Pun-na-fa-tan-na* country. This country, he tells us, was above 4000 *li* in circuit, and its capital was more than thirty *li* in circuit. The country had a flourishing population. Tanks, hospices, and flowery groves alternated here and there; the land was low and moist, and crops were abundant. The Jack-fruit was plentiful but still held in esteem, and we have a description of the fruit. The climate of the country was genial; the people respected (in one text, liked) learning. There were twenty Buddhist Monasteries and above 3000 Brethren by whom the "Great and Little Vehicles" were followed; the Deva-Temples were 100 in number, and the followers of the various sects lived pell-mell, the Digambara Nirgranthas being very numerous. Twenty *li* to the west of the capital was a magnificent Buddhist establishment the name of which is given in some texts as Po-shih-p'o (跋始婆), while the D text of the Life has *Po-kih-p'o* (跋姞婆) and the other texts have *Po-kih-sha*. In this monastery, which had spacious halls and tall storeyed chambers, were above 700 Brethren all Mahâyânists; it had also many distinguished monks from "East India". Near it was an Asoka tope at the place where Buddha had preached

[1] A. G. I. p. 478; Fergusson op. c. p. 288; T'ang-Shu, *ch*. 43.

for three months, and near that were traces of the Four Buddhas having sat and walked up and down. Not far from this spot was a temple with an image of Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'u-sa which gave supernatural exhibitions, and was consulted by people from far and near.

The name of the country here described, *Pun-na-fa-tan-na*, has been restored as Puṇḍravardhana, but the word which Yuan-chuang heard and transcribed was evidently Puṇṇavaddhana or Puṇyavardhana. The country so called is apparently the Puṇḍavardhana of the Asokāvadāna in which Asoka put to death a great multitude of naked sectarians for doing despite to Buddhist worship.[1] In the Chinese translation the name is transcribed as *Fun-na-p'o-t'ê-na*, that is, Puṇṇavaddhana, but it is translated *Chêng-tsêng-chang* (正增長) that is, Puṇyavardhana, "Correct increase".[2] We also find mention of a town and wood called *Tsêng-chang*, but these were in Kosala.[3] According to the T'ang-Shu Punnavardhana was 1200 *li* south-west from Kāmarupa, and 400 *li* north-east from *Ka-chu-wu-khi-lo*.[4] Cunningham proposed to identify the country of the present passage with the modern district of Pubna (Pabna); but Fergusson dissents from this view, and regards the country as corresponding rather to the modern Rungpur (Rangpur), both places being in the Bengal Presidency.[5]

KA-MO-LU-P'O (KĀMARŪPA).

The description in the Records proceeds to relate that from *Pun-na-fa-tan-na* the pilgrim travelled east above 900 *li*, crossed a large river, and came to *Ka-mo-lu-p'o*. This country was more than a myriad *li* in circuit, and its capital above thirty *li*. The country was low and moist, the crops were regular; the Jack-fruit and Cocoa were in great esteem though plentiful; there were continuous streams and tanks to the towns; the climate

[1] Divyāv. p. 427.
[2] A-yü-wang-ching, *ch*. 3.
[3] Sar. Vin. Yao-shih, *ch*. 8.
[4] *Ch*. 43.
[5] A. G. I. p. 480; Fergusson op. c. p. 238.

was genial. The people were of honest ways, small of stature and black-looking; their speech differed a little from that of "Mid-India"; they were of violent disposition, and were persevering students; they worshipped the devas, and did not believe in Buddhism. So there had never been a Buddhist monastery in the land, and whatever Buddhists there were in it performed their acts of devotion secretly; the Deva-Temples were some hundreds in number, and the various systems had some myriads of professed adherents. The reigning king, who was a brahmin by caste, and a descendant of Nārāyaṇa Deva, was named Bhāskaravarma ("Sun-armour"), his other name being Kumāra ("Youth"); the sovereignty had been transmitted in the family for 1000 generations. His Majesty was a lover of learning and his subjects followed his example; men of ability came from far lands to study here; though the king was not a Buddhist he treated accomplished śramaṇas with respect. The narrative next relates how the pilgrim while at Nālandā on his return journey accepted king Kumāra's invitation to pay him a visit, the circumstances of which are related in Chapter XI of this work.

To the east of Kāmarūpa, the description continues, the country was a series of hills and hillocks without any principal city, and it reached to the south-west barbarians [of China], hence the inhabitants were akin to the Man and the Lao. The pilgrim learned from the people [of Kāmarūpa] that the south-west borders of Szŭchuan were distant about two months' journey, but the mountains and rivers were hard to pass, there were pestilential vapours and poisonous snakes and herbs In the south-east of the country were wild elephants which ravaged in herds, and so there was a good supply of elephants for war purposes.

The *Ka-mo-lu-p'o* restored as Kāmarūpa of this passage is represented, it is agreed, by the modern Kamrup or Western Assam with its capital Gohati.[1] In the T'ang-Shu this country, called according to some texts *Ka-mo-p'o*, is described as being 1600 *li* to the west of Upper Burmah, beyond the Black Mountains, and in East India; also as lying 600 *li* to the south-east of Puṇḍavardhana with the river *Ka-lo-tu* between that country and Kāmarupa.[2] We find also in the T'ang-Shu a country called *Ko-me-lu* (個沒盧) or Kāmru(?) which was in the north

[1] 'Anc. Geog. of India' p. 500; Fergusson op. c. p. 288.
[2] T'ang-Shu l. c.

confines of "East India", and 1200 *li* to the north-east of Puṇḍavardhana. The river *Ka-lo-tu* of the T'ang-Shu may be the "large river" of the present passage which is possibly the Brahmaputra. Alberuni places far to the east of Kanoj a country called Kamru, the mountains of which stretch away as far as the sea.[1] This is supposed to be Kamarupa but the description is not satisfactory. The country bearing this name was not, as the Chinese place it, in "East India", but was, as it is called in a Samudragupta inscription, a frontier country.[2] We need not suppose that the pilgrim made the journey indicated in the text of our present passage, and his statements as to distance and bearing are not necessarily to be treated as authoritative. There is nothing, however, in the text of our passage to indicate that the pilgrim did not actually visit the country here described.

SAMATAṬA.

The narrative in the Records proceeds to relate that from Kāmarūpa Yuan-chuang went south, and after a journey of 1200 or 1300 *li*, reached the country of *San-mo-ta-t'a* (Samataṭa). This country, which was on the sea-side and was low and moist, was more than 3000 *li* in circuit, and its capital was above twenty *li* in circuit. It had more than 30 Buddhist Monasteries and above 2000 Brethren all adherents of the Sthavira School. There were 100 Deva-Temples, the various sects lived pell-mell, and the Digambara Nirgranthas were very numerous. Near the capital was an Asoka tope where the Buddha had preached seven days for devas and men. Beside this were vestiges of a sitting and an exercise place of the Four Buddhas. In a monastery near this spot was a dark-blue jade image of the Buddha, eight feet high, showing all the distinctive characteristics and exercising marvellous powers. The pilgrim then names in succession six countries beyond Samataṭa; these were not visited by him but he gained information about them at Samataṭa. These six countries are—(1) *Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo* to the north-east among the hills near the sea, (2) south-east from this on a bay of the sea *Ka-mo lang-ka*, (3) *To-lo-po-ti* to the east of the pre-

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[1] Alberuni Vol. I, p. 201.
[2] Cor. Ins. Ind. Vol. III, p. 14.

ceding, (4) east from To-lo-po-ti was *I-shang-na-pu-lo*, (5) to the east of this was *Mo-ha-chan-p'o*, the *Lin-yi* (林 邑) of the Chinese, and (6) to the south-west of this was the *Yen-mo-na-chou* country.

Cunningham regarded the Samataṭa of this passage as being the district of "the Delta of the Ganges and its chief city which occupied the site of the modern Jessore".[1] Fergusson considers it to be the Dacca district the former capital of which was Sonargaon.[2] We should probably place it south of Dacca, and in the district of the modern Faridpur. I-ching, who uses our pilgrim's transcription of the name, merely places the country in East India.[3] He calls the king at his time *Hoh-lo-she-po-t'a* (曷 羅 社 跋 吒) which M. Chavannes restores as Harshabhaṭa. But the first three characters are, as he states, used to express Rāja, and the King's name was probably Rājabhaṭa. This king was an enthusiastic adherent and patron of Buddhism, and the number of Brethren in the capital had risen, from the 2000 in our pilgrim's time, to 4000 who were all maintained by the king. Yuan-chuang tells us that the Brethren in the capital were of the Sthavira School, and at the time of I-ching's visit they were evidently strong Mahāyānists, but, as our pilgrim uses these terms, there is nothing conflicting in the two accounts.[4]

Of the six countries mentioned in the passage under notice as heard of, but not visited by our pilgrim, *Shih-li-ch'a-to-lo*, which has been restored as Śrīkshetra or Śrīkshatra, is the *Shih-li-cha-to-lo* of I-ching. This has been identified with the Burmese *Tharekhettara* or the district of Prome.[5] But this identification requires the substitution of *south-east* for the pilgrim's *north-east* which is the read-

[1] A. G. I. p. 501.
[2] op. c. p. 242.
[3] Hsi-yü-ch'iu, *ch.* 2 and Chavannes, 'Mémoire', p. 128 and note.
[4] See above p. 138
[5] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 1: Takakusu. Int. p. LI and note, and p. 9;

ing of all the texts, of the Life, and of the Fang-chih. For this reason and because Prome is far from the sea the identification cannot be accepted. Srikshatra according to the pilgrim's information should correspond roughly to the Tipperah district. The *Ka-mo-lang-ka*, restored as Kāmalaṇkā, is supposed to be I-ching's *Lang-ka-su*, and it is said to be "Pegu and the Delta of the Irawadi". *To-lo-po-ti* is the city with this name to which Shau-ts'ai went in order to consult Mahādeva its patron god.[1] It is also supposed to be I-ching's *She-ho-po-ti* (社和鉢底). M. Chavannes gives the first character the exceptional sound *t'u*, and Mr. Takakusu has apparently done the same.[2] Our pilgrim's *To-lo-po-ti* has been restored as "Darapati?", and as Dvārapati or Dvāravati, "the Sanskrit name for Ayuthya or Ayudhya the ancient capital of Siam", but the characters seem to stand for Tālapati, that is, Mahādeva.[3] I-ching's *She-ho-po-ti* may be for a name like *Javapati*. The *I-shang-na-pu-lo* of our text, restored as Īśānapura, has been identified with Cambodia and with the *Poh-nan* or *Fu-nan* of I-ching. *Mo-ha-chan-p'o* or Mahā-champā is the *Chan-p'o* of I-ching corresponding to the modern Cochin-China and part of Annam. *Yen-mo-na-chou* is evidently for Yamana-dvīpa, but no probable identification has yet been proposed, for it cannot possibly have been the island of Java.

TAN-MO-LIH-TI.

The narrative in the Records proceeds to relate that from Samataṭa the pilgrim journeyed west for over 900 *li* to *Tan-mo-lih-ti*. This country was about 1400 *li* in circuit; its capital,

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Chavannes, 'Mémoire', p. 57 note. See also Phayre's History of Burmah p. 89 note.

[1] Hua-yen-ching (No. 88), *ch.* 68.

[2] Hsi-yü-ch'iu, *ch.* 1; Chavannes, 'Mémoire', p. 58 note.

[3] The *Tu* (or *Shê*)-*ho-lo-po-ti* of another passage of the Hsi-yü-ch'iu is restored by Chavannes as Dvāravati, and the *she* 社 of the texts may be for *tu* (杜).

above ten *li* in circuit, was near an inlet of the sea; the land was low and moist, farming was good, fruit and flowers abounded, the climate was hot, the customs of the people were rude, the inhabitants were courageous, and they were believers in Buddhism and other systems. Of Deva-Temples there were more than 50, and the Non-Buddhists lived together pell-mell. There were above ten Buddhist Monasteries and more than 1000 Brethren. The country formed a bay where land and water communication met; consequently rare valuables were collected in it and so its inhabitants were generally prosperous. Beside the capital was an Asoka tope and near this were vestiges of the Four Past Buddhas' sitting and exercise grounds.

The *Tan-mo-lih-ti* of this passage is for Tammalipti which corresponds to the Tamralipti of other writers and perhaps also to the modern Tumluk. Fa-hsien travelled east to this place from Champā, and he estimated the distance as fifty yojanas.[1] I-ching, who remained here for some time, describes the Port as being 60 or 70 yojanas east from Nalanda.[2] Tāmralipti was the place of disembarkation for travellers to India from China by sea, and it was here that I-ching and other Chinese pilgrims landed, and from it voyagers started on their return to the south and to China.[3] Fergusson gives reasons for dissenting from the common opinion that Tumluk is the modern representative of Tāmralipti, and considers that Satgaon answers better to the requirements.[4] But a more recent investigator, Sri Rajendra Lal Gupta, has traced the history of the old Tāmralipti and its modern continuation Tumluk.[5] There seems to be little reason for doubting that this latter is on or near the site of the Tammalitti or Tamralipti of the Chinese pilgrims and other old writers,[6] the physical features of the district

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[1] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 37.

[2] Chavannes 'Mém.' p. 97, Hsi yu-ch'iu. *ch.* 1.

[3] Takakusu pp. 185. 211; Nan hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 34 and 40; Chavannes, 'Mém.', p. 71; Hsi-yu-ch'iu. *ch.* 1.

[4] op. c. p. 243.

[5] J. Bud. Text S. Vol. V. Pt. II, p. 4.

[6] See Anc. Geog. of India' p. 504; J. A. S. Ben. Vol. LXVI, p. 102.

having in the course of centuries undergone some changes.

KARṆASUVARNA.

The pilgrim goes on to tell that from Tāmralipti he travelled north-west for over 700 *li* to the *Kie(ka)-lo-na-su fa-la-na* (or Karṇasuvarṇa) country. This was about 4450 *li* in circuit and its capital was above 20 *li* in circuit. The country was well inhabited and the people were very rich. The land was low and moist, farming operations were regular, flowers and fruits were abundant; the climate was temperate, and the people were of good character and were patrons of learning. There were more than ten Buddhist monasteries, and above 2000 Brethren who were all adherents of the Sammatiya School, there were 50 Deva-Temples and the followers of the various religions were very numerous. There were also three Buddhist monasteries in which in accordance with the teaching of Devadatta milk products were not taken as food. Beside the capital was the *Lo-to-wei* (or *mo*)-*chih* Monastery, a magnificent and famous establishment, the resort of illustrious Brethren. It had been erected by a king of the country before the country was converted to Buddhism to honour a Buddhist śramaṇa from South India who had defeated in public discussion a boasting disputant of another system also from South India. This bullying braggart had come to the city and strutted about with his stomach protected by copper sheathing to prevent *him* from bursting with excessive learning, and bearing on his head a light to enlighten the ignorant and stupid. He prevailed until the king urged the stranger śramaṇa to meet him in discussion, the king promising to found a Buddhist monastery if the śramaṇa were victorious. Near this monastery were several topes built by Asoka at spots where the Buddha had preached and also a shrine (*ching-shê*) where the Four Past Buddhas had sat and walked for exercise.

This passage presents some serious difficulties. According to the narrative in the Life our pilgrim did not go from Puṇḍavardhana east to Kāmarupa, thence south to Samataṭa thence west to Tāmralipti, and thence north-west to Karnasuvarṇa, but he went straight from Puṇḍavardhana south east 900 *li* to Karṇasuvarna, from that on south-east to Samataṭa, and thence west above 900 *li* to Tamralipti. But there is nothing in the text of the Records to indicate that the pilgrim did not actually proceed by the route which he has described in the text of our passage.

Notwithstanding the statements of our text, however, we must consider him to have travelled in the manner indicated in the Life. His location of Karṇasuvarṇa in the passage before us is not in agreement with the rest of the narrative, and we must apparently regard that place as 700 *li* to the *north-east* instead of north-west of Tāmralipti. The name of the country, wrongly rendered by the pilgrim "Gold ear", and the name of its wicked king Śaśāṅka, with whom we have met already, are found in the Gupta Inscriptions.[1] The country was evidently at one time a large and powerful kingdom, and a rival of Magadha.

With reference to the Brethren who abstained from the use of milk, curds, and as articles of food our pilgrim's statement that they did so as followers of Devadatta may have been the suggestion of a Mahāyānist Brother. All Mahāyānists were supposed to abstain from milk food, and I-ching states expressly that it is unlawful food.[2]

The magnificent monastery near the capital, of which the pilgrim gives some account, is called by him in some texts *Lo-to-wei-chih* (絡多未知) explained as meaning "Red clay", and Julien restores the original as Raktaviṭi. But the correct reading is *Lo-to-mo-chih* (末 instead of 未), that is Raktāmṛita, in Pali Rattamattikā, which means "Red clay". The haughty conceited pundit with copper sheathing to keep his learning in his stomach, and the light on his head in pity for the ignorant people who lived in darkness, occurs in several Buddhist works. One of the best known of these men is the father of Śāriputra, the description of whom recalls in several points the passage in our text, but Śāriputra's father overcomes his competitor in discussion.[3]

Cunningham thought that the chief city of this country "must be looked for along the course of the *Suvarna-riksha*

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[1] Fleet's 'Gupta Inscriptions', p. 283. Here he is a Mahāsāmanta or Mahārāja.

[2] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 1; Takakusu, p. 43.

[3] Ta-chih-tu-lun, *ch.* 10.

river, somewhere about the districts of *Singhbhūm* and *Barabhūm*", and he adds—"Bara Bāzār is the chief town in Barabhūm, and as its position corresponds very closely with that indicated by Hwen Thsang, it may be accepted as the approximate site of the capital in the seventh century".[1] Fergusson does not accept this identification and writes—"The kingdom of Karna Souvarna, I take it, comprehended the northern part of Burdwan, the whole of Birbhūm, and the province of Murshidabad, including all those parts of the districts of Kishnaghur and Jessore which were then sufficiently raised above the waters of the Ganges to be habitable".[2]

WU-T'U (OṬA)

Continuing his narrative Yuan-chuang tells us that from Karṇasuvarṇa he travelled south-west above 700 *li* and came to the *Wu* (or *U*)-*t'u* (烏 荼) country. This, he states, was above 7000 *li* in circuit, and its capital above twenty *li* in circuit; the soil was rich and fertile yielding fruits larger than those of other lands, and its rare plants and noted flowers could not be enumerated; the climate was hot; the people were of violent ways, tall and of dark complexion, in speech and manners different from the people of "Mid India"; they were indefatigable students and many of them were Buddhists. There were above 100 Buddhist monasteries, and a myriad Brethren all Mahayanists. Of Deva-Temples there were 50, and the various sects lived pell-mell. There were more than ten Asoka topes at places where the Buddha had preached. In the south-west of the country was the *Pu-sie-p'o-k'i-li* (restored by Julien as "Pushpagiri") monastery in a mountain, the stone tope of this monastery exhibited supernatural lights and other miracles, sunshades placed by worshippers on it between the dome and the amalaka remained there like needles held by a magnet. To the north-east of this tope in a hill-monastery was another tope like the preceding in its marvels. The miraculous power of these topes was due to the topes having been erected by supernatural beings. Near the

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[1] See 'Anc. Geog. of India' p. 505.

[2] op. c. p. 248. See also Dr. Waddell's Note on king Śaśanka in his "Discovery of the exact site of Asoka's classical capital of Pāṭaliputra".

shore of the ocean in the south-east of this country was the city *Che-li-ta-lo* (Charitra?), above twenty *li* in circuit, which was a thoroughfare and resting-place for sea-going traders and strangers from distant lands. The city was naturally strong and it contained many rare commodities. Outside it were five monasteries close together, of lofty structure and with very artistic images. Far away, 20 000 *li* distant in the south was the *Sêng-ka-lo* (Ceylon) Country, and from this place on calm nights one could see the brilliant light from the pearl on the top of the tope over the Buddha's Tooth-relic in that country.

In the Life the pilgrim is represented as going south-west not from Karṇasuvarṇa but from Tāmralipti to *Wu-t'u*, and the distance between these two places is not given. If we understand Karṇasuvarna to have been to the north-east of Tāmralipti the difference between the statement in the Records and that in the Life is not important, as Tāmralipti would be south-west from Karṇa-suvarna and between it and *Wu-t'u*. The country which Yuan-chuang calls by this name, pronounced Uḍa or Oḍa, has been identified with Uḍra or Oḍra, the modern Orissa. Fergusson thinks that the capital may have been on the site of the present Midnapur. The *Che-li-to-lo* of this passage is apparently, as Julien restores it, Charitra. It is translated in a note to the text by *Fa-hsing* (發行), which may mean "setting out", that is, on a voyage or journey; and the city is supposed to have received this name because it was a starting place for navigators and land-travellers. But the Fang-chih gives as the translation of the word *Chiao-hsing-che* (孝行者) which may mean "having religious observances", and this seems to agree with the common use of the word *Charitra*. Moreover the pilgrim apparently does not describe the city as a starting-point or terminus of a journey; his words seem rather to indicate that it was a dêpot and caravanseray for traders and travellers to and from the seaports and also by land. Cunningham thinks that "Charitrapura was probably the present town of *Puri*, or "the city", near which stands the famous temple of Jagannath". Fergusson regards the city as represented by the modern Tumluk

which is generally taken to be the old city of Tāmralipti.[1] Dr. Waddell writes that at the time of our pilgrim's visit to this part of India "Yajapur was undoubtedly the capital of the country of 'U-cha'—the northern portion of Orissa". He adds—"Indeed the 'U-cha' of the pilgrim seems intended to represent the Sanskrit Yaja". This, however, is quite impossible as *Wu-t'u* or *U-t'a* (or *-ch'a*) could not be taken to transcribe *Yaja*. *Wu-t'u* is the reading of all the texts of the Records, and of one text at least of the Life. In the C text of the Life we have *-ch'a* which is often used for *t'u*, the characters represented by these sounds having formerly had a similar pronunciation. There can be little doubt that the name transcribed by *Wu-t'u* or *Wu-ch'a* was Oḍḍa or Oṭṭa.

As to the *Che-li-to-lo* of our text Dr. Waddell, after quoting Burnouf's translation of Yuan-chuang's description of the city, writes—"In the locality here indicated—in exact keeping geographically with the distances and directions noted by the pilgrim—in the Mahanadi delta, about 15 miles below Cuttack, we find the older channel of the great Mahanadi River is still known as the "Chitratola River", although no village or town of that name now exists on its banks. But at the highest point of this part of the Mahanadi channel, where the name of Chitratola still clings to this branch of the Mahānadī, at the village of Nendra, opposite Kendwapatana lock of the Kendrapara canal, the villagers point out the site of the old port on what is now a vast expanse of sand in the river bed". Dr. Waddell brings further evidence in support of his view that this vanished town of Chitratola was the *Che-li-to-lo* of the Records. He also thinks that Julien's restoration of *Charitra* is "doubtfully correct", and adds—"The original name seems more nearly to resemble or be identical with the still current name Chitratola". We may provisionally accept the site described by Dr. Waddell as that of our pilgrim's *Che-li-to-lo*, but while this transcrip-

[1] 'Anc. Geog. of India' p. 510. Fergusson op. c. p. 249.

tion may possibly and probably stand for *Charitra* it cannot possibly be taken to represent a word like *Chitratola.*[1]

There is a remarkable contradiction between the statement in our text here, that the Brethren in this country were Mahayānists, and the express declaration in an interesting passage in the Life that they were all Hīnayanists, although in the short account which it gives of the country the Life agrees with the Records in stating that they were Mahayanists.[2] Now in the next century after our pilgrim the Buddhists in this country were evidently Mahāyānists. We find their king at that time copying out with his own hand, and sending as a religious present to the Chinese Emperor Tê Tsung, the Sanskrit text of the Mahayanist treatise called "Ta-fang-kuang-Fo-hua-yen-ching". This curious beautiful sutra on its arrival in China was translated into Chinese by the learned Kapin Brother named Prajña, with the assistance of several learned Chinese Brethren, and presented to the Emperor in A. D. 795.[3]

KUNG-YÜ (*GU* OR *YA*)-T'O.

The narrative in the Records proceeds to tell us that from the Ota country a journey south-west, through a forest, for over 1200 *li*, brought the pilgrim to the *Kung-yü* (*or -gu* or *-ya*)*-t'o* country. This country was above 1000 *li* in circuit, and its capital was above twenty *li* in circuit. It was a hilly country bordering on a bay of the sea, with regular harvests, a hot climate. The people were tall and valorous and of a black complexion, having some sense of propriety and not very deceitful. Their written language was the same as that of India, but their ways of speaking were different, and they were not Buddhists. Deva-Temples were above 100 in number, and of Tīrthikas there were more than 10 000 The country contained some tens of towns which stretched from the slopes of the hills to the edge of the sea. As the towns were naturally strong there was a gallant

[1] Dr. Waddell in 'Proceedings A. S. Ben.' Dec. 1892.

[2] *Ch.* 4. Julien I, pp. 184, 220.

[3] It is No. 89 in Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue.

army which kept the neighbouring countries in awe, and so there was no powerful enemy. As the country was on the seaside it contained many rare precious commodities; the currency was couries and pearls; and the country produced large dark-coloured elephants which were capable of long journeys.

The *Kung-yü-t'o* of this passage has been tentatively restored by Julien as *Konyodha* and this restoration has been accepted. But the characters (恭御陀) were pronounced *Kong-gu-t'o* or *Kong-ya-t'o* and the original was probably a word like Kongudha or Konyadha. In his translation of the text Julien makes the author state that —"Les frontières de ce royaume embrassent plusieurs dizaines de petites villes qui touchent à des montagnes, et sont situées au confluent de deux mers". But there is no word for *two* in the text and the term *hai-chiao* (海交) here means "the meeting of sea and land". The pilgrim wished his readers to understand that the towns at one extremity "continued the hills" (*chia-shan-ling* 接山嶺), and at the other were on the sea-shore (據海交). This is also the sense in which the compiler of the Fang-chih understood the description. Cunningham and Fergusson agree in identifying *Kung-yu-t'o* with the district about the Chilka Lake, and the latter investigator thought that the capital "was situated to the northward of the Chilka lake and somewhere between Kuttack and Aska, where one of Asoka's great edict tablets still exists".[1] This *Kung-yu-t'o* of our pilgrim's narrtive may perhaps be the Kūṇḍya of the Hemakūṇḍya (called also Hemakuṭya) in the south-eastern division of the Bṛihat-Saṃhitā's topography.[2]

It is strange to find Yuan-chuang here describing *Kung-yü-t'o* as a great military country without a formidable enemy. At the time of the pilgrim's arrival in these parts, as we learn from the Life, this country had been invaded by Śīlāditya, king of Kanyākubja, and it was then

[1] A. G. I. p. 513: Fergusson op. c. p. 250.

[2] Fleet in Ind. Ant Vol. XXII, pp. 171, 179.

apparently a part of that great sovereign's kingdom. It will be noticed that the pilgrim, in this description of the country, does not tell us anything about the government.

KA-LENG-KA (KALINGA).

Returning to the narrative in the Records we read that from *Kung-yü-t'o* the pilgrim travelled, through jungle and forest dense with huge trees, south-west for 1400 or 1500 *li*, to Kalinga. This country he describes as above 5000 *li* in circuit, its capital being above twenty *li*. There were regular seed-time and harvest, fruit and flowers grew profusely, and there were continuous woods for some hundreds of *li*. The country produced dark wild elephants prized by the neighbouring countries. The climate was hot. The people were rude and headstrong in disposition, observant of good faith and fairness, fast and clear in speech; in their talk and manners they differed somewhat from "Mid India". There were few Buddhists, the majority of the people being of other religions. There were above ten Buddhist monasteries, and 500 Brethren "Students of the Mahayanist Sthavira school system". There were more than 100 Deva-temples, and the professed adherents of the various sects were very numerous, the majority being nirgranthas. This Country, the pilgrim relates, had once been very densely inhabited, a holy rishi possessing supernatural powers had his hermitage in it; he was once offended by a native and cursed the country; as a consequence of this curse the land became, and remained, utterly depopulated. In the lapse of many years since that event it had gradually become inhabited again, but it still had only a scanty population. Near the south wall of the city (i. e. the capital apparently) was an Asoka tope beside which were a sitting-place and exercise-ground of the Four Past Buddhas. On a ridge of a mountain in the north of the country was a stone tope, above 100 feet high, where a Pratyeka Buddha had passed away at the beginning of the present kalpa when men's lives extended over countless years.

The capital of the Kalinga of this passage has been identified by Cunningham with Rajamahendri on the Godāvari river.[1] Fergusson was of opinion that it was not very far from the Kalingapatam of our maps.[2]

The Divyāvadāna in giving the names of the kings who

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[1] A. G. I. p. 516.

[2] op. c. p. 250.

will be reigning when Maitreya comes places the names Kalinga and Mithilā side by side as the respective residences of different kings.[1] It must be a misunderstanding of some such passage that lies at the root of the statement we find in some Buddhist treatises that Kalinga. with its capital Mithilā, was mentioned by the Buddha. In some Buddhist treatises we find a Kalinga with its capital Mithilā mentioned by the Buddha as one of the four places possessing inexhaustible treasures of precious substances.[2] But Mithila was, of course the capital of Videha; and we find in older works such as the "Jātaka", the "Mahāvastu", and the "Dīgha", mention of a kingdom named Kalinga with its capital Dantapura ages before the Buddha's time.[3]

Our pilgrim's statement here about the desolation of the country caused by the curse of an offended rishi is derived from a sutra. In this the Buddha asks Upāli if he knew why Dandaka, Kalinga, and Mātanga became uninhabited wastes, und Upali replies that he heard the desolation was caused by an incensed rishi. When this saintly hermit cursed the land in his anger the supernatural beings blighted and wasted all the region on account of the offence against him.[4]

In the above passage also it is to be noted that the pilgrim represents the Buddhist Brethren of Kalinga as students of the Sthavira system of the Mahayanists, but in the description in the Life the term for Mahayanists is omitted. The Buddha in a Tantra sutra gives Kalinga as one of the twelve districts in which the "attainment of perfection may be sought".[5]

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[1] Divyāv. p. 61.

[2] Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching,. *ch.* 49; A-na-pin-ti-hua-ch'i-tzŭ-ching (No. 640).

[3] Jāt. Vol. II, p. 367; Mahāvastu T. III, p. 361; Dīgha II, 167, 235.

[4] See Nos. 1238, 1239, and 1240 Compare Majjhima I, 378.

[5] Fo-shuo-ta-pei-k'ung-chih-chin-kang-ta-chiao-wang-yi-kuei-ching. *ch.* 2 (No. 1060). See above p. 177.

THE SOUTHERN KOSALA.

The pilgrim's description next proceeds to relate that from Kalinga he went north-west by hill and wood for above 1800 *li* to Kosala. This country, more than 6000 *li* in circuit, was surrounded by mountains and was a succession of woods and marshes, its capital being above 40 *li* in circuit. The soil of the country was rich and fertile, the towns and villages were close together, the people were prosperous, tall of stature and black in colour; the king was a kshatriya by birth, a Buddhist in religion, and of noted benevolence. There were above 100 Buddhist monasteries, and about 10 000 Brethren, all Mahāyānists. Near the south of the city (that is apparently, the capital) was an old monastery with an Asoka tope where Buddha had vanquished Tirthikas by the exhibition of supernormal powers, and in which Nāgarjuna P'usa had afterwards lodged. Contemporary with this P'usa was the king styled *Sha-to-p'o-ha* or "Leading-right" (*yin-chêng* 引正), who treated Nāgārjuna with ceremonious respect, and kept a guard at his residence. The record then tells of the visit made by Deva P'usa from Sengkala to this monastery in order to have a discussion with Nāgarjuna. When Deva arrived and requested to be admitted the disciple in charge of the door reported the circumstance Nagarjuna, who had heard of the visitor's fame, merely filled his bowl with water and gave it to the disciple to show to Deva. This last silently dropped a needle into the bowl, and dismissed the disciple. On learning this Nāgārjuna exclaimed—"He is a wise man! It is for the gods to know the hidden springs, and it is the sage who searches out their minute developments; as the man has such excellence call him in at once. What do you mean, asked the disciple,—is this a case of "Silence being eloquence"? Nāgārjuna explained that the bowl full of water typified his own universal knowledge, and the dropping of the needle into it typified Deva's thorough comprehension of all that knowledge. When Deva was admitted he was modest and timid, and he expressed his views clearly and distinctly, wishing to be instructed. Nāgārjuna said to him—"You as a scholar are above your contemporaries, and your excellent discourse sheds glory on your predecessors. I am old and feeble, and meeting one of such superior abilities as you I have a pitcher into which to draw water, and a successor to whom the continuous lamp may be handed over. You can be relied on for propagating the religion. Please come forward, and let us talk of the mysteries of Buddhism". Deva was proceeding to enter on an exposition when a look at the majestic face of Nāgārjuna made him forget his words and remain silent. Then he declared

himself a disciple, and Nāgārjuna having reassured him taught him the true Buddhism. Nāgārjuna had the secret of long life, and had attained an age of several centuries, with his mental faculties still flourishing, when he voluntarily put an end to his life in the following circumstances. The king *Yin-chêng* was also some hundreds of years old, and his life depended on that of Nāgārjuna by whom it had been prolonged. This king's youngest son became impatient to succeed, and learning from his mother the secret of his father's life, at her instigation he went to the great P'usa, and persuaded him that it was his duty to die on behalf of the young prince. Nāgārjuna, accordingly, cut his own head off with a dry blade of grass, and his death was immediately followed by that of the old king.

To the south-west of this country above 300 *li* from the capital was a mountain called *Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li*, which rose lofty and compact like a single rock. Here king *Yin-chêng* had quarried for Nāgārjuna a monastery in the mountain, and had cut in the rock a path, communicating with the monastery, for above ten *li*. The monastery had cloisters and lofty halls, these halls were in five tiers, each with four courts, with temples containing gold life-size images of the Buddha of perfect artistic beauty. It was well supplied with running water, and the chambers were lighted by windows cut in the rock. In the formation of this establishment the king's treasury soon became exhausted, and Nāgārjuna then provided an abundant supply by transmuting the rocks into gold. In the topmost hall Nāgārjuna deposited the scriptures of Sakyamuni Buddha, and the writings of the P'usas. In the lowest hall were the laymen attached to the monastery and the stores, and the three intermediate halls were the lodgings of the Brethren. The pilgrim learned that when the king had finished the construction of this monastery an estimate of the maintenance of the workmen came to nine koti of gold coins. In later times the Brethren had disagreed, and had referred their quarrels to the king; then the retainers of the monastery, fearing that the establishment would become a prey to the lawless, excluded the Brethren, and made new barriers to keep them out; since then there have not been any Brethren in the monastery, and the way of access to it was not known.

The short account of Kosala, and the stories about its great Buddhist apostle, given in the passage here epitomized, are interesting in several respects. In the Life the country is called "South Kosala" apparently to distinguish it from the Kosala in the north of which Śrāvasti was the capital. Cunningham makes it to be "the ancient province of Vidarbha

or Berār of which the present capital is Nagpur",[1] and Fergusson seems to agree with Mr. Grant in regarding Chattisgarh as corresponding to the Kosala of our text, and Wyraghur as being the site of its capital.[2]

The stories which our pilgrim here tells about the relations of Nagarjuna-p'usa with Deva-p'usa, and with the king of the country, are in harmony with certain legends, and receive some confirmation or illustration from these. Thus when Nāgārjuna tells his illustrious visitor Deva p'usa, by the exhibition of the full bowl, that nothing could be added to his knowledge, he is giving an instance of his claim to be "omniscient". In his Life we find him asserting that he knew all things, and even silencing sceptics by a conspicuous instance.[3] But in his attempt to produce an effect on Deva by the claim to omniscience he was not successful, for the silent parable of the needle taught him that Deva had fathomed all his learning. Then the story about the young prince who, acting on the advice of his mother, persuades Nāgārjuna to hasten his accession to the throne by committing suicide, agrees in essentials with the legend from Indian sources in the Tibetan books.[4] It was the king's knowledge of the fact that his own life depended on that of the "great scholar", that made him so ceremonious and attentive to Nagarjuna as to keep a guard at his residence. That this p'usa's life extended to a great length, even to several centuries, is also in accordance with some of the legends about him. He is represented in one account as living 529 (or more) years,[5] and he is generally supposed to have reached a very great age, prolonging his life by various expedients such as imbibing water through his nostrils.[6] So also our pilgrim's account of Nāgārjuna's proceeding

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[1] A. G. I. p. 520.

[2] J. R. A. S. 1875 p. 260.

[3] Lung-shu-p'u-sa-chuan (No. 1461); Wass. Bud. p. 232.

[4] J. A. S. Ben. Vol. LI, p. 115 ff.

[5] Tār. S. 73.

[6] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 8; Takakusu p 34.

in providing the king with abundant funds, by the transmutation of rocks into gold is in harmony with that p'usa's reputation for a knowledge of alchemy.[1]

This Nāgārjuna is one of the wonders and mysteries of later Buddhism. He appears in literature as a man of remarkable genius, as an almost universal scholar, a Buddhist religious enthusiast of rare liberality, a profound philosopher, a poet and author of great literary abilities, and an intense lover of his species. He was also according to one authority a king, but the statement is evidently a mistake. Yet notwithstanding his great fame we cannot pretend to have any precise information about the man's life, or his date, or his place of birth. He has even been regarded by one scholar, at least, as a fictitious personage, as only a name, and it seems possible that the legends tell of several individuals with the same name. But even the name is not beyond question. We have three Chinese terms, and one Tibetan term, purporting to be translations of it, but no one of these can be regarded as a correct rendering of Nāgārjuna. Thus the old and common Chinese term is *Lung-shu* or "Dragon-tree"; but it is admitted that *shu*, "a tree", is not the equivalent of *arjuna*, and it has been suggested that it stands for *ju* in an imperfect transcription of that word, *lung* being the Chinese for Nāga. We find *lung-shu* given as the name of an Indian tree, but in this use the term may be for nāgavṛiksha with the same meaning. Then we have our pilgrim's rendering, used also by I-ching, *Lung-mêng* (| 猛), or "Dragon-valiant", and there is the earlier rendering *Lung-shêng* (| 勝) or "Dragon-prevailing". In the Tibetan books we find *Klusgrub* as the equivalent of Nāgārjuna, and the name has been interpreted to mean one "perfected by a dragon"[2] or one "that forms or makes perfect the nāgas".[3] Some Chinese transcriptions of the original seem to indicate a form like Nāgārjuna.

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[1] Weber, 'Ind. Lit.' p. 265 note.
[2] Wass. Bud. S. 234.
[3] Tib. Grammar by Csoma de Koros p. 193.

As to this bodhisattva's native place we find one author assigning West India as his home, but the general testimony is that he was a native of South India or of Vidarbha[1] (that is perhaps, Kosala), and the Tibetans make him to have spent much of his life in Nālandā.[2] His date is variously given as 700,[3] 500,[4] and 400[5] years after the time of the Buddha's decease. In the apocraphycal line of succession he is placed as the 14th or the 13th Patriarch, and he is said to have died in B. C. 212.[6] He is said to have been born in B. C. 482,[7] and he is described as contemporary with, or a little later than, Kanishka in the first century of our era.[8] His career is prophesied in the final verses of the "Laṅkāvatara-sūtra",[9] and if we regard his Life as having been composed by Kumārajīva, its professed translator, he lived in the latter part of the 3rd century of our era.[10] The names of the kings Kanishka and Kilika, of Vasumitra, Asvaghosha, Katyāyanīputra, Dharmagupta, and Rāhulabhadra occur in the writings ascribed to Nāgārjuna, and we may with some probability assign him to the third century A. D.

Of the treatises composed by Nāgārjuna we have about twenty in Chinese translations, of which eighteen are given in Mr. Bunyio Nanjio's Catalogue. Among them the "Friendly Letter" or "Noble Song", which exists

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[1] See Fu-fa-tsang-yin-yuan-ching, *ch.* 5 (No. 1340); Ta-shêng-ju-Leng-ka-ching, *ch.* 6 (No. 177); J. A. S Ben. Vol. LI, pp. 115 ff. (Here the birth place is Vidarbha in Central India).

[2] Tār. l. c.; J. A. S. Ben. l. c.

[3] Mahāmāya-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 382);

[4] Ind. Lit. p. 287; Tār. p. 303.

[5] Schlagintweit's 'Buddhism in Tibet' p. 30; As. Res. Vol. XX, p. 400.

[6] Fo-tsu-li-tai-t'ung-tsai, *ch.* 5 (No. 1637); Chih-yue-lu, *ch.* 3.

[7] Csoma's Tib. Gr. p. 182.

[8] Rāja-taraṅgiṇī (ed. Troyer) T. I, sl. 176 and 177, T. II. p. 19. Nāgārjuna here is evidently soon after Kanishka's time. See Journal of the Buddhist Text Society. Vol. V. Pt. IV, p. 7 ff.

[9] Ju-Leng-ka-ching, *ch.* 9 (No 176) and Ta-shêng-ju-Leng-ka-ching, *ch.* 6.

[10] Lung-shu-p'u-sa-chuan (last page).

in one Tibetan and three Chinese translations, is perhaps the best known.[1] I-ching tells us how, at the time of his visit, the children in India learned it so as to commit it to memory, and devout adults made it a life-long study.[2] Another of Nāgārjuna's works which was highly esteemed, and attained great popularity, was that called in Chinese *Chung-kuan-lun* (中觀論), always cited and known as the "*Chung-lun*" or "Śāstra of the Mean". This poem formed the basis for the existing "Chung-lun" (No. 1179), and the "Pan-yo-têng-lun" (Prajñā-pradīpa-śāstra, No. 1185). It was, and indeed it continues to be, the text-book for students of Mahāyānism in its Madhyama development. Another important and interesting treatise by Nāgārjuna is the "*Shih-chu-p'i-p'o-sha-lun*" or "Dasa-bhūmi-vibhāshā-śāstra" (No. 1180). This is a long discourse on the Pramoditā and Vimalā Bhūmis, that is, the first and second of the Ten Stages ("lands") of a bodhisattva's career, the first being the happy state of the newly converted, and the second his separation from sin. This treatise contains a poetical eulogy of Amitāyus' Paradise as giving an intermediate stage, in the course to the perfection of Buddhahood, exempt from all chance of back-sliding. But the author praises in the old orthodox way the passing beyond all change of life and death into remainder-less nirvāṇa. Here as in many other passages he makes one common prayer for his own salvation and the salvation of all others. But the greatest work of Nāgārjuna extant in Chinese translation is "Mo-ha-po-yo-p'o-lo-mi-ching-shih lun" or "Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra-vyākhyā-śāstra" (No. 1169) commonly called the *Ta-chih-tu-lun* (大智度論). The translation, which was made by Kumārajīva in A. D. 405, is in 100 *chuan*. This work is a very learned commentary on the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra, the whole of the first part of it showing an

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[1] Journal of the Pali Text Society 1886; Nos. 1440, 1441, 1464 in Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue.

[2] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 32; Takakusu p. 158 ff.

intimate acquaintance with the canonical and other scriptures.

It was not only as an apostle of Buddhism, however, that Nāgārjuna was famous during his lifetime, and long afterwards, both in his own land, and in foreign countries. He was also trained in all the learning of a brahminical student; he knew the virtues and qualities of herbs, the secret influences of the stars, the science of alchemy and the arts of the magician and exorcist; he was also renowned as a physician and the fame of his success as a physician and eye-doctor reached China.[1] We find mention of his *Yen-lun* or Treatise on the Eye, and *Lung-shu-p'u-sa-yao-fang* or "Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva's Prescriptions" in four *chuan* and his *Ho-hsiang-fa* (和 香 法) are also recorded.[2] In the "Harśa-carita" we are told that Nāgārjuna obtained from the "Snake-king" in hell the pearl-wreath Mandākinī which was a potent antidote against all poisons, and by its touch relieved the pain of all creatures.[3] As a defender and expounder of Buddhism he had a creed which admitted the simple meagre system of the "Small Vehicle" equally with the subtle expansive dogmas of the "Great Vehicle". He taught the four doctrines of existence, vacuity, both existence and vacuity, and neither of the two. As a matter of personal religion he is represented as having attained to or realized the first of the ten Bhūmi. It is probable that in the passage which seems to describe him as a king the author of the Rājataraṅgiṇī meant to describe Nāgārjuna as a bodhisattva who was lord of one Bhūmi,[4] that is, of the first one; this is said of him in several of the Mahāyāna Śāstras.

The name of the king of Kosala of whom the pilgrim tells us in the present passage is given by him as *Sha-to-p'o-ha*, rendered in Chinese by him as *Yin-chêng*, "Leading right". Julien, who restores the Sanskrit original as

[1] Ma T. l., *ch.* 222; J. A. S. Ben op. c. p. 119.
[2] T'ung-chih-liao-yi-chih-liao, *ch.* 7.
[3] Harśa-Carita (tr. Cowell and Thomas) p. 262.
[4] Rāja-taraṅgiṇī loc. c. But Stein's text has *ekobhumīśvara*.

Sadvaha, translates the Chinese rendering by—"Celui qui conduit les bons". But the name of the king here abbreviated in transcription was Sātavāhana, and the pilgrim's transcription apparently represents, as has been suggested, a form Sātavāha, the translation being incorrect. I-ching gives as the style (or dynastic name) of Nāgārjuna's royal friend *Sha-to-p'o-han-na* which, as Mr. Takakusu suggests, is evidently for Sātavāhana. The personal name of this king is given by I-ching as *Shi-yen-tê-ka*, and this is evidently the *Shan-t'ê-ka* of a previous translator. We cannot regard these two transcriptions as giving either *Jetaka* or Jivātaka, and they evidently represent a word like Sāntaka In the Tibetan books Śāntivāhana (a various reading being Antivāhana) is given as a name of the king who was a contemporary and friend of Nāgārjuna. The Tibetan translations also give Bde-byed and Bde-sphyod as translations of the king's name, and these are taken to represent the Sanskrit *Samkara* and *Udayana* (or *Utrayana*): *Jetaka* is also given by Tibetan writers as the name of the king who was Nāgārjuna's friend.[2] As king Sātavāhana lived in the first century of our era, his friendship with Nāgārjuna places the latter also in that century, and long before the date indicated by other circumstances. But we should probably regard the "Sātavāha" of our pilgrim, and the "Sātavāhana" of I-ching, as the name of the dynasty which ruled over this part of India from the second century B. C. to the third century A. D.

The name of the mountain called *Po-lo-mo-lo-k'i-li* in the passage now under notice is translated in the B and C texts by *Hei-fêng* (黑 峯) or "Black Peak". But in the D text and in the Fang-chih the rendering is *Hei-fêng* (丨 蜂) or "Black bee", and this gives us as the Sanskrit original *Bhrāmara-giri* or "Black-bee Mountain". The wonderful five-storeyed monastery of this mountain is evidently, as has been pointed out by others, the Pigeon

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[1] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 32 and Takakusu, 'I-Tsing' p. 159

[2] Tāranātha, pp. 71, 73, and 303· Takakusu loc. c. note.

Monastery of Fa-hsien which he describes from the reports of others. Bhrāmarī is one of the epithets of Durgā or Pārvatī, and Beal thinks that in the names for the great monastery used by Fa-hsien and our pilgrim we have "the mountain of Bhrāmara, the *black bee*, the synonym of Durgā or Pārvatī".[1] But a perusal of the passages in the narratives of the two pilgrims will show that there is no hint of the peculiar monastery having ever been other than a Buddhist establishment.[2] Fa-hsien's *Po-lo-yue* (波羅越) may, however, represents the word *parvata*, a *mountain*, which he heard as pārāvata, a *pigeon*, and Śrī-Parvata was the name of the mountain in South India on which Nāgārjuna resided, but the characters cannot be supposed to give a transcription of *Pārvatī*. Then our pilgrim's *Po-lo-mo-lo* may be for Bhrāmara, and he probably translated the Indian name of the mountain by *Hei-fêng-fêng* (黑蜂峯) or "Peak of the Black bee", and then one *fêng* was left out by an officious copyist. Mr. Burgess proposes to identify our pilgrim's Black-bee Mountain with the lofty rock overhanging the Krishṇā river "about 250 miles south of Mānikdurg and beyond the probable limits of the Kosala kingdom". On this rock is the Hindu temple called Śrī-Parvata popularly known as Śrī-Śailam. Mr. Burgess adds—"That Śrī-Parvata was the proper form of the name seems proved by the Tibetan, and the identity of this with Śrī-Śailam is well known and recognised throughout Sanskrit literature, while the acknowledged great antiquity of the Hindu shrine, the ancient and very remarkable causeways of very early date constructed from different points up to the top of the precipitous hill, and the character of the place, agree sufficiently with the reports of the Chinese pilgrims".[3]

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[1] J. R. A. S. Vol. XV, 1883, p. 344.
[2] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 35.
[3] Burgess, 'Arch Sur. S. India', p. 7.

AN-TO-LO (ANDHRA).

We return to the narrative in the Records. The pilgrim relates that from Kosala he travelled South, through a forest, for above 900 *li* to the *An-to-lo* country. This country was above 3000 *li* in circuit, and its capital *P'ing-ch'i* (or *k'i*)-*lo* was above twenty *li* in circuit. The country had a rich fertile soil with a moist hot climate; the people were of a violent character; their mode of speech differed from that of "Mid-India", but they followed the same system of writing. There were twenty odd Buddhist monasteries with more than 3000 Brethren. Near the capital was a large monastery with a succession of high halls and storeyed terraces wrought with perfect art, and containing an exquisite image of the Buddha. In front of the monastery was a stone tope some hundreds of feet high, tope and monastery being the work of the arhat A-che-lo (Āchāra, translated by So-hsing 所行, "Performance" or "Rule of Conduct"). Near the south-west of this monastery was an Asoka tope where the Buddha preached, displayed miracles, and received into his religion a countless multitude. Above twenty *li* further south-west was an isolated hill on the ridge of which was a stone tope where *Ch'ên-na* (陳那) P'usa composed a "yin-ming-lun" or treatise on Logic (or the Science of Inference). The pilgrim then relates a legend about the circumstances connected with the production of this śāstra in exposition of the Buddha's teaching on the *Yin-ming*. Ch'ên-na, the pilgrim relates, after the Buddha had departed from this life came under his influence, and entered the Order. The aspirations of his spiritual knowledge were vast and his intellectual strength was deep and sure. Pitying the helpless state of his age he thought to give expansion to Buddhism. As the śāstra on the science of Inference was deep and terse, and students wrought at it in vain, unable to acquire a knowledge of its teachings, he went apart to live in calm seclusion to examine the qualities of the writings on it, and investigate their characteristics of style and meaning. Hereupon a mountain-god took the P'usa up in the air, and proclaimed that the sense of the *Yin-ming-lun*, originally uttered by the Buddha, had been lost, and that it would that day be set forth at large again by *Ch'ên-na*. This latter then sent abroad a great light which illuminated the darkness. The sight of this light led to the king's request that Ch'ên-na should proceed at once to the attainment of arhatship. When the p'usa reluctantly agreed to do so, Mañjuśri appeared, and recalled him to his high designs and aspirations for the salvation of others, and also summoned him to develope for the benefit of posterity

> the "*Yu-ka-shih-ti-lun*" (Yogachārya-bhūmi-śāstra), originally delivered by Maitreya. On this Ch'ên-na renounced the idea of an arhat's career, and devoted himself to a thorough study and development of the treatise on the science of Inference. When he had finished his work on this subject, he proceeded to the propagation of the rich teaching of the Yoga system, and had disciples who were men of note among their contemporaries.[1]

Comparing this passage with the narrative in the Life we find that in the latter the direction from Kosala to *An-to-lo* is given as south-east from the south of the district of the capital, the distance being the same. Julien restores the Sanskrit name of the country as *Andhra*, which is the correct form, but our pilgrim's transcription is nearer Andar (the Andara of Pliny). His name for the capital, *P'ing-k'i* (or *ch'i*)-*lo*, is restored doubtfully by Julien as *Vingiat* but it may be for a word like Vinjir or Vingir. According to Cunningham our pilgrim's Andhra is "the modern Telingāna".[2] Fergusson, who does not know where to place the capital, says that the name here given for it "sounds very like Vengi, which we know was the name of the capital of the Eastern Chalukyas at this period".[3] In the Vāyu-Purāna, quoted by Alberuni, we find one Andhra in the south and another in the east, and the name was apparently rather that of a people than of a country.[4] We find *An-tê-lo* (Andhra) in some Buddhist works as the name of a frontier district with a language different from that of India.[5] The Kathā Vatthu commentary often mentions the *Andhakā*, that is, that men of the Andhra school, but it gives no information as to the exact position of the district.[6]

The name of the great Buddhist philosopher transcribed

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[1] The original or the last clause is in all the texts except B which apparently was that used by the translators.

[2] A. G. I. p. 527.

[3] op. c. p. 261

[4] Alberuni Vol. I. pp. 299, 300. See also Burgess in 'Arch. Sur of S. India', p. 5 and note.

[5] See e.g. the 寂照堂谷響集, *ch.* 4. Ta-chih-tu-lun, *ch.* 25

[6] Rhys Davids in 'Schools of Buddhist Belief', J. R. A. S. 1892. pp. 9 foll.

in the passage now under consideration, as in other places, by *Ch'ên-na*, was translated by an annotator "Youth (i. e. Kumāra)-given", or, in some texts, simply "Given", but our author does not use either of these translations. Ju ... restored the name doubtfully as "Jina", and the restoration has been accepted by all subsequent writers. But it is quite certain that we must give up both translation and restoration. That *Ch'ên-na* does not represent *Jina* is plain from a study of the old sounds of the character for the first syllable, and of the transcriptions in Buddhist books. There is excuse for the Japanese scholars Nanjio and Takakusu repeating Julien's restoration because in their language the character is read *Chin* or *Jin*.[1] But it is not so in Chinese, and we can satisfy ourselves by a few examples of the transcriptions for Jina and the sound represented by the character 陳 now read Ch'ên. Our pilgrim, in the next *chuan* of these Records, transcribes Jina by *Shên*(愼)-*na*, and the Life transcribes the word by 辰 (read *Shên*) and -*na*. Other ways of expressing this word are *Shi*(視)-*na*, *Ch'i*(耆 and 嗜)-*na*, and the character 陳 is apparently never used to transcribe *Ji* or *Jin*. But it is very often used to express the syllable *din* in various proper names such as Gondinna, Sudinna, and so on. This is an old pronunciation and the way in which our pilgrim uses the character in his translations. It is also the way in which it was read by the annotator, as we see by his translation, for he took the name to be *Dinna* which means "Given". But we find from other treatises that the full name was *Din-naka* (陳那伽), and this gives us Diṅnāga (Dig-nāga).[2] The literal meaning of this word is "District-dragon", and it is rendered in Chinese by *Yü-lung* (域龍) with the same meaning. Our pilgrim, it will be remembered, ascribes the composition of a "Yin-ming-lun", or treatise

[1] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 85; Takakusu p. 186.

[2] Fan-yi-ming-yi, *ch.* 1; The Wu-chou Catalogue of the Buddhist Books, *ch.* 6 (No. 1610).

on Logic (or the science of Inference) to *Ch'ên-na* (i.e. Dinna), and I-ching makes him to be the author of several treatises on the subject, yet in the Chinese Collection there is no work bearing the name of "Yin-ming" ascribed to Dinna. But we find a treatise called "Yin-ming-chêng-li-mên-lun" (or with-pên added) bearing on the title page the name Ta-yü-lung (Mahā Diṅnāga) P'u-sa as author (Nos. 1223, 1224). This is the Dinna of other books, and we find several authorities describing Dinna (Ch'ên-na) as the author of the above treatise. Thus the Ch'ên-na of our text and many other passages is the Diṅnāga of Indian fame as a Buddhist propagandist and a philosopher well skilled in subtle speculations. We have a few particulars of his life chiefly through Tibetan channels. Thus we learn that he was born in Siṃha-vaktra, a suburb of Kāñchi in the South, that he was of a brahmin family, and well trained in the orthodox learning. He afterwards joined the Vatsīputra sect of the Hīnayāna Buddhists, but having incurred the displeasure of his teacher he was expelled, and he then joined the school of Vasubandhu. Then he lived for some time in a cave on Bhoraśaila in Oḍiviśa, sojourned in Nālandā, where he disputed successfully with several defenders of various schools, and afterwards returned to Oḍiviśa. Here he resolved to devote himself to the compilation of a treatise on Logic, and the resolve was followed by an earthquake, a great light, and a noise in the air. When he began to despair of success in his undertaking Mañjuśrī appeared to him, and roused him to renewed application by advice and encouragement. The king of the country also became his friend and patron.[1] Our pilgrim in the next *chüan* represents Diṅnāga as staying frequently in Āchara's monastery in the Mahāraṭṭha (Mahārāshṭra) country. If we are to accept the commentator's explanation of a wellknown verse in the Meghadhūta, Dinnāga was contemporary with Kālidāsa, and was an

[1] Tār. s. 130 ff.; Wass. Pud. s. 75, 226, 340; J. B. T. S. Vol. IV. P. III, p. 16, Vol. VI. P. III, p. 5.

unsympathetic critic of that poet.[1] His date was apparently about the beginning of the sixth century of our era, and the first translation of any of his works into Chinese was made A. D. 560. I-ching gives the short names of eight treatises on Logic by Diṅnāga (Ch'ên-na) and these, he tells us, were the text-books of students of Logic at his time. But Diṅnāga is represented as a prolific writer, as the author of more than 100 treatises. He had studied the Nyāya system and commented on it, and the Nyāya scholars regarded his exposition as erroneous;[2] he was also devoted to Prajñā-pāramitā, the "spiritual knowledge", which gave him vast aspirations for man's salvation, and he was versed in the metaphysical subtleties of Yoga. We have several of his treatises in Chinese or Tibetan translations or both, and they are not light reading. Some, perhaps all, of the logical treatises mentioned by I-ching are to be found in the Tibetan collection of Buddhist works.[3] His interesting treatise on Prajñāpāramitā with the commentary by *San-pao-tsun-Pu-sa* (Nos. 1309, 1310) "Ārya-prajñāpāramitā saṃgraha-kārikāvivaraṇa" which we have in a Tibetan version with the commentary of Dkon-mch'og-gsum-gyi-hbans that is, Triratna-dāsa or Slave of the Three Jewels.[4] Bunyiu Nanjio, who gives a different Sanskrit title for Diṅnāga's work, suggests "Triratnārya" as a possible original for "San-pao-tsun-P·u-sa", but there is perhaps a mistake in the Chinese version. When our pilgrim refers to a treatise on *Yin-ming* as having been delivered by the Buddha, he is rather misleading. Buddha did deliver teachings on causal connection in the moral and spiritual spheres, but these teachings are scattered up and down in the canonical works, Diṅnāga wanted to bring them all together into one treatise, with the additions

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[1] Weber's 'Ind. Lit.' p. 209 note, 245 note; J. B. T. S. l. c.

[2] Colebrooke, 'Essays' Vol. I, p. 282 note.

[3] See Csoma in As. Res. Vol. XX, p. 579; Feer in 'Annales du Musée Guimet', Vol. II, p. 378.

[4] Târ. s. 140.

of such explanations and amplifications as would be found necessary. Whether he lived to carry out his design we do not know at present. There is no work of this kind among his treatises now accessible in Chinese or Tibetan translation so far as the present writer knows. When the pilgrim here represents Diṅnāga as listening to the advice of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva, and leaving the path to arhatship, he merely wishes to convey to his readers that Diṅnāga gave up Hīnayānism to devote himself to the study and teaching of Mahāyānism. We have had in a previous chapter a similar story about the great Śāstra-Master Vasumitra, who was dissuaded by the devas from taking arhatship.

T'Ê-NA-KA-CHE-KA (DHANAKAṬAKA?).

The narrative in the Records proceeds to relate that from Andhra the pilgrim continued his journey south, through wood and jungle, for over 1000 *li*, and reached the *T'ê-na-ka-che-ka* country. This was above 6000 *li* in circuit, and its capital was above 40 *li* in circuit. The country had a rich soil and yielded abundant crops; there was much waste land and the inhabited towns were few; the climate was warm, and the people were of black complexion, of violent disposition, and fond of the arts. There was a crowd of Buddhist monasteries but most of them were deserted, about twenty being in use, with 1000 Brethren mostly adherents of the Mahāsaṅghika system. There were above 100 Deva-Temples and the followers of the various sects were very numerous. At a hill to the east of the capital was a monastery called *Fu-p'o-shih-lo* (Pūrvaśilā) or "East Mountain", and at a hill to the west of the city was the *A-fa-lo-shih-lo* (Avaraśilā) or "West Mountain" monastery. These had been erected for the Buddha by a former King of the country, who had made a communicating path by the river, and quarrying the rocks had formed high halls with long broad corridors continuous with the steep sides of the hills. The local deities guarded the monasteries, which had been frequented by saints and sages. During the millenium immediately following the Buddha's decease a thousand ordinary Brethren came here every year to spend the Retreat of the rainy season. On the day of leaving Retreat these all became arhats, and by their supernormal powers went away through the air. Afterwards common

monks and arhats sojourned here together, but for more than 100 years there had not been any Brethren resident in the establishment, and visitors were deterred by the forms of wild animals which the mountain-gods assumed. Not far from the south side of the capital was a mountain-cliff in the Asura's Palace in which the Śāstra-Master *Po-p'i-fei-ka* waits to see Maitreya when he comes to be Buddha. Then we have the story of this renowned dialectician, who "externally displaying the Sañkhya garb, internally propagated the learning of Nāgārjuna". Hearing that *Hu-fa* (Dharmapāla) P'usa was preaching Buddhism in Magadha with some thousands of disciples the Śāstra-Master longing for a discussion, set off, staff in hand, to see him. On arriving at Pāṭaliputra he learned that Hu-fa was at the Bodhi-Tree and thither he sent as messenger a disciple with the following message for the P'usa—"I have long yearned to come under the influence of you as a preacher of Buddhism, and a guide to the erring, but have failed to pay my respects to you through the non fullfillment of a former prayer. I have vowed not to see the Bodhi-Tree in vain. If I visit it I must become Buddha". Fa-hu sent back a reply that human life was illusory and fleeting, and that he was too much occupied to have a discussion. Messengers and messages went to and fro, but there was no interview. Then the Śāstra-Master went back to his home in this country, and after calm reflection concluded that his doubts could be solved only by an interview with Maitreya as Buddha. He thereupon abstained from food, only drinking water, and for three years repeated before an image of Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa the "*Sui-hsin* Dhārani". After all this that P'usa appeared in his beautiful form, and on hearing the devotee's desire to remain in this world to see Maitreya, he advised him rather to cultivate a higher goodness which would lead to rebirth in the Tushita Heaven and so accelerate an interview with Maitreya. But the Śāstra-Master had made up his mind, and was not to be moved from his resolve. So Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa directed him to go to this country, to the shrine of the god Vajrapāni, in the cliff to the south of the capital, and on reciting the "Vajrapāni Dhārani" there he would obtain his desire. The Śāstra-Master acted on the advice, and after three years' repetition of the dhārani the god appeared, gave a secret prescription, and told the devotee to make due petition at the Asura's Palace in the cliff; the rock would then open and he was to enter, on the coming of Maitreya the god would let him know. After three more years' constancy the Śāstra-Master with a charmed mustard-seed struck the cliff which thereupon opened. There were at the place many myriads of people who had continued gazing, forgetful of their homes. When the Śāstra-Master passed quietly in, he urged the crowd

to follow, but only six ventured after him; the others held back through fear, but they lamented their mistake.

This passage presents some serious difficulties. The name of the country here transcribed *Tê-na-ka-che-ka* has been restored as Dhanakacheka and Dhanakaṭaka. In Tibetan books the term Bras-spuns or "Rice-heap" is given as the rendering of the latter word, but this translation, as has been suggested, seems to point to a form like Dānyakaṭaka.[1] A note added to the pilgrim's text tells us that another name for the country was "Great Andhra," and it is possible that the name Dhanakaṭaka was confined to the district of the capital. Cunningham, who in his usual manner alters the Chinese text to suit his own fancies, writes the name "Donakotta" and otherwise, and fixes the position of the capital "at Dhāranikotta or Amarvāti, on the Kistna."[2] Fergusson is of opinion that the united testimony of Mr. Boswell's report and certain photographs "prove, almost beyond the shadow of a doubt, Bezwarra (the Bezwada and Bejwāḍa of others) to be the city Hiouen-Thsang describes".[3] This identification has been accepted by Mr. Sewell after a careful examination of the district and the texts on the subject.[4] According to Mr. Burgess the capital of the country at the time of our pilgrim was Bejwāḍa, but he also writes—"The town of Dharaṇikoṭa is the ancient Dhanyakaṭaka or Dhānyakaṭaka, the capital of Mahā-Andhra, and lies about eighteen miles in a direct line to the westward from Bejwāda, on *the south or right bank of the Krishṇā river*, above the bed of which it is well raised".[5] But the situation and surroundings of Dhāraṇikoṭṭa are against this identification, while the Bejwāḍa site has much in its favour.

As to the Buddhist Brethren in this country, we have

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[1] Tār. s. 142 and note.
[2] A. G. I. p. 530 ff. The spelling is Cunningham's.
[3] J. R. A. S. 1873 p. 263.
[4] J. R. A. S. Vol. XII, p. 98 ff.
[5] 'Arch. Sur. S. India' p. 9 ff.

seen that Yuan-chuang describes them as being "Mahāsaṅghikas". Julien's translation here gives "Mahāyānists", the B text which he used having *ta-shêng* or "Great Vehicle" (Mahāyāna). But the other texts, and the Fang-chih, have *ta-chung* or "Great Congregation", that is, Mahāsaṅgha, which is undoubtedly the correct reading. The Life tells us that during his stay here the pilgrim studied certain Abhidharma treatises of the Mahāsaṅghika school with two local Brethren, whom he in turn instructed in Mahāyāna scriptures.

We come next to the Pūrvaśilā and Avaraśilā monasteries. The author's words seem to indicate clearly that these two formed one establishment, and it was evidently in this sense that the passage was understood by the compilers of the Life and the Fan-chih. The monasteries were apparently built on steep hills, the sides of which were utilized in their construction, and there was an artificial communication, connecting them with the city apparently and with each other. According to the B text the author states that the monasteries "erected by a former King of this country for the Buddha as a *ch'a* (刹)", a *temple* or *religious sphere*. But the other texts, the Life, and the Fang-chih, merely represent them as having been built for the Buddha. Then the C text proceeds—"The King excavated a through path in the river (or valley) and quarried lofty chambers in the cliff; the long corridors and broad cloisters rested on and made continuations of the caves in the steep rock". For "excavated" the original is *tso* (鑿) which means to *chisel*, *bore out*, *excavate*. But instead of *tso* the other texts have *tien* (奠) which means to *determine* or *settle*, and to *follow as a guide or boundary*. With this reading the clause *tien-ch'uan-t'ung-ching* (奠川通徑) seems to mean "Keeping along the line of the mountain-river he made a pathway of communication". The Fang-chih also has *tien*, but instead of *ch'uan* it has *shan* that is, *hill*.[1] Further instead of the "broad cloisters"

[1] A learned native scholar suggests that the *tien* (奠) of the text

—*Kuang-wu* (廣 廡)—of the B text, the other texts have *pu-yen* (步 簷) or "walking-eaves", that is, verandahs or corridors. The Life praises these two Monasteries as "having all the artistic elegance of a great mansion and all the beauty of natural scenery" lit. wood and spring (窮 大 廈 之 規 式 盡 林 泉 之 秀 麗). Instead of the *ta-hsia*, a "great mansion" here, the B text, used by Julien, has *ta hsia* (大 夏),[1] which is a Chinese name for the country called Bactria. But this is evidently a slip of the pen, and the proper reading is that of the other texts which means a "great mansion".

We must observe that neither in the passage now under notice, nor in the Life, is there any mention of a tope as existing in this district. Yet in the "Archæological Survey of South India" we find Mr. Burgess writing—"We now pass to the mention of the great Amarāvatī monument by Hiuen Thsang". that is, its great tope. He identifies this tope with the Purvaśilā monastery of our pilgrim, while Fergusson identified it with the Avaraśilā monastery. It is hard to understand how any one could propose to identify a large monastery among hills and streams, and having spacious chambers and great corridors, with a building which is only a remarkable tope situated on a plain. Mr. Burgess, because the tope and its surroundings do not suit the account of the monastery, writes of the pilgrim as not having personally visited the place, forgetting the statement in the Life that he spent several months here visiting the sacred sights of the district in company with native Brethren. Mr. Sewell's conscientious examination of the district gives results which seem to be in general agreement with the pilgrim's description. He has found something which he thinks confirms the statement

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is a copyist's or printer's mistake for *tien* (塡) which means to raise or *fill up* The meaning, with this reading, would be that the king formed a path of communication between the two monasteries, or between them and the capital, by raising an embankment in the valley.

[1] Life *ch.* 4; Julien I, p. 188.

that the King (in Beal's translation made for Mr. Sewell) "bored out the river-course, constructing a road through it", and writes—"Now the path from the town of Bezwâḍa that leads up to the level of the platforms on the escarp-of the mountain to the west of the town, passes up a gully caused by centuries of mountain torrents, and when it comes to the steepest part of the ascent, is conducted by steps through an almost perpendicular cliff, which has been cut into for the purpose, to the more level portion of the hill-side above it: so that the visitor at that part stands on steps with walls of rock artificially cut on each side of him. This is the "river-course" that has been bored into to construct a path". But all this seems to be rather against the text rendered "bored out the river-course", although it may be in agreement with the old reading interpreted as meaning "proceeding according to the line of the mountain-river". The "river-course" was not "bored out" by the king, for it had been there for centuries, but the king may have cut his path in the rocks along its line. Mr. Sewell, it will be seen, changes "bored out" into "bored into", which is not the same thing. But the *tso-ch'uan* of the B text should be set aside, and the *tien-ch'uan* of the other texts adopted. The passage is evidently corrupt and we can only guess at what may have been the form of the clause in the original manuscript. It is perhaps not impossible that the pilgrim wrote—"these monasteries were erected and cut out by a former king who made a path (or paths) to them along the mountain-river course (or courses). The text would read 此國先王爲佛建鑿其川通徑

To these monasteries, according to the legend here related by the pilgrim, for 1000 years after the Buddha's decease *Ch'ien-fan-fu-sêng* (千凡夫僧), that is "1000 ordinary Brethren", came together to pass the Rain-season Retreat. Julien spoils the meaning of the passage by translating these four characters "mille laïques et autant de religieux". Here, as in many other passages, the *fan-fu-sêng*, or "common monk", is clearly distinguished from

the *shêng-sêng* or "holy monk" who has attained arhatship, and the Fang-chih uses the recognized contraction *fan-sêng*, our "common monk". Farther on where our author states that after the above millenium "the common and holy" (*fan-shêng* 凡聖), that is the ordinary Brethren and the arhats, lodged together in the monasteries Julien as usual mistranslates *fan-shêng* by "les hommes vulgaires et les saints" It is very plain from this story about the 1000 Buddhist Brethren coming yearly to these monasteries to spend the Rain-season Retreat in them, that the establishment was at a convenient distance from a town. If the capital did not lie between the two monasteries at this period, these must at least have been near a town or village. The bhikshus were not allowed to go into Retreat at places distant from the residences of the lay-believers who supplied them with food.

The next item in the pilgrim's account of this district is the "Mountain-cliff (*ta-shan-yen* 大山巖) near the south of the city", in a cave in which Śāstra-Master *Po-p'i-fei-ka* stays waiting to have an interview with Maitreya when the latter comes to be Buddha. The term *ta-shan-yen* is rendered by Julien "une grande caverne de montagne", but *yen*, although it has the meaning of a *natural cavity* our *recess in a rock*, is properly a *steep cliff*, a *sheer wall of rock*. That the latter is the sense in which the word is used here is clear from the context, for the wall of rock opens to receive the Śāstra-Master and closes again until Maitreya comes. This rock is the door, and there is a cave inside into which the Śāstra-Master passes, but the cave is not visible to spectators. In the translation of this passage which Beal made for Mr. Sewell he translated *ta-shan-yen* by "a large terraced mountain", a rendering which is quite inadmissible, but in his "Buddhist Records" he adopts Julien's rendering. Yet in an article published in the J. R. A. S. for January 1890 Mr. Rea goes back to the "large terraced mountain", and finds a site which exactly answers to the wrong translation. He accordingly thinks that--"Amarāvati might be the monastery of the

Avaraśilā school; Vaikunthapuram that of the Purvaśilās; and Pedda Madūr, the "terraced mountain" at a "little distance to the south of the town".[1] Neither Amarāvatī nor Vaikunthapur can be said to have any claim to represent either of the two monasteries. Pedda Madūr, according to Mr. Rea, is a village four miles south-east from Amarāvatī and so not near the site of the capital, and the "series of extensive brick remains, built on terraces rising one above the other" on the hill above the village is incompatible with the pilgrim's description. So also is the location, and our pilgrim's "mountain cliff" is more likely the isolated steep mountain to the south of Bezwāḍa, as has been suggested by others. Mr. Sewell boldly identifies the cliff with the "Rock-cut temple at Uṇḍavilli"; but his theory und Mr. Fergusson's objection to it seem to be founded on Julien's translation—"une grande caverne de montagne". In the Life the "mountain cliff" is merely a *ta-shih-shan*, or "great rock hill", and the Fang-chih uses the pilgrim's expression.

We come next to the Śāstra-Master whom our pilgrim here calls *P'o-p'i-fei-ka.* Julien restores this name as Bhāva-viveka and the restoration has of course been adopted by all. The authority for this name is found in Burnouf's description of a Sanskrit treatise known by the name Vinaya-sūtra (but properly the "Madhyamaka-vritti"), composed by the Āchārya Chandra-kīrti as a commentary on the axioms of Nāgārjuna. This treatise, Burnouf tells us, quotes certain Buddhist Brethren or commentators otherwise unknown to us, and among the eminent Buddhists whom it mentions are Buddhapālita, Āryadeva, and the Āchārya Bhavaviveka.[2] But the name which is transcribed *P'o-p'i-fei-ka* in the present passage, in the Life, and the Fang-chih, is evidently *Bhāviveka.* It is translated by *Ch'ing-pien* (清辯) or "Clearness-discriminating" and in the "Fang-chih by *Ming*(明)-*pien* or "Light (or Clearness)-

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[1] J. R. A. S. Vol. XXII, p. 196 ff.

[2] 'Introduction' p. 560 ff.

discriminating. These renderings also point to Bhāviveka as the original. Besides, the word *bhāva* is rendered usually by *shên* (身), "body" or *yu* (有) "existing". In the Tibetan books we find a Master whose name has been retranslated into Sanskrit as Bhāvaviveka (or Bhavya apparently), but his Tibetan name Legs-ldan-hlyed-pa means "Clear analysing" and seems to correspond to the Chinese *Ch'ing-pien* and Bhāviveka.[1] The Śāstra-master in question was a native of South India, and apparently of the Malayagiri country. His disciples, according to I-ching, lived in the middle period between Nāgārjuna and Diṅnāga,[2] but according to our pilgrim he was a junior contemporary of Dharmapāla. In the Chinese collection of Buddhist scriptures we have one treatise ascribed to *Ch'ing-pien*, viz-the "Ta-shêng-chang-chên-lun" or "Mahāyāna Pearl-in-hand Śāstra" (No. 1237), translated by our pilgrim in A. D. 648. This work shows great learning and subtle reasoning: the author quotes not only from various Buddhist sects and schools, but also from the teachings of other sects, including the Sāṅkhyas. In the Chinese collection we have also a remarkable work called" Prajñā-lamp-śāstra-exposition" (or simply "Prajñā-lamp-śāstra"). This work is a commentary on the "*Chung-lun*" of Nāgārjuna, already mentioned, together with the Chinese text of that treatise. The commentary is ascribed on the title-page to *F'en-pie-ming* (分別明) or "Discriminating light" P'usa. Mr. Nañjio (No 1185) makes this name indicate Ārya-Deva, but it is a translation of Bhāviveka. In a well known Chinese treatise the book is ascribed to "the Śāstra-Master of South India by name *P'i-ka* (毘迦)", that is, the Bhāviveka of our pilgrim.[3] One of the epithets of this Śāstra-

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[1] Tār. p. 186 and note.

[2] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 34; Takakusu (p. 181) translates the passage as intimating that Ch'ing-pien lived in this period.

[3] Ch'êng-tao-chi p. 37. The characters *for p'i* and *ka* are the second and fourth of those used to transcribe the full name, and their order is reversed by mistake in some texts.

Master, we know, was "Lord of the Prajñā-lamp-śāstra",[1] and his treatise with this name evidently became very famous. In it also we find a great knowledge of Buddhist and other scriptures, and a frequent quotation from the Sāṅkhya texts. We understand from it, and the "Ta-shêng-chang-chên-lun", what our pilgrim meant by his statement that Bhāviveka showed the garb of Sāṅkhya while propagating the system of Nāgārjuna. In these two works we find the author making much use of Sāṅkhya terminology in stating and defending the theories of Nāgārjuna. In the "Prajñā-lamp-śāstra" also we find the author referring to *Fo-hu*, that is the Dharmapālita mentioned in Burnouf's text. But this śāstra is not in any degree a treatise on the *Pāramitās*, and *Prajñā* is evidently used in it in a sense corresponding to our *Pure Reason* or *Transcendental Wisdom*. This śāstra may be the Tibetan work the title of which is restored by Schiefner as "Prajñā-pradīpa-mūla-madhyamika-vṛitti".[2] But there is another treatise in Tibetan translation also ascribed to this Master as author, and the title of this treatise is restored by Wassiljew as "Tarka-jvālā" or "Flame of Speculation". Wassiljew states that this work does not exist in a Chinese translation, but it seems to be a treatise very like the "Prajñā-pradīpa-śāstra".[3]

It will be noticed that Bhāviveka, carrying out the prescription given to him, strikes the rock with charmed mustard-seed; and this causes the rock to open and let him in. This procedure is in accordance with the teachings of the Dhāraṇi sūtras in which we find white mustard-seed often used and prescribed as a charm. This seed when duly parched, and rendered efficacious by the repetition of magical formulæ, could bring rain, cleave a rock, or even rend the earth. The "Vajra-holding god" of this passage is evidently the Vajrapāṇi (or Vajrasattva) who

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1 Fang-chih, *ch.* 2.
2 Tār. l. c.
3 Wass. Bud. s. 287.

figures largely in several of the Dhāraṇi sūtras. In these he is sometimes a Bodhisattva, sometimes a god and chief of the Yakshas, and sometimes plain Vajrapāṇi.

The pilgrim, it will be observed, makes the determined and devoted Śāstra-Master recite for three years. before Kuan-tzŭ-tsai's image, the "Sui-hsin-dhārani". This very curious book (No. 325), the full title of which is "Kuan-tzŭ-tsai-sui-hsin-t'o-lo-ni (or with *ch'ou* instead of *t'o-lo-ni*), was one of the sacred texts which our pilgrim carried home to China, and there it was translated by *Chih-t'ung* (智通).

Our pilgrim's statement about Vajrapāni and his magical spells seems to agree with another authority which tells us that Dhanakataka became a centre of production for spells and exorcisms.[1]

CHU-LI-YA (CHULYA?)

We go back now to the narrative in the Records It proceeds to state that from Dhanakataka the pilgrim went south-west above 1000 *li* to *Chu-li ya* This country, we are told, was about 2400 *li* in circuit, and its capital was above ten *li* in circuit. It was a wild jungle region with very few settled inhabitants, and bands of highwaymen went about openly, it had a moist hot climate, the people were of a fierce and profligate character and were believers in the Tirthikas; the Buddhist monasteries were in ruins, and only some of them had Brethren, there were several tens of Deva-temples, and the Digambaras were numerous. To the south-east of the capital, and near it, was an Asoka tope where the Buddha had preached wrought miracles, overcome Tirthikas, and received men and devas into his communion. Near the west side of the city was an old monastery where Deva p'usa had discussed with the arhat Uttara. And this is the story of the discussion Deva had heard of this arhat with supernormal powers and attainments, so he made a long journey to see him and observe his style of teaching Uttara, being a man content with little, had only one couch in his room, so he made a heap of fallen leaves on which he bade his guest recline. When the arhat was ready Deva stated his difficulties, and the arhat gave his solutions, then Deva replied and put further

[1] See Tār. s. 277.

questions and so on for seven rounds; the arhat unable to reply transported himself secretly to the Tushita Paradise and obtained the necessary explanations from Maitreya who told him that he should be very respectful to Deva who was to be a Buddha in the present kalpa; when Uttara imparted his information to Deva the latter recognised it as the teaching of Maitreya; hereupon Uttara gave up his mat to Deva with polite apologies, and treated him with profound respect.

This passage differs from the Life in the direction assigned to *Chu-li-ya* from Dhanakaṭaka, the pilgrim giving it as south-west, while the Life in one text has west and in another has south. The *Chu-li-ya* of the text has been restored as Cholya, and it corresponds, no doubt, to the country of the Choḍas mentioned in Asoka's second and thirteenth Edicts,[1] and of the Cholas often mentioned in literature from the fifth century onwards. Cunningham suggests as its modern representative the district of *Karnūl* "which is 230 miles in a direct line to the north-north-west of Kānchipura, and 160 miles to the west-south-west of Dhāranikoṭṭa".[2] Fergusson, however, assuming that the object for which the pilgrim was travelling here was "to get to the port of embarcation for Ceylon" thinks that "the direction and distance would take us to Nellore, which is an important place".[3]

In the above passage the words "being a man content with little" are in the original *shao-yu-chih-tsu* (少欲知足) which is replaced in some texts by words meaning "in his place of abode". This story of Deva P'usa and Uttara is one of our pilgrim's silly legends about the great apostles of Buddhism in India, and we need not examine it closely. The Uttara of the story cannot be either the bhikshu with that name who founded the Sautrāntika School. or the Uttara of king Asoka's time who went with Soṇa to propagate Buddhism in Suvaṇṇa-bhūmi. Our pilgrim evidently understood the arhat to be a Hīnayānist Buddhist who was no match in

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[1] Senart, 'Inscriptions de Piyadasi', 78, 210.
[2] A. G. 1. p. 545.
[3] J. R. A. S. VI, 264.

discussion for the Mahāyānist P'usa who had god-given powers of persuasion.

DRAVIDA.

The pilgrim continuing his narrative relates that from Chulya he travelled 1500 or 1600 *li* through wood and jungle south to the *Ta-lo-p'i-t'u* country. This was above 6000 *li* in circuit and its capital *Kan-chih-pu-lo* was above thirty *li* in circuit. The region had a rich fertile soil, it abounded in fruits and flowers and yielded precious substances. The people were courageous, thoroughly trustworthy, and public-spirited, and they esteemed great learning, in their written and spoken language they differed from "Mid-India" There were more than 100 Buddhist monasteries with above 10 000 Brethren all of the Sthavira School. The Deva-Temples were above 80, and the majority belonged to the Digambaras. This country had been frequently visited by the Buddha, and king Asoka had erected topes at the various spots where the Buddha had preached and admitted members into his Order. The capital was the birth-place of Dharmapāla P'usa who was the eldest son of a high official of the city. He was a boy of good natural parts which received great development as he grew up. When he came of age a daughter of the king was assigned to him as wife, but on the night before the ceremony of marriage was to be performed being greatly distressed in mind, he prayed earnestly before an image of Buddha. In answer to his prayer a god bore him away to a mountain monastery some hundreds of *li* from the capital When the Brethren of the monastery heard his story they complied with his request, and gave him ordination, and the king on ascertaining what had become of him treated him with increased reverence and distinction Not far from the south of the capital was a large monastery which was a rendezvous for the most eminent men of the country. It had an Asoka tope above 100 feet high where the Buddha had once defeated Tirthikas by preaching, and had received many into his communion. Near it were traces of a sitting-place and exercise-walk of the Four Past Buddhas.

The *Ta-lo-pi-t'u* of the above passage has been restored as Draviḍa, and the name of the capital as Kāñchi-pura. Cunningham regarded the capital as being represented by Conjeveram on the river Palār,[1] and Kāñchipura seems

[1] A. G. I. p. 548.

to have been a former name of this city. Fergusson, however, thinks we must go on to Nagapatam[1] (Negapatam) and there is much in favour of this identification.

The Life has a few remarks about the capital which are worth quoting. It states—"Kāñchipura is the sea-port of South India for Ceylon, the voyage to which takes three days. Before the pilgrim left, the king of Ceylon had died, and there were famine and revolution in the land, and about 300 bhikshus had come from it to India. When they arrived at Kāñchipura the pilgrim said to them—I understand that in your country the Bhadantas expound the Tripiṭaka of the Sthaviras and the Yoga-śāstras. I want to go there to study. Why have you come away?" The bhikshus explained that they had left on account of the famine, and because they wanted to visit the Buddhist sacred places in India (Jambudvīpa) where the Buddha was born. They added: "*We know our fellow-religionists do not surpass us; if your Reverence has doubts inquire of us at your pleasure. Thereupon the pilgrim adduced important points from the Yoga scriptures for elucidation and [the Ceylon Brethren] could not excel Śīlabhadra's explanations*". For the passage in italics Julien has—"Nous savons d'ailleurs qu'ici les disciples de la *Loi* ne la transgressent jamais Nous autres, vieillards, nous voudrions, lorsque nous éprouverons des doutes, pouvoir vous interroger librement". Le Maître de la loi leur cita les principaux passages du *yu-kia* (yōgacāstra); mais ils ne purent lui donner les explications de Çilabhadra". The text is not very clear but it cannot be made to yield this meaning. As the passage shows, the pilgrim had told the Brethren from Ceylon that he had intended to go over to their island for instruction, and they reply that there are no Brethren there superior to them, and that the pilgrim may address his questions to them. It is implied that he can get all the guiding and information he wants without having to make the voyage to Ceylon. As the island was

[1] op. c. p. 265

in a bad state Yuan-chuang was probably pleased to escape the journey, and so he talked over important Yoga texts with these Brethren. He found, however, that they had no exposition to give better than that which he had received from Śīlabhadra.

As to Dharmapāla, the Life tells us that it was because he wanted to leave the world that he prayed before the Buddha's image for escape from marriage with the Princess. This Dharmapāla, whom we have met already, became, as Julien and the Life tell us,[1] a devoted student of Buddhism. He was also an author of repute and wrote treatises on Etymology, Logic, and the Methaphysics of Buddhism.[2]

MO-LO-KÜ-T'A (MALAKUṬA).

The pilgrim's narrative next proceeds to relate that from Kānchi city he went south above 3000 *li* to the *Mo-lo-kü-t'a* (Malakuṭa) country. This country he describes as being above 5000 *li* in circuit with a capital above forty *li* in circuit. The soil was brackish and barren; the country was a depôt for sea-pearls; the climate was very hot and the people were black; they were harsh and impetuous, of mixed religions, indifferent to culture and only good at trade. There were many remains of old monasteries, very few monasteries were in preservation and there was only a small number of Brethren. There were hundreds of Deva-temples, and the professed adherents of the various sects, especially the Digambaras. were very numerous. Not far from the east side of the capital were the remains of the old monastery built by Asoka's brother, *Ta-ti* (大帝) or Mahendra, with the foundations and dome, the latter alone visible, of a ruined tope on the east side of the remains. The tope had been built by Asoka to perpetuate the memory of Buddha having preached, made miraculous exhibitions. and brought a countless multitude into his communion at the place. The long lapse of time had served to increase the efficacious powers of the tope and prayers offered at it were still answered. In the south of the country near the sea was the *Mo-lo-yu* (Malaya) mountain, with lofty cliffs and ridges and deep valleys and gullies, on which were sandal, camphor and other trees. To

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[1] Julien, I, p. 192. Life, *ch.* 4.

[2] Bunyiu Nanjio, Appendix I, No. 16.

the east of this was the *Pu-ta-lo-ka* (Potalaka) mountain with steep narrow paths over its cliffs and gorges in irregular confusion; on the top was a lake of clear water, whence issued a river which, on its way to the sea, flowed twenty times round the mountain. By the side of the lake was a stone Deva-palace frequented by Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa. Devotees, risking life, brave water and mountain to see the P'usa, but only a few succeed in reaching the shrine. To the people at the foot of the mountain who pray for a sight of the P'usa, he appears sometimes as a Pāśupata Tirthika, or as Maheśvara, and consoles the suppliant with this answer. To the north-east of Potalaka on the sea-side was a city, the way to Sêng-ka-lo (Ceylon) of the south sea, and local accounts made the voyage from it to Ceylon one of about 3000 *li* to the south-east.

The passage here slightly abridged in translation presents some difficulties, and does not agree with the Life. It seems to state that Julien personally visited the Malakuṭa country, while the Life represents him as only hearing about it. The words of the Life are—"Distant from the confines of this country (i. e. Draviḍa) above 3000 *li* he heard that there was the Malakuṭa country".[1] As this is not very clear, and as the direction is not given, we should not lightly accept the statement. There is nothing in the pilgrim's account of the country to show that he did not visit it, and see its capital and the district around, although he may not have gone to remote objects of interest. We must remark, however, that he does not tell us anything about the nature of the country between Draviḍa and Malakuṭa, and that in the next *chuan* he represents himself as continuing his pilgrimage from Draviḍa. He may not have gone to Malakuṭa, but the descriptions of the country, the people, and the Buddhist remains are evidently those of an eye-witness.

A note to our text tells us that another name for the country was *Chih* (枳)-*mo-lo*, not *Ki-mo-lo* as some editors represent. Cunningham says that "the province of Malayakuṭa must have included the modern districts of Tanjor and Madura, on the east, with Coimbator, Cochin, and

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[1] *Life*, *ch.* 4. Julien, I, p. 193.

Travancore, on the west".[1] The remarks of Fergusson on this part of our pilgrim's text are of little value, partly because he was misled by Julien's vagaries.[2]

Yuan-chuang, we have seen, mentions the ruins of an old monastery near the capital, which he says had been erected by Mahendra a brother of Asoka. If he had derived his information about this monastery from the Ceylon Brethren he would have called Mahendra (Mahinda) a son, not a brother, of Asoka. The account of this monastery, and its Asoka tope of which only the dome remained visible, is apparently that of a visitor at the time of the description. Then we have the Malaya mountain in the south of the country, and this must have been known to the pilgrim from the Buddhist scriptures. Thus the famous "Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra" purports to have been delivered by the Buddha "Laṅkāpura-samudra-Malaya-śikhare" which the Indian translator into Chinese renders "in the city of Laṅkā on the summit of the Malaya mountain on the border of the sea".[3] A mountain of this name is given as in the southern division in the Brihat Samhitā, and is well known from its occurrence in Indian literature. It was famous for its sandal trees, and Malayaja is a name for sandal-wood. Its name and that of the city seem to have been transferred to Ceylon, where we find a Malaya mountain and district, and a Laṅkā mountain and city,[4] but Laṅkā is commonly used as the name of a city. We are not required, however, to believe that the Malaya mountain associated with the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, the gospel of Madhyamika Mahāyānism, was an actual geographical unit. It was in reality a poetical creation to which the semblance of earthly reality was given by the use of well known names, a district of Utopia with a topical definition. It had no existence except as the scene of the great

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[1] A. G. I. p. 549.

[2] op. c. p. 266.

[3] No. 176. See also Nos. 175, 177.

[4] e. g. *chuan* XI of the Records.

assembly in which Rāvaṇa, king of Rākshasas, and Mahāmati the Bodhisattva, elicit from Buddha the strange theories of universal negation. But we find Malaya also given as the name of a country which is apparently the Draviḍa of our pilgrim and other authorities. Thus the great Buddhist Vajrabodhi who came to China in A D. 719 is described as a native of the Malaya country adjoining Mount Potalaka, the palace of Kuan-yin, his father being preceptor of the king of Kāñchi.[1]

Our pilgrim next mentions the Potalaka mountain to the east of the Malayagiri, and this also must have been known to him from his study of the sacred books. In that very delightful sūtra known in Chinese by its short title "Hua-yen-ching" he had read of this chosen abode of Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa. In this sūtra also Potalaka is on the sea-side in the south, it has woods, and streams, and tanks, and is in fact a sort of earthly paradise. Buddhabhadra (A. D. 420) calls Kuanyin's mountain *Kuang-ming* (光明) or "Brilliance", which is usually given as the rendering for *Malaya*, but a later translator. Śikshānanda, transcribes the name Potalaka.[2] This mountain is called in translation "White flower mountain", "Island mountain", "Hill of the shrub with small flower"; it is also called Potala, and a city of unknown antiquity at the mountain bears its name. Potalaka mountain appears as a favourite resort of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva for a long time, and Tāranātha makes mention of several visits paid to the Bodhisattva by pious Buddhists. Śāntivarman by divine help reached the summit of the mountain, and found the palace of the Bodhisattva deserted; another pilgrim saw only the stone image of the Bodhisattva, and another heard the music made for the Bodhisattva by Nāgas and Asuras.[3] Here again the Potalaka of the scriptures, the

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[1] Sung-kao-sêng-chuan, *ch.* 1.

[2] Ta-fang-kuang-Fo-Hua-yen-ching, *ch.* 50 (No. 87); Ta-fang-kuang-Fo-Hua-yen-ching, *ch.* 68 (No. 88).

[3] Tār. S. 141 ff., S. 157, 298. See also Beal in J. R. A. S. Vol. XV, p. 338 ff.

inaccessible mountains of cliffs and ravines guarded by gods and demons and sacred to Avalokiteśvara, is not to be identified with any one of the mountains by the sea-side in South India.

The seaport which our pilgrim mentions as being to the north-east of Potalaka is said in the Fan-chih to be "the old Sêng-ka-lo". If this statement be correct it is interesting information, and helps to explain some difficulties. The port was evidently to the pilgrim's mind near the south point of India, and this agrees with a statement in the T'ang-Shu to the effect that the Malaya (Mê-lai 袰來) country was in the extreme south of India. In connection with the name given to the port it may be noticed that in the Bṛihat Saṃhitā and other works Laṅkā is treated as a city or island quite distinct from Siṃhala.[1] But the direction from this port to Ceylon is not quite correct, and the distance, 3000 *li* (about 600 miles) is far too great.

[1] See Fleet, op. c., p. 188.

CHAPTER XVII.

(CHUAN XI.)

CEYLON.

According to the Records the pilgrim proceeded from Malakuṭa to Sêng-ka-lo or Ceylon, but the Life represents him as merely *hearing* of that country. If we had only the Records we should be at liberty to believe that he proceeded to Ceylon, and returned thence to Draviḍa. But it is perhaps better to regard him as writing about Malakuṭa and Ceylon from information given to him in Draviḍa, and from books. There seems to be much in *Chuan* X and XI that is not genuine, and it may be observed that in certain old texts like C these two *chuan* are given without mention of Pien-chi as compiler. They are also, together with *Chuan* XII, marked by the character *yi*, meaning *doubtful*. It does not seem, therefore, to be necessary to dwell much on the curious legends and descriptions given in this part of the Records.

Of the legends about Ceylon related by the pilgrim the first tells how a princess of South India was carried off by a lion into the woods. To this lion the princess became mother of a son and a daughter, and in the course of time the son secretly carried off his mother and sister to the native place of the mother. Thereupon the lion, utterly distressed and enraged by the loss of his family, committed dreadful havoc in the land, and the son for the reward offered by the king killed his own father. When the king learned the circumstances, he banished the patricide, sending him away in a boat which brought him to Ceylon. Here the young man settled, and marrying a trader's daughter, he introduced order and government, and his descen-

dants gave him the name *Lion-catcher*, which they applied also to the country. This was the story in the popular accounts.

The second legend is from the Buddhist scriptures. This tells of the 500 merchants being taken captive by the Rākshasīs of Ceylon, and of their chief and some of the others being carried away from destruction by the "Heaven-Horse".

We may remark about these two legends that they are well known from other treatises. In the Rājāvali we have a version of the Lion-marriage which agrees pretty well with the story here told by our pilgrim.[1] It is given also in the Dīpavaṃsa, which makes the ravished princess to be a daughter of the Vanga King,[2] and it is referred to in other books. The second legend is related with artistic skill in the "Fo-pên-hsing-chi-ching". It is told also in the "Jātaka", and in the "Liu-tu-chi-ching".[3] In all these, as in the pilgrim's story, the wonderful horse called Cloud-horse, or Horse-king, is the Bodhisattva, that is, the Buddha in a former existence. But in the Tibetan version of the legend the rescuing horse is an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva,[4] and in the Divyāvadāna he is Maitreya.[5]

Our pilgrim now goes on to describe the Buddhist Brethren in Ceylon, the result of Mahendra's mission-work, as Mahāyānist Sthaviras. Above 200 years after Mahendra's time, he continues, too much attention to peculiarities made two sects, the Hīnayānist school of those who belonged to the Mahāvihāra, and the school of those who belonged to the Abhayagiri and embraced both "vehicles". The Brethren, he adds, were very precise in the observance of their rules, perfectly clear in meditation and wisdom, and very grave in their model deportment.

On this passage we observe that the expression "Mahāyānist Sthaviras" is applied to the Brethren of Ceylon

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[1] Upham 'Sacred Books of Ceylon', Vol. II, p. 27 and p. 164; J. Ceylon B. R. A. S. Vol. VII, p. 66 ff.

[2] Dīp. IX.

[3] Hsing-chi-ching, *ch.* 49 (No. 680); Jāt. Vol. II, p. 127; Liu-tu-chi-ching, *ch.* 6 (No. 143).

[4] J. R. A. S. Vol. XX, p. 504.

[5] Divyāv. p. 524.

only in the Records; the Life describes them as Mahāyānists and Sthaviras, and the Fan-chih calls them simply Sthaviras. The two local sects here mentioned derived their names from the monasteries in which they arose. Of these establishments the Mahāvihāra, which was at the capital, was built B. C. 306, and was evidently a very grand monastery with all kinds of comforts and luxuries. The Abhayagiri monastery was built in B. C. 89 by king Vaṭṭagāmini, otherwise Abhaya, at the place where the Nirgrantha Giri dwelt. In the course of time ill-will arose between the Brethren of these establishments, and some of the Abhayagiri fraternity were accused of heterodox ways, excommunicated, and banished. Then in the reign of Mahāsena the monks of Mahāvihāra were accused of heterodoxy, the monastery was closed and partially destroyed, the materials being used for the improvement of the rival establishment Abhayagiri.[1] The Brethren of this latter may have been regarded by the pilgrim as having had Mahāyānist tendencies on account of their admission of irregular objects of worship. In the high praise which he gives all the Brethren in the above passage the term rendered by "meditation and wisdom" is *ting-hui* (定慧). In common Buddhist use *ting* denotes *samādhi*, and *hui* is for *prajnā* or "transcendental wisdom", but the compound *ting-hui* has also the technical sense of *Vinaya*, and it is perhaps so used in this passage.

The narrative in the Records proceeds to describe that beside the king's palace was the Buddha's Tooth-Shrine some hundreds of feet high, bright and beautiful with gems and jewels. From its roof rose a signal-post on the top of which was a large ruby which shed a brilliant light, and could be seen shining like a bright star, day and night, for a great distance. Three times a day the king washed the tooth with scented water and burned incense to it, all articles used in his service to the tooth being rare and costly. Beside this temple was a small one with a gold life-size image of the Buddha set up by a former king, the ushṇisha of the image being adorned with a valuable jewel. The

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[1] See Mah. chs. XV, XXXVI, XXXVII; Dip. ch. XIX. Cf. Fo-kuo-chi, chs. 38, 69.

mention of this gives occasion for the story of the thief to whom the image, overcome by the thief's persuasion, bowed down his head and gave up the jewel.

The Records further tell us that Ceylon lay on the side of a corner of the sea, and that in the south-east angle of the land was the *Lêng-ka* or Lankā mountain on which the Buddha delivered the sūtra which bears the name of the mountain.

The account in the Records proceeds to relate that over the sea some thousands of *li* to the south of the [Sêng-ka-lo or Siṃhala] country was the *Na-lo-ki-lo-chou* (for Nālikila- or Nārikira-dvīpa, "Cocoa-nut Island"). The inhabitants of this island were dwarfs three feet high with human bodies and bird-beaks; they did not raise any crops and subsisted on cocoa-nuts. Westward from this island, some thousands of *li* over the sea, was an isolated isle. On the cliff which formed the east side of this isle was a stone sitting image of Buddha above 100 feet high facing east, the ushṇīsha of the image being a *yue-ai-pao* or "Moon-loved Pearl" (the Chandrakānta gem). From this rare ornament while the moon shone on it water gushed forth, and falling down the cliff ramified in the valleys. This information had been derived from a shipwrecked trader who had climbed the cliff to make personal examination. To the west of the [Siṁhala] country, and some thousands of *li* over the sea, was the Great Precious-substances Island, uninhabited by human beings, but a temporary lodging-place for supernatural creatures. From this island a bright light shines far out on calm nights, but traders who visit the island do not get anything.

It is interesting to notice that the writer of this account of *Sên-ka-lo* or Siṃhala seems to regard the district as a country on the mainland. He represents it as "bordering on a corner of the sea" (*Ku p'in-hai-yü* 國濱海隅), and all his description of the country seems to indicate that he regarded it as a part of the continent. At the end of *Chuan* X, however, Sêng-ka-lo is said to be 3000 *li* by sea from Malakuṭa, and in the legends given in the present *chuan* about the country it is styled the "Island of Precious substances", a name derived from Buddhist books.

In the passage now under notice we are told that the *Lêng-ka-ching* or Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra was delivered on the Laṅkā mountain in Sêng-ka-lo, whereas this sūtra professes, as we have seen, to have been uttered in the city of

Lankā on the Malaya mountain. We do not seem to know anything about the Cocoa-nut Island, and the isle with the great image of Buddha having a chandrakānta on the top of its head, and the Great Precious-substances Island, except from the mention of them in this passage. Our pilgrim evidendly derived all his information about them, as about Ceylon, from books, and the stories of the Brethren from Ceylon whom he met in Draviḍa and the Brethren of the latter country.

KUNG-KAN-NA-PU-LO.

We return again to the narrative of the pilgrim's travels as told in the Records. From the Draviḍa country, we read, he went north into a jungle, infested by troops of murderous highwaymen, passing an isolated city and a small town, and after a journey of above 2000 *li* he reached the *Kung-kin* (or *kan*)-*na-pu-lo* country. He describes this country as being above 5000 *li* and its capital above thirty *li* in circuit. It had more than 100 Buddhist monasteries and above 10000 Brethren who were students of both "Vehicles". Close to the capital was a large monastery with above 300 Brethren all men of great distinction. In the temple of this monastery was a tiara of Prince Sarvārthasiddha (that is, the prince who afterwards became Gautama Buddha) which was nearly two feet high adorned with gems and enclosed in a case; on festival days it was exhibited and worshipped, and it could emit a bright light. In the temple of another monastery near the capital was a sandal-wood image of Maitreya made by the arhat Sroṇaviṃśatikoṭi. To the north of the capital was a wood of tāla trees above thirty *li* in circuit, and within the wood was a tope where the Four Past Buddhas had sat and walked for exercise, and near this was the tope over the relics of Śroṇaviṃśatikoṭi. Near the capital on the east side was a tope which had associations with the Buddha's preaching; to the south-west of the capital were an Asoka tope at the spot where Śroṇaviṃśatikoṭi made miraculous exhibitions and had many converts, and beside the tope the remains of a monastery built by that arhat.

In the Chinese text of this passage for the *Kung-kin* (or *kan*)-*na-pu-lo* of the other texts, the D has *Tu* (that is, *Da*) *kan-na-pu-lo*, the Life has *Kan* (or *Kin*)-*na-pu-lo*, and the Fang-chih has *Kung-ta-na-pu-lo*; but we may

regard *Kung-kin* (or *kan*)-*ṅa-pu-lo*, as the correct reading, the variations being probably misprints or copyists' errors. The original name has been restored as Koṅkaṇapur, and the restoration has been generally accepted. In all texts of the Records, and in the Fang-chih, the direction from Draviḍa is given as north, but the Life makes it to have been north-west. M. Saint-Martin, Cunningham, and their successors all adopt the direction given in the Life, passing over the statement in the Records. Saint-Martin thinks it possible that Banavasi (or Vānavasa) may have been the Koṅkaṇa-city of our pilgrim.[1] Cunningham suggests "Annagundhi on the northern bank of the Tungabhadra river" as the capital of the country, and Fergusson can only refer the capital to some place in Mysore.[2] Mr. Burgess is disposed to seek for Koṅkaṇapur about Kopal or Kokanūr (? Koṅkanūr) which is 310 miles as the crow flies from Kāñchi and 335 miles from Nāsik;" this seems to be also the present opinion of Dr. Fleet who was at one time disposed to identify Koṅkaṇapur with Karnūl.[3] But these identifications seem to be all beset with difficulties. The country Koṅkaṇa was in the southern division of the Bṛihat Samhitā, and Alberuni places it in the south near the sea.[4] If we could adopt the reading of the D text viz-*Tu* (荼) or *Ch'a* (茶) for *Kung*, the original would be a word like Dakkanapura or Thakkanapura.

The pilgrim describes the country as having a fertile soil yielding good crops, with a hot climate; its inhabitants were of swarthy complexion and had rude rough ways, but they were fond of intellectual and moral acquirements.

Our pilgrim here, as before, gives "Heard 200 koṭi", instead of "Heard twenty koṭi", as the translation of the name Śroṇa (or Śrota)-viṃśatikoṭi.

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[1] Julien, III, p. 401.

[2] A. G. I. p. 552; Fergusson, op. c., p. 267.

[3] Ind. Ant. Vol. XXIII, p. 28 and XXII, p. 115.

[4] Alberuni, Vol. I, p. 301; Ind. Ant. Vol. XXII, p. 182.

MO-HA-LA-CH'A (MAHÂRÂSHTRA).

Continuing his narrative the pilgrim relates that "north-west from this he entered a great forest-wilderness ravaged by wild beasts and harried by banded robbers, and travelling 2400 or 2500 *li* he came to the *Mo-ha-la-ch'a* (or *t'a*) country". This country, he tells us, was 6000 *li* in circuit and its capital, which had a large river on its west side, was above thirty *li* in circuit. The inhabitants were proud-spirited and warlike, grateful for favours and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards suppliants in distress and sanguinary to death with any who treated them insultingly. Their martial heroes who led the van of the army in battle went into conflict intoxicated, and their war-elephants were also made drunk before an engagement. Relying on the strength of his heroes and elephants the king treated neighbouring countries with contempt. He was a kshatriya by birth, and his name was *Pu-lo-ki-shê* (Pulakeśa, Julien). The benevolent sway of this king reached far and wide, and his vassals served him with perfect loyalty. The great king Śîlâditya at this time was invading east and west, and countries far and near were giving in allegiance to him, but *Mo-ha-la-ch'a* refused to become subject to him. The people were fond of learning, and they combined orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Of Buddhist monasteries there were above 100 and the Brethren, who were adherents of both Vehicles, were more than 5000 in number. Within and outside the capital were five Asoka topes where the Four Past Buddhas had sat and walked for exercise; and there were innumerable other topes of stone or brick. Not far from the south of the capital was an old monastery in which was a stone image of Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa of marvellous efficacy. In the east of this country was a mountain range, ridges one above another in succession, tiers of peaks and sheer summits. Here was a monastery the base of which was in a dark defile, and its lofty halls and deep chambers were quarried in the cliff and rested on the peak, its tiers of halls and storeyed terraces had the cliff on their back and faced the ravine. This monastery had been built by the A-chê-lo (Âchâra) of West India. The pilgrim then relates the circumstances in Âchâra's life which led to the building of the monastery. Within the establishment, he adds, was a large temple above 100 feet high in which was a stone image of the Buddha above seventy feet high; the image was surmounted by a tier of seven canopies unattached and unsupported, each canopy separated from the one above it by the space of three feet. The walls of this temple had depicted on them the incidents of the Buddha's career as Bodhisattva,

including the circumstances of his attaining bodhi and the omens attending his final passing away, all great and small were here delineated. Outside the gate of the monastery, on either side north and south, was a stone elephant, and the pilgrim was informed that the bellowing of these elephants caused earthquakes. The P'usa Ch'ên-na or Diṅnāga stayed much in this monastery.

The *Mo-ho-la-ch'a* of this passage has been restored as Mahārāshṭra, but the Chinese transcription seems to represent a local form like Mahāraṭṭha. Various identifications have been proposed for the capital by St. Martin, Cunningham, and Fergusson, and Messrs Fleet and Burgess seem to agree in thinking that it was at Nāsik or thereabouts.[1]

As to Āchāra's great monastery in the east part of the country Mr. Burgess and others are confident that the pilgrim's description applies to the Ajaṇṭā caves.[2] This may be so, but it may be doubted whether the Achala of the inscription given by Mr. Burgess is the A-chê-lo of the pilgrim's description. This inscription merely states that "The ascetic Sthavira Achala, who glorified the faith and was grateful, caused to be built a mountain-dwelling for the Teacher, though his wishes were fulfilled". It is to be noted, however, that the pilgrim does not use the translation *so-hsing*, and his transcription may, as Mr. Burgess contends, represent Achala. All commentators on the pilgrim's account of this monastery seem to assume that he did not go to it, and the silence of the Life is in favour of the assumption. But the description, especially the part which tells of the temple of the monastery, seems to favour the view that he made a personal visit, and this view is apparently supported by the distance and direction of the pilgrim's next journey. There is not a word in the text to warrant the statement that he describes the monastery from report, and it was apparently on the spot

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[1] Ind. Ant. Vol. XXII, p. 113 and XXIII, p. 28.

[2] Arch. Sur. West India chs. IX, X; Cave Temples of India, p. 185 and p. 280 ff.

that he learned its history, and heard the unsatisfactory explanations ·· its marvels.[1]

PO-LU-KA-CHE-P'O .(BHAROCH).

Going on with his narrative the pilgrim relates that "from this he went west above 1000 *li* (about 200 miles), crossed the *Nai-mo-t'ê* river, and came to the *Po-lu-kie(ka)-che-p'an* (or *p'o*) country. This was 2400 or 2500 *li* in circuit, and its capital above twenty *li*; the soil was brackish and vegetation was sparse; salt was made by boiling sea-water, and the people were supported by the sea; they were mean and deceitful, ignorant and believers in both orthodoxy and heterodoxy. There were above ten Buddhist monasteries with 300 Brethren, all students of the Mahāyānist Sthavira school.

The Life makes the pilgrim travel *north-west* from Mahārashṭra, and this is probably more correct than the *west* of the above passage. The name of the country here transcribed was restored by Julien as "Barou-gatchéva" which St. Martin made "Vāroukatcheva",[2] and Cunningham regarded it as the "Bhārukachha" of the old inscriptions.[3] This country is no doubt the Bharukaccha of the Dīpavamsa, and later Pali books,[4] but in the form Bharukacchapa as found in the Bṛihat Saṃhitā.[5] It is the modern Bharōch or Broach at the mouth of the Narbada, the Nai-mo-t'ê of our pilgrim. From Ajaṇṭā to Broach the distance is about 200 miles, and the direction is northwesterly. So we are perhaps justified in regarding the "from this" of the text as meaning from the mountain of Āchāra's monastery, a place to which the pilgrim would naturally be attracted, and at which he may have spent some days.

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[1] This country is the Mahāraṭṭha of Dīpavaṃsa VIII and of Vinaya Vol. III, p. 314.

[2] Julien, III, p. 400 ff.

[3] A. G. I. p. 326.

[4] Dīpavaṃsa IX, 26; Jātaka *passim*, See Index at VII, 116

[5] See Böhtlingk-Roth, *sub voce*.

MO-LA-P'O (MÂLAVA).

The narrative in the Records proceeds to relate that from Bharukachcha the pilgrim went north-west above 2000 *li* to the *Mo-la-p'o* country. This is described as being above 6000 *li* in circuit, and its capital as being above thirty *li* in circuit. It was situated on the south-east side of the *Mo-ha* river. The people were of a gentle disposition, and for the most part very intelligent, of refined speech and with a liberal education. *Mo-la-p'o* in the south-west, and Magadha in the north-east, were the two countries of India in which learning was prized. In this country virtue was esteemed and humanity respected, and the intellectually clever were zealous students; there was miscellaneous belief in orthodoxy and heterodoxy. There were some hundreds of monasteries, and more than 20 000 Brethren belonging to the Sammatîya school of the Hînayâna; of Deva-temples there were some hundreds, and the adherents of the various sects were very numerous, the majority being Pâśupatas. The local records told of a king, by name Śîlâditya, who had reigned over the country 60 years before the pilgrim's arrival, a monarch of great administrative ability, and of rare kindness and compassion. By the side of his palace this king had built a Buddhist temple, extremely artistic in structure and ornament, in which were images of the Seven Buddhas. Every year a great religious assembly was summoned, the Brethren from all sides being called together. The four matters of service to the Brethren were carefully attented to, and these were presented with the three robes and religious requisites, or with precious valuables. This fine work had been continued for successive generations without interruption. Above twenty *li* north-west from the capital was the "brahmin's town", and beside it the "Pit of Descent"; the torrents of summer and autumn never fill the latter, and at its side was a small tope. The pilgrim then gives the local legend of the proud blasphemous brahmin of the town who went down alive into hell at the spot where the Pit appeared. This brahmin had been vanquished in public discussion by the bhikshu Bhadraruchi, who was a consummate logician, and well versed in the non-Buddhist śâstras. When the king condemned the defeated brahmin to be exposed, as an impostor, to a cruel death the bhikshu interceded, and obtained a mitigation of the punishment. He then went to see the brahmin to give him support and consolation in his shame and degradation, but the brahmin gave vent to his passion, vilified the "Great Vehicle" and abused former saints; while he was still speaking the earth parted, and he descended alive, leaving this trace (i. e. the Pit) of his descent.

A note added to the text at the beginning of this passage tells us that another name for this country was "South *Lo*", and a note to the passage in the Life calls it "South *Lo-lo*". For the characters read *mo-la-p'o* here we must suppose on original like Mālabha or Mālava, but we cannot properly regard this name as covering the modern district of Malwa. It has not been ascertained yet what was the precise situation, and what is the modern designation, of the South Lo or Mālava country.[1] This (or as Julien translates, its capital), according to the pilgrim, lay to the south-east of the river called *Mo-ha* in all the texts (except D), and in the Fang-chih. In the D text we have *Mo-hi* which is the name of a well known river. The observation which the pilgrim makes in the above passage about the fame of Mālava and Magadha is apparently a quotation from some one who lived between those two countries, *i.e.* Magadha is uniformly described as being in Mid-India, not in the north-east. The Mālava of the present passage may perhaps be the Mālava of some passages of Tāranātha, but it cannot be the Mālava in Prayāga.

Of the great Buddhist scholar and controversialist here mentioned by the name Bhadraruchi, (translated *Hsien-ai* (賢愛) or "Eminent affection") nothing seems to be known beyond what we learn from our pilgrim's narrative. Yuan-chuang styles this man "a bhikshu of West India", and the Bhadraruchi of our passage seems to resemble in some circumstances the Bhadrānanda of Tāranātha.

A-T'A-LI.

Proceeding with his narrative the pilgrim relates that "south-west from this he entered an estuary, and going north-west 2400 or 2500 *li* he arrived at the *A-t'a*(or *-ch'a*)-*li* country". This, he states, was above 6000 *li* in circuit, and its capital was above twenty *li* in circuit. The inhabitants were rich and flourishing, they were more traders than farmers; the soil was sandy and brackish and fruits and flowers were rare. The country

[1] See A. G. I. p. 490; Fergusson op. c. p. 270; Fleet op. c. p. 184.

produced a pepper-tree the leaves of which were like those of the *Shu-chiao*, and also the olibanum tree the leaves of which were like those of the *t'ang-li*. The climate was hot, and there was much wind and dust; the people were mean-spirited, prizing wealth and slighting moral worth. In speech and writing, and in social regulations and laws the inhabitants resembled those of Mālava; the majority did not believe in happiness (i. e. religious merit) but there were some who did; they worshipped Devas and of Deva-temples there were some more than ten (or. according to the B text, more than 1000); the followers of the various systems lived pell-mell.

The term here rendered by "estuary" is *hai-chiao* (海交) which Julien translates "confluent de deux mers". This may be right but the expression denotes rather a place where a river joins the sea and so forms an estuary. In the Fang-chih instead of *hai-chiao* we have *hai-tao* or "sea-way", and the clause is a separate sentence—"from this, south-west, is an entrance to the sea". This may be the correct interpretation, the pilgrim merely making the general statement that there was a seaport or an estuary on the south-west side of the capital, and his description evidently applies to a maritime district. In the Life the estuary to the south-west is not mentioned, and the pilgrim proceeds north-west from Mālava, or rather from the brahmin's city, twently *li* to the north-west of the capital, direct to *A-t'a-li*. Although there does not seem to be anything in the texts to support the view, yet we may with some probability assume that the pilgrim did not actually proceed to this country; there was no Buddhist sacred spot in it to attract him, and it was out of his way. Julien restores the original name of the country as Aṭali, but the characters may represent a word like Aḍal, or Akshal, or Aṭli, and the country here described still remains unidentified. It produced, the pilgrim tells us, a pepper-tree which had leaves like the *Shu* (that is, Ssŭ-chuan)-*chiao*, a species of Xanthoxylon, the fruit of which possesses properties like those of the pepper-plant. There was also the olibanum tree which he calls *hün-lu* (熏陸), a Chinese transcription of the Turkish word *ghyunluk*, as Dr. Hirth

has shown. This tree, the pilgrim states, had leaves like the *t'ang-li* (棠 梨), a name applied in China to a Pyrus and other trees. By his statement that "the majority of the people did not believe in happiness", he merely wished to intimate that they did not believe in karma, and so were not Buddhists.

K'I-T'A.

The narrative in the Records goes on to relate that from Mālava the pilgrim went north-west above 300 *li* (or, according to D, three days) to the *K'i-t'a*(or *ch'a*) country. This was above 3000, and its capital above 20 *li*, in circuit. It was a rich district subject to Mālava to which it bore a resemblance. There were above ten Buddhist monasteries with more than 1000 Brethren who were adherents of both "Vehicles"; and there were numerous members of other religions, with several tens of Deva-temples.

In the Life the pilgrim goes on from Aṭali to *K'i-t'a*, and it makes the journey one of three days in a north-west direction; but the Fang-chih agrees with the Records in placing K'i-t'a three days' journey (that is, 300 *li*) north-west from Mālava. There thus a serious difference between the Life and the other authorities Julien suggests Khach as the possible restoration of the native name of the country. Cunningham in his usual manner alters the 300 *li* of the Chinese traveller to 1300 *li*, and makes K'i-t'a to be Kheda, "the true Sanskrit form of *Kaira* a large town of Gujarāt, situated between Ahmedabād and Khambay".[1] Fergusson dissents from this, and is inclined to place K'i-t'a about Cambay.[2] But there does not seem to be much in favour of either of these proposals, and the Khach, that is, Cutch, of Julien and St. Martin may be considered. In the Brihat-Samhitā there is a southern country called Kachchha which in Dr. Fleet's words. "is evidently the modern Kach, *vulgo* Cutch".[3]

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[1] A. G. I. p. 492.
[2] op. c. p. 272.
[3] Fleet op. c. p. 179.

FA-LA-P'I.

> Our narrative in the Records proceeds to tell that from K'i-t'a the pilgrim went north above 1000 *li* to *Fa-la-p'i*. This country, 6000 *li*, with its capital above 30 *li* in circuit, resembled Mālava in products, climate, and the character and ways of the people; and it was very rich and prosperous. It had above 100 Buddhist monasteries with 6000 Brethren adherents of the Hīnayāna Sammatīya school; of Deva-temples there were some hundreds, and the adherents of the various systems were very numerous. While Ju-lai was in the world he often visited this country, and so Asoka had set up topes at all the places where the Buddha had stayed in order to commemorate the event. There were also traces of the Three Past Buddhas having sat, and walked up and down, and preached. The reigning sovereign was of Kshatriya birth, a nephew of Śīlāditya the former king of Mālava, and a son-in-law of the Śīlāditya reigning at Kanyākubja; his name was *Tu-lo-p'o-po-t'a*; he was of a hasty temper and of shallow views, but he was a sincere believer in Buddhism. Not far from the capital was a large monastery erected by Āchāra in which the P'usas Guṇamati and Sthiramati had lodged, and composed treatises which had great vogue.

The *Fa-la-p'i* of this passage, said in a note to the text to have been called also "North Lo-lo", has been restored as Valabhi (or Balabhi). Cunningham and others regard Bhaonagar (Bhaunagar) in the east part of Gujarāt as the site of the city Valabhi,[1] but Fergusson gives good reasons for not accepting this identification.[2] The "Lo-lo" of the Chinese annotator to our text may perhaps be for *Lāṭa* the name of a country which "corresponds to what might now be called Central and southern Gujarāt".[3] In his "Indian Empire" (p. 229) Hunter writes that "the Valabhi's ruled over Cutch, north-western Bombay, and Mālwā from 480 to after 722 A. D.".

In the passage with which we are now concerned the pilgrim calls the reigning sovereign of Valabhi "a nephew of Sīlāditya formerely king of Mālava". For the word *formerly* here the original is *hsi* (昔) which has the meaning

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[1] A. G. I. p. 317.

[2] op. c. p. 272.

[3] Fleet op. c. p. 188.

of *former* or *formerly*. But the B text and it alone, has instead of *hsi* the character *chi* (皆) meaning "all"; as the construction shows, this is evidently a printer's or copyist's mistake, and it makes nonsense; this mistake caused the serious misunderstanding of the passage to be found in Julien's translation. The king on the throne was the nephew and successor of the good king Śilāditya, who reigned in the latter part of the sixth century and about sixty years before the time of Yuan-chuang's visit, ruling over Mālava and Valabhi. He was also, the pilgrim tells us, "a son-in-law of the Śilāditya reigning then at Kanyākubja". Here the words rendered "son-in-law" are *tzŭ-hsü* (子壻) and Julien took these to mean "son-in-law, of son", but the phrase means simply "son-in-law", and the Life employs the common term *nü-hsü* (女壻). Julien transcribes the name of the reigning king by "T'u-lo-p'o-po-tu" and he restores the name as Dhruvapaṭu; this agrees with the translation *Ch'ang-jui* (常叡), or "permanent acuteness", added in a note to the text. But the name is *Tu-lo-p'o-po-t'a or-ch'a* (杜魯婆跋吒) which is perhaps for Dhruvabhaṭṭa. In the Life we have the same transcription but a different rendering, viz. *ti-ch'ou* (帝胄) that is, "Indra's(?) helmet", and this seems to require a different restoration of the original.

The builder of the large monastery near the capital was the arhat A-che-lo of previous passages, and instead of Āchāra the name ought perhaps to be restored as Achala.

ĀNANDAPURA.

The pilgrim's narrative goes on to relate that "from this" (that is, the capital of Valabhi) he went north-west above 700 *li* to *A-nan-t'o-pu-lo* (Ānandapura). This country was above 2000 *li*, and its capital above 20 *li* in circuit, and it was rich and flourishing. It was a dependency of Mālava, and like that country in products, climate, written language, and institutions. In it there were more than ten Monasteries with nearly 1000 Brethren belonging to the Hinayānist Sammatīya school.

It is not certain that Yuan-chuang actually visited this district, but there is nothing in the text or in the Life

to indicate that he is describing merely from report. Cunningham proposes to identify the country with "the triangular tract lying between the mouth of the Banās river on the west and the Sābarmati river on the east".[1] The city of Ānandupura is probably the *Huan-hsi-ch'êng*, or "city of joy", mentioned as the capital of Hai-t'ien (海天) or "Sāgaradeva", one of the mythical royal ancestors of the Buddha.[2]

SU-LA-CH'A (SURAT).

Our pilgrim next relates that from the Valabhi country a journey of above 500 *li* west brought him to the *Su-la-ch'a* (or -*tha*) country. This he describes as being above 4000 *li* in circuit, and its capital above 30 *li*; it had the *Mo-hi* river on its west side; the inhabitants were rich and flourishing; it was subject to Mālava; the soil was brackish, and fruit and flower were scarce; although heat and cold were uniform, storms made disturbance; the people were of a rude violent nature, did not care for education, and their belief embraced orthodoxy and heterodoxy. There were more than 50 monasteries with above 3000 Brethren, the majority being students of the Mahāyānist Sthavira system, the Deva-temples were above 100 in number, and the sectaries lived pell-mell. As the country was on the highway to the sea all its inhabitants utilized the sea and were traders by profession. Near the capital was the *Yüh-shan-to* hill on the top of which was a monastery with most of its various buildings quarried in the cliff; it was densely planted and watered by running streams; it was visited by saints and sages and in it congregated supernatural rishis.

Julien restored the *Su-la-ch'a* (or-*t'a*) of this passage as Surāshṭra, the modern Kāthiāwāḍ. Here again we have a book-term ascribed to the pilgrim who apparently uses the local or popular name. It would be better to read Surath or Suraṭha, the latter being the form used in the Andhra inscription of Nāsik. In the Life the direction from Valabhi to Suraṭha is north-west (instead of the west of the present passage) the distance being the same. All texts of this passage have the reading *Mo-hi*

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[1] A. G. I. p. 494.

[2] Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shi, *ch*. I.

as the name of the river which was on the west of the country, or of the capital according to Julien's interpretation. The hill here called *Yüh-shan (or Yhu-shen)-to* was restored by Julien as Ujjanta. Cunningham states that this is the Pali form of Ujjayanta, and identifies the pilgrim's hill with the mountain of that name in Surāshtra—"the Girinar hill that rises above the old city of Junagarh".[1] "This city, called by other writers, Junāgadh, is supposed to correspond to our pilgrim's capital of his Surat. The name of the hill is also given as Ujjinta, which is nearer the Chinese transcription, and it was on this peak that the Jaina Arhat named Nemi died at a very advanced age.[2] It may be noted that the Fang-chih does not give the name of this hill, and the Life has no particulars about the country.

Here again the pilgrim uses the expression "Mahāyānist Sthaviras", but the Fang-chih has only the single term "Sthavira"

KÜ-CHE-LO.

Our pilgrim next relates that from the Valabhi country he travelled above 1800 *li* north to the *Ku-che-lo* country. This, he states, was more than 5000 *li* in circuit, and its capital named *Pi-lo-mo-lo* was above 30 *li* in circuit. The country was like Surath in its products and the ways of the people. It had a flourishing population in good circumstances, mostly non-Buddhists, only a few believing in Buddhism. There was only one Buddhist, monastery with above 100 Brethren who were adherents of the Hīnayānist Sarvāstivādin School. There were some tens of Deva-Temples, and the adherents of the various religions lived pell-mell. The king, who was a Kshatriya by birth, was a young man celebrated for his wisdom and valour, and he was a profound believer in Buddhism, and a patron of exceptional abilities

In the Life the pilgrim is represented as starting not from Valabhi, but from Surath and he goes thence north-east 1800 *li* to Ku-che-lo; the text of the passage reads—

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[1] A. G. I. p. 325. I cannot trace any such Pali form as Ujjanta It is not in the list of names in the Julien Pali, Text Soc. 1888

[2] Colebrooke, 'Essays' Vol. II, p. 191.

"from this (that is Surat) going north-east 1800 *li*". In several editions of the Life the word for *this* has been left out, but it is in the D text. Then the Fang-chih agrees with the Records in making Ku-che-lo to be 1800 *li* to the north of Valabhi. Julien restores the Sanskrit name of the country as "Gurjjara", but the pilgrim probably transcribed a name like Guchala or Guchara. The name here given to the capital probably stands for a word like *Bhilmala*, and according to Saint-Martin the name is preserved in the modern Balmair (or Barmer or Bālmer). This city, Cunningham tells us, is "exactly 300 miles to the north of the ruins of Balabhi".[1]

WU-SHÊ-YEN-NA (UJAYANA?).

The narrative in the Records continues and relates that the pilgrim proceeded south-east from Guchala, and after a journey of above 2800 *li*, arrived at the *Wu-she-yen-na* country. This country he describes as being above 6000 *li*, and its capital as being above 30 *li*, in circuit; in its products and in the ways of the people it resembled Suraṭh; it had a rich and flourishing population. There were some tens of Buddhist Monasteries, of which the majority were in ruins, and only three or four were in a state of preservation; the Brethren, who were students of both "Vehicles", were above 300 in number; there were some tens of Deva-Temples, and the non-Buddhists lived pell-mell. The king was of the brahmin caste; he was well learned in heterodox lore, but was not a Buddhist. Not far from the capital was a tope at the place where Asoka had made a Hell (that is, a jail like a hell, as before).

The *Wu-she-yen-na* of this passage, restored as Ujayana, is generally supposed to be the wellknown Ujain or Ujjen.[2] In some of the canonical scriptures Ujain, written Wu-she-ni (優禪尼), is to the west of Kanoj, which lies between Ujain and Benares, and then between Ujain and Rājagaha lay the Kosāmbi district.[3] This Chinese transcription may represent the Pali word Ujjeni, the name of the

[1] A. G. I. p. 312.
[2] A. G. I. p. 489.
[3] Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih, *ch.* 26.

capital of Avanti which was the residence of Asoka when he was Governor of Avanti.[1] If this Ujjeni be the Ujayana of our pilgrim we can understand the presence of a tope at the place where Asoka had a hell-prison.

CHIH-CHI-T'O.

Going on with his narrative the pilgrim relates that he went north-east from Ujayana above 1000 *li* to *Chih-chi-t'o* (Julien's *Chi-ki-t'o*). This country was above 4000 *li*, and its capital about 15 *li*, in circuit; the soil was rich, the crops were abundant, and pulse and wheat were products. The majority of the people were not Buddhists, but there were some tens of monasteries with a few Brethren; there were above ten Deva-temples and 1000 professed adherents of the other systems. The king, who was a brahmin, was a firm believer in Buddhism, and encouraged men of merit, and learned scholars of other lands collected here in numbers.

A note added to our text places this country in "South India". The Fang-chih makes the pilgrim go *east* from Ujayana 1000 *li* to this Chih-chi-t'o, but the Life and all the texts of the Records have *north-east*. Chitore is said to be the modern representative of Chih-chi-t'o. Cunningham identifies this with the kingdom of Jajhoti, the capital of which was Kajurāha or Kajūra which corresponds "with the modern district of Bundelkhand".[2]

MAHEŚVARAPURA.

The narrative proceeds to relate that from *Chih-chi-t'o* the pilgrim went north above 900 *li* to *Mo-hi-ssŭ-fa-lo-pu-lo* (Maheśvarapura). This country was above 3000 *li*, and its capital was above 30 *li*, in circuit. In its products and the ways of the people it resembled Ujayana; the people were not Buddhists; there were a few score Deva-temples, and the majority belonged to the Pāśupatas. The king was a brahmin, and was not a believer in Buddhism.

All the texts and the Fang-chih give the direction of this country from Chih-chi-t'o as *north*, but the Life makes

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[1] Dip. V, 15; Vin. Mah. VIII, 1, 27; Mah. *che*. V and XIII.
[2] A. G. I. p. 481; J. III, p. 408.

it *north-east*, the distance being the same. Cunningham in his usual manner changes *north* to *south*, and then finds our pilgrim's Maheśvarapura corresponds to the old town of *Mandala*, "the original capital of the country on the upper Narbada".[1] This "Śiva's city" is said to have been in "Mid India", but it does not seem to have been known by this name to other authors.

SINDH.

The narrative in the Records proceeds to state that the pilgrim went back from Maheśvarapura to Guchala and from that proceeded north again through a wild rugged region for 1900 *li* and crossing the *Sin-tu* (Sindh) river reached the country with the same name. Yuan-chuang describes Sindh as being above 7000 *li* in circuit and its capital, *Pi-shan-p'o-pu-lo* by name, as above thirty *li* in circuit. The products of the country were early wheat (in B text, millet and wheat), gold, silver, *t'u-shih*, and it had oxen, and sheep, and dromedaries, and mules; it yielded also various kinds of salt, red white, and black, and a white rock-salt; the people of various foreign countries used the salt as medicine. The inhabitants were quick-tempered but upright, quarrelsome and vituperative and of superficial learning; they were thorough believers in Buddhism. There were several hundreds of monasteries and above 10000 Brethren all of the Hīnayānist Sammatīya school. Most of these were indolent worthless persons; of the superior Brethren who, leading lives of lonely seclusion, never relaxed in perseverance, many attained arhatship. There were above thirty Deva-Temples and the various sectaries lived pell-mell. The king, who was of the Sudra caste, was a sincere man and a believer in Buddhism. The Buddha while in this world had travelled in this country, and Asoka had erected some tens of topes as memorials of his visits; there were also monasteries or topes erected where the great arhat Upagupta, who often visited this country, had preached and taught. Among the low marshes near the *Sin-tu* (Sindh, Indus) for above 1000 *li* were settled some myriads of families of ferocious disposition, who made the taking of life their occupation, and supported themselves by rearing cattle; they had no social distinctions and no government; they shaved off their hair and wore the bhikshu garb, looking like bhikshus yet living

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[1] A. G. I. p. 488.

in the world; they were bigoted in their narrow views and reviled the "Great Vehicle". According to local accounts the ancestors of this people were originally cruel and wicked and were converted by a compassionate arhat who received them into the Buddhist communion; they thereupon ceased to take life, shaved their heads and assumed the dress of Buddhist mendicants; in the course of time, however, the descendants of these men had gone back to their old ways, but they still remained outwardly bhikshus.

In this passage, the reader will observe, the pilgrim presents himself as having gone back from Maheśvara Guchala, and to have continued his journey thence north Sindh. B it the Life makes him return from Maheśvara Suratha and go from that to *A-tien-p'o-ki-lo.* thence to *Lang-ka-lo* and Pitośila and Avanta, and then from is last east 700 *li* to Sindh. Julien suggests Vichavapura possibly the original for the name of the capital here anscribed *P'i-shan-p'o-pu-lo*, and other restorations have en- proposed, but no one seems to be perfectly satisctory. The name given in our text moreover may have en a book name, and not current among the people at e time. Cunningham takes it to be another name for lor the capital of Upper Sindh about this period.[1] eneral Haig writes—"Hiuen Tsang's Sindh, in fact, is t the Sindh of any period known to history, and his scription of it is wholly irreconcileable with the facts ich we gather from the contemporary history embodied the "Tārikh Hind-wa-Sind".[2] He thinks that Julien's n-tu country must have included the Salt Range, and at its capital must be looked for somewhere in the erajāt. In a Dhārani Sūtra the "Mālava (*Mo-la-wan*) untry and the Indus-river city" are mentioned, along ith other districts, as places in which "Perfection" may ay be sought.[3] According to I-ching *Sin-tu* and *Lo-t'u*, r *-ch'a*) or Sindh and Lāta, were in West India and

[1] J. III, p. 409; A. G. I. p. 249 and 269.
[2] „The Indus Delta Country", p. 84.
[3] Fo-shuo-ta-pei &c. *ch.* 2 (No. 1060).

Sindh lay between Kapis and Lāṭa, the latter being in Central Gujarat according to Professor Bühler.[1]

As to the strange inhabitants in the lowlands along the Indus the Fan-chih gives an account slightly different from the pilgrim's. The Fang-chih places the tribe on the side of the Black (*Wu* 烏) River, and makes the people to have been sheep-rearers; it adds that all of them, male and female, shaved off their hair, wore the monk's garb, and were outwardly bhikshus.

MOU-LO-SAN-PU-LU.

> The narrative in the Records proceeds to tell that Yuan-chuang from Sindh went east above 900 *li* and *crossing* to the east bank of the Indus came to the *Mou-lo-san-pu-lu* country. This country was above 4000 *li* and its capital above 30 *li* in circuit; it was a dependency of the *Che-ka* (Teka) country. It had a good soil and a mild climate; it had upright inhabitants who liked learning and led moral lives, but only a few of them were Buddhists. Of above ten monasteries most were in ruins and only a few had Brethren. Among the temples of other religions was a magnificent one to the Sun-deva; the image was of gold ornamented with precious substances, it had marvellous powers and its merits had extended far; there was a constant succession of females performing music, lights were kept burning all night, and incense and flowers were *continually* offered; the kings and grandees of all India gave precious substances as religious offerings and erected free Rest-houses with food, drink, and medicine for the sick and needy. At this temple there were constantly 1000 pilgrims from various lands offering up prayers. All round the temple were tanks and flowery woods making a delightful resort.

The *Mou-lo-san-pu-lu* of this passage has been tentatively restored by Julien as Mulasambhura, but this does not seem to be quite correct. It is better, however, than the Mūlasthānipura of St. Martin and others, which is evidently an impossible restoration.[2] This Mūlasthānipura is the modern Multan which is far to the *north* of Sindh, whereas the *Mou-lo-san-pu-lu* of the Records is 900 *li* (about

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[1] Hsi-yü-ch'in, *ch.* 1; Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 1, and Takakusu pp. 9, 217.
[2] See Julien III, p. 410; A. G. I. p. 231 ff.

180 miles) to the *east* of that country. The Chinese characters seem to represent a word like Morasampuru or Molasampul, the name not being necessarily a pure Sanskrit word. The Teka country to which this district was subject has already been mentioned in *Chuan* IV (above Vol. 1, pp. 286—291). This *Mou-lo-san-pu-lu* country was probably commonly known by some other name.

PO-FA-TO.

Continuing the account the Records tell us that from *Mou-lo-san-pu-lu* the pilgrim went north-east above 700 *li* to the *Po-fa-to* country. This was, he relates, above 5000 *li* in circuit and its capital above 20 *li*; it was well peopled; was subject to the Teka country; its productions were upland rice, pulse, and wheat. There were above ten Buddhist monasteries and 1000 Brethren adherents of the two "Vehicles"; and there were four topes built by Asoka. By the side of the capital was a large monastery with above 100 Brethren all Mahāyānists. In this monastery the Śāstra-Master *Shên-na-fuh-ta-lo* (Jinaputra) composed the "Yü-ka-shih-ti-shih-lun", and in it the Śāstra-Masters *Hsien-ai* (Bhadraruchi) and *Tê-kuang* (Guṇaprabha) entered the religious life as bhikshus. This monastery was in ruins, having been burned by fire from heaven.

The *Po-fa-to* of this passage is supposed to be for *Po-lo-fa-to*, that is, Parvata. In the D text of the Life the reading is *Po-fa-to*, but in the other texts it is *Po-fa-to-lo*. In the Fang-chih this country is placed to the *east* of Mou-lo-san-pu-lu, but in all the texts of the Life and Records it is to the *north-east* of that country.

The treatise here ascribed to Jinaputra is not named correctly as its proper title, is "Yü-ka-shih-ti-lun-shih", which has been restored as "Yogāchāryabhūmi-śāstra vyākhyā(-kārikā)".[1] It is a short commentary on a part of the "Yogāchāryabhūmi-śāstra" already mentioned. On the title-page of the Chinese translation made by Yuan-chuang the work is ascribed to *Tsui-shêng-tzŭ* (Jinaputra) and other p'usas. The treatise mentions works by Nāgā-

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[1] Bunyiu Nanjio, No. 1201.

-rjuna, Deva, and Asanga, and we may with some probability assign Jinaputra to the second half of the sixth century A. D.

From the Life we learn that the pilgrim found a few learned Brethren in this place and remained two years studying the "Sammatīya-mūla-Abhidharma", the "Shê-chêng-fa-lun (攝正法論) and the "Chiao-shih (教實)-lun". Of these the first is apparently the No. 1272 of Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue, and the names of the others are apparently not in the Catalogue.

A-TIEN-P'O-CHIH-LO.

The pilgrim next relates that from Sindh he travelled south-west 1500 or 1600 *li* to the *A-tien-p'o-chih-lo* country This he describes as being above 5000 *li* in circuit. Its capital named *Kie(ka)-chi-ssŭ-fa-lo* was above 30 *li* in circuit; it was away in the west on the Sin-tu (Indus) and near the sea; its houses were handsome and rarities abounded. The country had latterly been without a sovereign and was under Sindh. The land was low and moist and the soil saltish. There were above 80 monasteries with above 5000 Brethren the most of whom were of the Hīnayānist Sammatīya school. In the capital was a large handsomely ornamented Maheśvara Temple, the image in which had supernatural powers. As the Buddha had preached and taught in this land, Asoka had raised six topes in places associated with the Buddha's visit.

According to the Life it was from Surath that the pilgrim going westward travelled to this country, and from Po-fa-to he went south-east back to Nālandā. The Chinese transcription *A-tien-p'o-chih-lo* has been tentatively restored by Julien as Adhyavakīla, but this cannot be right. The sounds of the characters give us rather a word like Ādīnava-chila which is a Sanskrit compound. Cunningham makes the country to be "the fourth province of Sindh which in the seventh century was *Kachh*", and he proposes to restore the Indian name as "*Audumbatira* or *Audumbara*, which Professor Lassen gives as the name of the people of Kachh". Julien restores the name of the capital as Khajīśvara, and Lassen makes it Kachchheśvara,

which is probably the correct word; but Cunningham's restoration Koṭiśvara is quite impossible.[1]

LANG-KIE(KA)-LO.

Continuing his narrative the *pilgrim* tells us that *from A-tien-p'o-chih-lo* he went west for about 2000 *li* to *Lang-ka-lo.* This country on each of its four sides was some thousands of *li* in extent, and its capital called *Su-t'u-li-ssŭ-fa-lo* (窣菟黎濕伐羅) was above 30 *li* in circuit. The country had a fertile soil yielding good crops, and in climate and popular customs it resembled *A-tien-p'o-chih-lo*; it had a flourishing population and was rich in precious substances; it was near a bay of the sea and was the way to the "West-Woman-Country"; it had no supreme government, each valley having a separate government of its own, but it was subject to Persia. Its writing was very like that of India, but the spoken language differed a little; orthodoxy and heterodoxy were both objects of belief. There were above 100 monasteries and more than 6000 Brethren who applied themselves to the study of the Great and Little "Vehicles". There were also some hundreds of Deva-temples, and very many professed Pāśupatas. In the city (i. e. the capital) was a large temple to Maheśvara, very handsome and held in great reverence by the Pāśupatas.

Julien restores the name of this country as Langala, but as the last character is sometimes omitted, the name may have been something like Lankar. For the name of the capital Julien suggests *Sūnurīśvara* as a possible restoration. But this is based on the corrupt reading of *nu* (菟) in the Chinese transcription. This character is not an authorized one, and the reading in all my texts is *t'u* (菟 or 兎), which gives us *Su-t'u-li-ssŭ-fa-lo.* This is possibly for a word like Strī-īśvara or "Woman Paramount", or the *su-t'u-li* may be for *sthul* or *sthur.* The country according to St. Martin answers to the eastern part of *Mékran*, and "a branch of the Langga tribe still exists in the north of Biluchistan near Katch-Gandava".[2] Cunningham's remarks on this country and its capital are

[1] A. G. I. p. 302; Julien, III, p. 411; Haig's 'Indus Delta Country' p. 36.
[2] Julien, III, p. 412.

in his usual style, and need not be quoted.[1] In the "T'ang Shu" we find mention of the country *Lang-ka-lo* with its capital *Su-t'u-li-ssŭ-fa-lo*, but there it is apparently in the south-east of India.[2] The "West-Woman-Country" of our text is evidently the "Strī-rājya" or "Woman-Kingdom" which is in the north-west division of the Brihat Saṃhitā.[3]

PI-TO-SHIH-LO.

Passing over the few remarks which give what our pilgrim learned about Persia, we take up the thread of his description of India.

> From *A-tien-p'o-chih-lo*, he tells us, he went north above 700 *li* to the *Pi-to-shih-lo* country. This country, he relates, was 3000 odd *li* in circuit, its capital being above twenty *li*. It had no government of its own, and was subject to Sindh. The soil was rather brackish and there were fierce cold winds; much pulse and wheat were yielded and little fruit and flower; the people were violent, their language was not that of "Mid India", they were not fond of learning, but they were true Buddhists. There were above 50 Buddhist monasteries and more than 3000 Brethren all of the Hīnayāna Sammatīya school. I an Asoka tope, in a forest about 15 *li* north from the capital, was a relic which emitted a bright light; the relic was one of the Buddha in his birth as a rishi when he was killed by the king of the country. Near this tope on the east side was an old monastery built by the great Arhat Mahākatyāyaṇa, and near this was a tope to mark the place where the Four Past Buddhas had sat and walked for exercise.

The Life represents the pilgrim as going from Lankal to this country. Julien restores the name as Pitāśilā, and Cunningham, who turns this into Pātaśila, identifies the capital with "Haidarābād or Nirankot".[4] General Haig dissents from this and suggests Nagar Pārkar, the Thar and Parkar district of West India, as the country called by the pilgrim *Pi-to-shih-lo*.[5] May not these cha-

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[1] A. G. I. p. 310.
[2] *Ch.* 221.
[3] Fleet op. c. p. 190.
[4] A. G. I. p. 279—289.
[5] op. c. p. 38.

racters be the transcription of a name like Bida (or Bhida-)-śira meaning "cleft-head"? The name may have had reference to the Jātaka of which the pilgrim makes mention, and here, as on other occasions, he may have used a Buddhist designation unknown to ordinary Indian literature.

A-FAN-T'U.

The narrative in the Records goes on to state that from Pitāśilā Yuan-chuang went north-east for more than 300 *li* to the *A-fan-t'u* (or *A-pan-ch'a*) country. This country was about 2400 *li* and its capital above 20 *li* in circuit. It had no sovereign and was under Sindh. There were above twenty Monasteries with 2000 Brethren of whom the majority belonged to the Sammatīya school; there were also five Deva-Temples of the Pāśupatas. In a bamboo-wood not far to the north-east of the capital were the remains of an old monastery; here the Buddha had given permission to bhikshus to wear shoes. Beside the monastery was an Asoka tope still 100 feet high although the foundations had sunk out of sight. At its side was a Buddhist temple in which was a dark-blue stone standing image of the Buddha which on fast-days emitted supernatural light. Above 800 paces to the south of this was an Asoka tope in a wood; the Buddha once was spending the night here and feeling cold he put on a second suit of the three robes; he next morning relaxed the rule against bhikshus wearing double (or padded) garments. In this wood was a walking place of the Buddha; there were also numerous topes in a series where the Four Past Buddhas had sat. In the topes were hair and nail relics of the Buddha which emitted bright light on fast-days.

There is some doubt as to what was the pilgrim's transcription of the name of the country here described. The B and D texts give *A-fan-t'u* (阿軬荼), and C instead of *fan* has *pên* (畚), and in some texts we have *ch'a* instead of *t'u*. The Life has *Ho*(河)-*fan-t'u*, and the Fang-chih has *Fan-ch'a*, that is, *Fan-t'a*. Julien restores the name as Avanda, and we may provisionally accept this, or Avanta. Cunningham regards the pilgrim's country as corresponding to the region of Middle Sindh or Vichala, and its capital as the old city Brāhmaṇabad.[1] General Häig is inclined

[1] A. G. I. p. 270.

to think Avaṇḍa was "somewhere in the Khairpur territory".[1]

In the statement that it was in a monastery here that the Buddha gave bhikshus permission to wear shoes the expression rendered by "shoes" is *Ki-foh-si* (罽縛屣). This term was taken by the native annotator to be a foreign one, and he interpreted it as meaning "boots" or "shoes", an interpretation which Julien naturally adopted. But the third character *si* is the common Chinese name for "sandal" or "shoe", and *Ki-foh* is a qualifying adjective. What this word means, however, is not clear, and we are not certain that the first character is correct. Instead of it one text of the Life, and the C text of the Records, have *chêng* (烝), which is apparently only a printer's mistake for *chi*, and the Fang-chih has *hu*(互)-*foh*. Considered as a foreign word *Ki-foh* has been regarded as another way of writing *Ki-p'a* (罽帊), a foreign term denoting *felt* or *coarse woollen cloth*, and supposed to be the Turkish *Kebe* with that meaning. But this does not suit the circumstances and cannot be accepted. If the *hu-foh* of the Fang-chih be the correct reading this may represent a word like the Tibetan *Kö-ba* which means "leather". But it is possible that *Ki-foh* is merely a native term not written in the usual form, and meaning "secured by strings on straps". The proper form of expression and one frequently used is *Ki* (繫 or 繋 or 係)-*foh* which means "bound" or "attached" literally and figuratively. The *Ki-foh-si* would thus be "sandals with securing garters." This agrees with the Indian name for sandal which is *upāhanā* from *upa* and *ānah*, "to tie" or bind. The sandals originally permitted to the Buddhist Brethren were probably not of leather, but of a vegetable material, although some Vinaya texts expressly state that they were of leather. Those allowed to the Brethren of Northern cold countries were of leather, and were "continued" up the legs by stripes of cloth or leather. An illustration and some very

[1] op. c. p. 38.

interesting observations will be found in Mr. W. Simpson's "Identification of the Sculptured Tope at Sanchi".[1] Now there is apparently no justification in the Buddhist canon for Yuan-chuang's statement that it was in Avanḍa that the Master granted to his disciples the indulgence of wearing foot-coverings of any kind. According to most of the Vinaya texts it was at Rājagaha that Buddha on the request of Śroṇavimsatikoṭi of Champā gave the bhikshus permission to wear single shoes, sandals with a single leather sole according to the Chinese texts. Afterwards also at Rājagaha Buddha, yielding to the petition brought by Koṭikarṇa from Avanti, a country hard, rough (and very thorny), allowed the Brethren of that land to wear several-fold sandals of leather.[2]

As to the other statement in the passage before us, that it was in Avanḍa the Buddha gave permission to the bhikshus to wear double or padded garments, this also is not in the Buddhist scriptures. In the Vinaya we read of the Buddha experiencing great cold one night near Vaiśāli, and instituting in the morning the threefold dress of the professed disciple.[3]

The *A-fan-t'u* of our author cannot be identified with the Avanti of the canon which is in some books a country in the south, in some in the east, and in some it is a vague border-land. But our Avanḍa may be the Avantaka which gave its name to the Sammatīya school, or a branch of the school.[4] This sub-school had ceased to exist before Vasubandhu's time, but we note that the pilgrim represents the majority of the Brethren in the country as being Sammatīyas.

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[1] J. R. A. S. Vol. XIV, p. 332.

[2] Vin. Mah. V, 1 and 13; Pi-ni-mu-ching, *ch.* 5 (No. 1138); Sar. Vin. P'i-ko-shih, *ch.* 1.

[3] Vin. Mah. VIII, 13; Seng-ki-lü, *ch.* 28; Ssŭ-fên-lü, *ch.* 38, 39.

[4] Rockhill, 'Life' pp. 182, 184; Wass. Bud. S. 85; Shih-pa-pu-lun (No. 1284).

FA-LA-NA.

We next read that from Avanḍa the pilgrim went north-east above 900 *li* to *Fa-la-na*. This country he describes as being over 4000 *li*, and its capital over twenty *li*, in circuit; it was well populated and was subject to Kapis. The country abounded in hills and woods, and had regular crops with a cool climate. The people were bold, fierce, and low-minded; their language had a little resemblance to that of "Mid-India"; their religion comprehended orthodoxy and heterodoxy, and they had no love for knowledge. There were some tens of Buddhist monasteries of which many were in ruins, and there were above 300 Brethren all Mahāyānists; there were also five Deva-Temples chiefly belonging to the Pāśupatas. Near the capital on the south side was an old monastery where the Buddha had preached and gladdened and stimulated mortals; beside it were places where the Four Past Buddhas had sat and walked for exercise. The pilgrim adds that he was informed by local report that adjoining this country on the west was the *Ki-kiang-na* (稽疆那) country among mountain valleys, with local chiefs and no supreme sovereign. This country abounded in sheep and horses, including a breed of excellent horses very large and highly prized by other lands.

The *Fa-la-na* of this passage may be restored as Varaṇa (Julien) or as Varṇa. St. Martin thinks the country corresponds to the modern Vanêh in the middle part of the river Gumal's course. Cunningham confidently identifies Varaṇa with Banu (Bannu) in the Kuram river district; he also regards it as identical with Fa-hsien's *Po-na*.[1] The *Ki-kiang-na* of the above passage has been supposed to be an unknown district called Kaikānān and Kikān, and conjectured by Cunningham to be "somewhere in the vicinity of Pishin and Kwetta". But all these proposed identifications by Cunningham are open to serious exceptions, and they do not seem to be reconcileable among themselves. According to the Life when the pilgrim left Avanḍa he proceeded east 700 *li*, and crossing the Indus, entered Sindh: from that he went *back* to Nālandā in Magadha, and thence to Prayāga as has been related in

[1] Julien, III, p. 414; A.G.I. p. 84—86; Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 14.

a previous chapter. From Prayāga he resumed his journey, and passing through Jālandhara, Siṃhapura, and Takshaśilā came to the Indus again, and went on to the Capital of *Lan-p'o* (Laghman). From this last a journey of 15 days due south brought him to the Varaṇa of this passage. In a very mountainous country 50 *li* or 10 miles would probably be an average day's journey, and the river Gumal is above 150 miles due south from Laghman.

CHAPTER XVIII.

(CHUAN XII.)

TSAO-KU-T'A.

At the end of *Chuan* XI the pilgrim tells us that from Fa-la-na he continued his journey north-west, crossed mountains and wide river-courses, passed small towns, and emerging from India after a journey of above 2000 *li*, reached the country of *Tsao-ku-t'a*. The next *Chuan* begins by describing this country as being above 7000 *li* in circuit and its capital *Ho-si-na* as being above 30 *li* in circuit; there was another capital named *Ho-sa-lo* of the same extent with *Ho-si-na*, and these two cities had strong elevated situations. The mountains with their river-courses stood high;[1] the cultivated lands had a high brisk situation; the crops were regular; early wheat was abundant, and vegetation was prolific; the land produced saffron and asa-fœtida; the latter plant grew in the valley of the *Lo-mo-yin-tu*. In the city Ho-sa-lo there were springs from which issued streams of water which the farmers used for irrigation. The climate was very cold, and frost and snow abounded; the people were excitable and deceitful; they were fond of accomplishments and were clever without intelligence (but according to B and D texts, without excellence); their writing and their spoken language differed from those of other countries. They paid worship to gods and also reverenced Buddha, the Canon, and the Order; there were some

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[1] "The mountains with their river-courses stood high." The original here is *shan-chuan-yin-lin* (山川隱嶙), that is "mountains and rivers (or river-courses) of great elevation". But instead of *yin-lin* some texts have the reading *yin-chên* (隱軫) making the clause mean "there is a succession of hill and valley". In this description as in several other passages of the Records it is not clear whether the pilgrim uses *chuan* in its classical sense of a large river, or to denote a river-course or valley.

hundreds of monasteries, and there were above 10000 Brethren all Mahâyânists. The reigning king, who was a hereditary sovereign, was a true believer in Buddhism and was intelligent and studious. In this country there were above ten topes erected by Asoka; of Deva-Temples there were some tens; the adherents of the various systems lived pell-mell, but the Tirthikas (*wai-tao*) were in the majority, and their disciples were very numerous; they worshipped the *Shu* (or *Chu*)-*na* deva who had come from Mount Aruṇa in Kapis to the Shu-na-hi-lo mountain in the south of this country.

According to the narrative in the Life here the pilgrim journeyed from Fa-la-na (Varana?) north-west to *A-po-kan*, and thence again north-west on to *Tsao-ku-t'a*. In the T'ang-Shu it is from Pitāśilā, and not from Varana, that the journey is made over mountains and across river-courses for 2000 *li* north-west to the *Tsao-ku-t'a* country.[1] The native annotator to our text tells us that another name for this country was *Tsao-li* (漕利). From other sources we learn that in the time of T'ang-Chung-Tsung it was also called *Ha-ta-lo-chi* (訶達羅支). and that the T'ang Empress Wu caused this to be changed for *Sie-yuh* (謝䫻), the name used in the T'ang-Shu. The *Ho-si-na* of our pilgrim's description has been identified with the modern city Ghazni, but more correctly perhaps with the old city Zabal near Ghazni in Afghanistan, and the river *La-mo-yin-tu* has been identified with the Helmand. But it will be noted that the distance from the valley of the Gumal to Ghazni is much less than 2000 *li* (about 400 miles). Cunningham, who adopts Saint Martin's identification of *Ho-si-na*, makes the second capital *Ho-sa-lo*, in the T'ang-Shu called *A-sha-ni*, to be the modern Guzra or Gusaristan on the Helmand.[2] The name *Tsao* (or *Ts'ao*)-*kü-t'a* is explained by Cunningham in his usual manner by taking Tsao as the Turki pronunciation of *Ra*, and Kuṭa as agreeing with the last two syllables of

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[1] *Ch.* 221; Ma T. l. *ch.* 337.

[2] Julien, III, p. 415; A. G. I. p. 39. See also "Afghanistan and its inhabitants", tr. Priestley p. 12.

Sarasvati, Haraqaïti, and the Greek Arachotos, and we thus see that Tsaokuṭa corresponds exactly with the Arachosia of Greek writers. But as the first character of the name was also read *Chao* (or *Cho*), we may without doing violence to the Chinese characters restore the word as Jāguḍa, the name of a country famous for its saffron and also a name for saffron. The reader will remember that the "Saffron Tope" at the Bodhi Tree was originally erected by the leader of a caravan from *Tsao-ku-t'a*. This country, as the pilgrim intimates, was outside of India; and the Fang-chih rudely calls it a Hu (胡) or Tartar region. About the time of our pilgrim's visit there were dwelling in it Turks and people from Kashmir and Tokhara.

The story of how the god Shuna (or Chuna) went to mount Aruṇa in Kapis, and on being treated with discourtesy by the god of that mountain, left it for the Shunahila (or Chunasira) in this country, is told in the first *chuan* of the Records, and in Ch. IV of the present work. Our pilgrim reports this god as being held in great awe, as having rich offerings presented to him and prayers made to him, not only by the inhabitants of Tsao-Ku-ṭ'a but also by votaries of all classes from other countries.

FU-LI-SHIH-SA-T'ANG-NA.

The narrative in the Records proceeds to relate that from *Tsao-ku-t'a* Yuan-chuang travelled north for more than 500 *li* to *Fu-li-shih-sa-t'ang-na*. This country is described as being above 2000 *li* from east to west and 1000 *li* from north to south; its capital called *Hu-pi-na* was above 20 *li* in circuit. The country and its people were like Tsao-ku-t'a but with a different language; the climate was cold and the people were violent; their king was a Turk and a zealous Buddhist.

From this district, the pilgrim proceeds, he travelled north-east over mountains and across rivers, passing some tens of small frontier towns of Kapis to the *Po-lo-se-na* range of the Great Snow Mountains. This he describes as an exceedingly high range with steep, narrow, winding paths, and precipices that overlap. One passes from deep ravine to steep cliff; it is very cold even

in midsummer; you cut your steps in the ice; and a climb of three days brings you to the top of the Pass. A cold wind blows fiercely while massed snow fills the ravines; travellers may not make a halt; even the birds in their migrations cannot continue their flight here and have to descend and walk. As you look down on the hills below they seem mere mounds. This is the highest mountain in Jambudvīpa; it is absolutely tree-less, there is only a forest of rocky peaks.

The *Fu-li-shih-sa-t'ang-na* of this passage has been tentatively restored by Julien as Vṛijisthāna, and St. Martin restoring the name as Vardasthāna has identified the country with that of the Vardaks (Wardaks) about 40 miles north of Ghazni.[1] This restoration seems to be impossible and Julien's suggestion is interesting but doubtful. Cunningham identifies the country with the Kabul district and restores the pilgrim's name for it as Urddhasthāna, a restoration in favour of which nothing can be said.[2] Then St. Martin identifies the capital of this country, *Hu-pi-na*, with the modern Hupian or Opian, while Cunningham restores the name as Kophene and makes the city to be Kabul. In the D text of the Life the country is called *Fo-li-shih* (佛栗氏)-*sthāna*, and in the other texts we have *Fo-li-shih-kuo* and *Sa-t'ang-na* (sthāna)-*kuo*. The insertion of *kuo*, "country" after *Fo-li-shih* is probably due to a copyist or printer, but this transcription does not seem to suit the restoration Vṛijisthāna. The T'ang-Shu, quoting the pilgrim's account, writes the name of the country as it is in the texts of the Records. but in other passages the historian seems to call the country *Hu-shih-kien* (護時犍).[3] This term perhaps represents a word like Gozkand, and it may give the local and popular name, while our pilgrim uses the designation employed by the Buddhist Brethren. It is in favour of the restoration Vṛijisthāna that the three characters which make Vriji here are those used by Yuan-chuang to transcribe this

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[1] Julien, III, p. 416.

[2] A. G. I. p. 38 ff.

[3] Ch. 221.

word as the name of the Vriji or Vajjian people who lived in the Vesāli country. But Yule takes the transcription of the present passage to be possibly for Parāchisthāna the Parāchis being one of the many tribes which inhabited the villages and districts of Kabul at the time of Baber. This tribe, which was a distinct race with a language of its own, may have given its name to the district it occupied but the characters Fu-li-shih cannot be taken to represent Parāchi.

The great mountain here described by the pilgrim with a Pass over it is called by him *P'o-lo-se-na*. This may be for Bālasena or Varasena (Julien), and Yule thinks it is "the Parsiana of Ptolemy". But it is perhaps better to regard it as the book-name in use among the Buddhists in the monasteries. The Pass here described is, according to St. Martin, the Khevāk (Khawak) Pass over the Hindu Kush at the head of the Panjshir valley,[2] the Khawak or Khawk of our maps.

It is possible that the *Fu-li-shah* (弗栗沙) country mentioned in the Ta-fang-têng-ta-chi-ching is the Fu-li-shih-sa-t'ang-na of our passage. The Buddha is represented in the above sūtra as placing his religion and its adherents in Fu-li-sha under the care of certain supernatural beings who accept the responsibility.[3]

AN-TA-LO-FO (ANDARĀB).

The narrative in the Records, continuing the account of the pilgrim's passage of the *Po-lo-se-na* mountain, states that he was three days descending and comming to *An-ta-lo-po* (or *-fo*). This country it describes as being old Tokhara territory above 3000 *li* in circuit its capital being fourteen or fifteen *li* in circuit; and it was under the Turks. The region was a succession of hills with narrow valleys of cultivation; it was extremely cold but very fruitful. The people were violent and without social institutions; they did not acknowledge moral retribution nor

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[1] J. R. A. S. Vol. VI, p. 104, 278.

[2] Julien, *loc. cit.* e. c.; Baber p. 139.

[3] Ta-fang-têng-ta-chi-ching, *ch.* 55 (No. 62).

honour students, but paid attention to Deva-Temples, and Buddhism had little acceptance. There were three Monasteries with some tens of Brethren of the Mahāsaṅghika school; and there was one Asoka tope.

According to the Life the pilgrim went from Vrijisthāna east to the confines of Kapis, where the king of that country made a largesse of seven days' duration. The pilgrim then resumed his journey and after travelling one yojana north-east arrived at the city *Ku-lu-sa-pang* (Gulsafan?); here he parted with the king of Kapis and went on north; after a journey of seven days he arrived at the summit of a mountain which was a medley of cliffs and peaks of all shapes. From this he continued his journey for seven days to a high range on the lowest part of which was a small village occupied by people who reared sheep as large as asses. From the base of this range was a path to another mountain which looked like a mass of snow; it was really white rocks, and on its top the air was piercing cold: there was no vegetation, no one could stand on it and birds could not fly over it. Coming down from this summit by the north-west side the pilgrim travelled for five or six days and reached the *An-ta-lo-fo-p'o* country. This form of the name, which occurs in all the texts of the Life so far as I have seen them, seems to represent an original like Antarābhava. But in all the texts of the Records and in the T'ang-Shu the reading is *An-ta-lo-fo*. The country with this name restored as Antarava (Julien) or Andarāb, is mentioned in the pilgrim's account of his outward journey, and it is evidently the Andarāb of Baber.[1] Yule thinks that the extent given to the district by the pilgrim in this passage is too great,[2] but we should probably regard the *li* in these mountainous regions as only about 1/8 th or 1/10 th of a mile. The pilgrim, we learn from the Life, made a stay of five days at the city of Andarāb (or Antarabhava).

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1 Baber p. 151.
2 op. c. p. 104.

K'UO-SI-TO (KHOST)

From Andarāb, the narrative proceeds to relate, the pilgri going north-west entered a defile, crossed a mountain rang passed several small towns, and after a journey of above 40 li came to *K'uo-si-to.* This country, which had been Tokhar territory, was above 3000 *li* and its capital above ten *li* in circuit and it was subject to the Turks. It had many hills and narro valleys with very cold winds; it had good crops and abundanc of fruits and flowers, but the people were violent and unrul There were three Monasteries, and a very small number c Brethren.

Instead of the "3000 *li*" here given as the circuit c this country the D text has "less than 1000 *li*", which probably the correct reading. The country has bee identified with the old Khost of which Baber writes mo pleasantly than our pilgrim.[1]

HUOH.

From Khost, the description in the Records continues, th pilgrim going north-west crossed a mountain and a valley passe several small towns, and after a journey of over 800 *li* reache *Huoh.* This country, which was formerly Tokhara territory, wa above 3000 *li* and its capital above twenty *li* in circuit; it ha no separate ruler and was under Turkish government. The lar was level and farming operations were regular, vegetatic flourished and fruits and flowers were exceptionally abundan the climate was genial, and the people had honest ways bu were excitable; they wore garments of thick woollen materi (lit. felt and serge), the majority were Buddhists, a few servin the gods. There were above ten monasteries, and some hundre of Brethren who were attached to both "Vehicles". The kir was a Turk who ruled over the small states south of the Ir Pass moving about from one to another without any permane city of residence.

The discription then continues. Eastward from this you ent the *Tsung Ling* (Onion Range) which is the centre of Jambudvip on the south this Range connects with the Great Snow Mou tains (the Hindu Kūsh), on the north it reaches to the "Hot se and "Thousand Springs", on the west to the Huoh country, a

[1] Baber p. 151; Yule op. c. p. 104.

on the east to *Wu-sha* (烏鎩); in each direction it is some thousands of *li* and it has some hundreds of cliffs and ridges in a series with sombre inaccessible defiles; here frozen snow was perpetually accummulated and cold winds blew fiercely; the soil produced numerous onions, and hence the name; but according to another opinion the name was derived from the onion-blue hue of the cliffs.

The name of the country written *Huoh* (活) in the text of this passage, is in one passage of the O text of the Life, given as *Kuah* (括). These two characters were formerly both read *Kuah* or *Kuoh*, and it is probable that the name here transcribed was something like Kuoh or Guoh, perhaps the "Ghour" of M. Saint-Martin. It will be noticed that the bearing of this country from Khost agrees with the narrative in the first *chuan* of the Records. According to the Life the capital was on the south bank of the *Po-chu* or Oxus; and the T'ang-Shu treats Huoh as the name of a tribe.[1] Yule gives good reasons for rejecting previous identifications, and for finding the modern representative of our pilgrim's Huoh in the present *Kunduz*, the Kundez of Baber.[2] In the D text of the Records (and in the Fang-chih) the circuit of this country is given as 2000 *li*, not 3000 *li* as in the other texts.

The Ts'ung Ling or Onion Range described in the present passage of the Records is the Bolor Tagh and Karakorum Mountains of modern geographers. To the Chinese since the second century B. C. "Ts'ung-Ling" has been the name of "the high mountain chain which separates Eastern Turkestan (Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan, &c.) from Western Turkestan (Kokand and the land on the Jaxartes and Oxus)".[3]

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[1] *Ch.* 221.

[2] op. c. p. 99; Baber p. 189.

[3] Med. Res. Vol. I, p. 27 note.

MÊNG-KAN (MUNGKAN).

The pilgrim appends to his description of the Ts'ung-Ling the statement that "going east above 100 *li* he came to the *Mêng-kan* country". This, he adds, was old Tokhara territory; it was above 400 *li* in circuit and its capital was 15 or 16 *li* in circuit. In native products and ways of the people the country was very like Huoh; it had no sovereign and was under Turkish rule.

The account in the Life makes the pilgrim set out from Huoh with a party of traders and after a journey of two days (that is probably, about 100 *li*) arrive at Mêng-kan. This country has been identified with Mungān (or Munjan) which "is still a feudatory province under Badakshān on the slopes of the Hindu kūsh". Yule's remarks on the pilgrim's account are based on the mistake in Julien's translation which gives 4000 *li*, instead of 400 *li*, as the circuit of the district. But Yule's suggestion that the pilgrim's Mêng-kan is the modern *Talikhan* may perhaps be accepted: it cannot be the Mungān of Macartney's map, or the Minjan of Wood's map.[1]

A-LI-NI.

The narrative in the Records proceeding describes that to the north of Mungkan was the *A-li-ni* country. This country, which had been Tokhara territory, lay along both banks of the Oxus; it was above 300 *li* in circuit and its capital was about fourteen *li* in circuit; in its natural productions and in the ways of the people it bore much resemblence to the Huo country (Kundus).

In the Life this little state is merely mentioned as one of the countries lying to the side of Mungkan. It was probably not visited by the pilgrim, and in the account of his outward journey, as we have seen, it is simply mentioned as the district immediately before Mungkan. Yule thinks that the country "must have been close to Hazrat-Imām", and as that district "formerly bore the name Ahreng or Arheng", he proposes to identify this name

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[1] Yule op. c. p. 105.

with the *A-li-ni* of our pilgrim's account.[1] But, although the situation may correspond, we cannot regard *A-li-ni* as a transcription of Arheng or Ahreng. It may represent a word like Alni or Arin, and it may possibly be another name for *A-li-na* (阿利那). This is the name of a great dragon which plagued the Brethren in a monastery of the country called *Ki-pin* (Ka-pin, the Kashmir and Kabul territory according to some), until a Brother of strictly pure life succeeded in coaxing him away.[2]

HOH-LO-HU.

The narrative in the Records continues—"east, to the *Hoh-lo-hu* country". This also was old Tokhara territory. It had the Oxus on its north side, was above 200 *li* in circuit and its capital was 14 or 15 *li* in circuit; the district was like Kunduz in natural productions and the ways of the people.

Yule identifies the Ho-lo-hu (that is perhaps, Rāhu) of this passage with "Ragh, still an important fief of Badakshān, between the Kokcha and the Oxus".[3] This district also was apparently not visited by the pilgrim: it is mentioned in the Life, along with the last country and the next one, as being to the side of Mungkan.

KIH-LIH-SEH-MO.

The description in the Records proceeds—From Mungkan Yuan-chuang went east across mountains and valleys passing several towns for above 300 *li* to the *Kih-lih-seh-mo* country, formerly Tokhara territory. This country was above 1000 (according to B, but in the C and D texts, ten) *li* from east to west and 300 *li* from North to south, its capital being 15 or 16 *li* in circuit. In products and manners and customs it resembled Mungkan, but its people differed in being of a very malicious disposition.

Notwithstanding the wording of the above passage we are not obliged to believe that Yuan-chuang actually went

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[1] op. c. p. 106.
[2] Abhi-ta-vib., *ch.* 24 (No. 1263).
[3] op. c. p. 107.

to the district here described. The Life, as has been stated, merely mentions it as one of the States near Mungkan. For the Chinese transcription the original may have been a word like Krism or Krisma, but Julien's restoration as Kharisma does not seem to be admissible. Cunningham identifies the district with Tālikān, St. Martin makes it "Ish-Keshm, at the lower end of the valley of Wakhān", and Yule "can only see in it the once well-known Kishm or *Kāshm*, the Province of *Casem* of Marco Polo three days from Talikan".[1]

PO-LI-HOH.

The pilgrim's account proceeds—To the north-east (in the D text, north) [of Krism] was the *Po-li-hoh* country. This was old Tokhara country, was above 100 *li* east to west by 300 *li* north to south, and its chief city was above 20 *li* in circuit. It resembled Krism in its products and the manners and customs of the people.

This country also was evidently not visited by the pilgrim; it is merely named in the Life as one of the districts to the side of Mungkan. The transcription of the name has been supposed to represent Priha (Julien) or Parika (Yule). Several identifications have been proposed, and Yule supposes that the district "from its relation to Kishm must have lain either immediately on the south bank of the Kokcha or just beyond that river. In the latter case it would lie between Rostāk and Faizābād, where now exists the Province of Pasākū or Shahr-i-Buzburg".[2]

HI-MO-TA-LO

The pilgrim's description proceeds. From Krism he went east over hills and across valleys for over 300 *li* to *Hi*-(or *Si*)-*mo-ta-lo*. This country, which was old Tokhara territory, was above 3000 *li* in circuit; it was an unbroken succession of hill and vale, with a fertile soil good for grain and yielding much early wheat

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[1] Julien III, p. 419; Yule l. c.

[2] op. c. p. 108.

> with prolific vegetation and fruits in abundance. The climate was very cold, the people were of a violent impetuous disposition, they did not recognize moral retribution; they were small, ugly, and without good manners; in the materials of their clothing—coarse woollen cloth (felt), skins, and serge—they rather resembled the Turks. Their married women wore as a head-dress a wooden horn above three feet high, with two branches in front one above the other; the upper branch represented the woman's father-in-law and the lower her mother-in-law; a branch was removed from the horn on the death of the relative represented, and when both of the husband's parents were dead the horn head-dress was laid aside.
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> The pilgrim continuing his account of this country tells us that those who had formerly made themselves kings of this land were of the Sākya stock, and the greater part of all west of the Ts'ung-ling had became subject to them; as this country was on the confines of the Turks it became influenced by the ways of the latter; the inhabitants moreover were raided while keeping their own territory, hence the people of this country became vagrants in other lands; there were some tens of strong cities each with its own governor; the dwellers in felt tents went about from place to place reaching westward to the Krism country.

The original of this passage presents some difficulties and the translation here given is not very satisfactory. The *Hi-mo-ta-lo* of this, and of two other passages of the Records, is translated in a Chinese note by "Foot of Snow Mountain", and restored as Himatala which has a similar meaning. But this name is probably derived from Buddhist books, or from Indian Brethren settled in the district, and there was presumably a local and popular name. Yule thinks we find a trace of the word Himatala in the name "of one of the still existing feudatory provinces of Badakshān, Daraim or Dara-i-aim". The account in the Life makes the pilgrim go from Mungkan east 300 *li* among hills and so on to Himatala, but as this account is evidently derived from the Records it is possible that there is a mistake as to the place of departure. In the Records' description of the pilgrim's journey out, Himatala is mentioned between *Ku-lang-na* and *Po-li-ho*. The Fang-chih agrees with the present passage of the Records in placing

this country 300 *li* east of Krism, and 200 *li* west of *Po-to-ch'ang-na* (Badakshān).

In the pilgrim's description of the people of Himatala the words "did not recognize moral retribution" are for the Chinese *pu-chi-tsui-fu* (不識罪福), lit. "do not acknowledge guilt and happiness", and the meaning of the phrase is "do not believe in the action of karma". Julien translates the words "ne savent pas distinguer le crime de la vertu", but this is not what the text states. The form of expression, which we have met before, merely indicates ignorance of, or scepticism as to, or denial of, the doctrine of karma, and tells us that those to whom it is applied were not Buddhists.

The wearing of the conical wooden head-dress by the married women in Himatala as described by our pilgrim was a very peculiar custom. Among the *Ye-t'a*, supposed to have been of *Yue-ti* (Getæ) stock, and inhabitants of this region, the married women, we are told, wore a horn head-dress, but with them the number of knobs or horns indicated the numbers of their brothers-in-law who were also their husbands.[1] So also in the *Hua* (滑) country the married women wore on the head a carved wooden horn six inches high and adorned with gold and silver.[2] Among the Tartars the wives had a head-dress of a peculiar kind, apparently not very unlike those just mentioned.[3] William of Rubruck tells us that the Tartar married women "have a head-dress, which they call *bocca*, made of bark, or such other light material as they can find, and it is big and as much as two hands can span around, and is a cubit and more high, and square like the capital of a column."[4]

The pilgrim's statement about a Sākya or Sākyas having obtained forcible possession of the throne of this country

[1] Wei Shu, *ch.* 102; cf. Ka-lan-chi, *ch.* 5.

[2] Ma T. l., *ch.* 338.

[3] op. c. p. 108.

[4] Rockhill's "Journey of Friar William of Rubruck" p. 73. Mr. Rockhill's note to this passage is very interestin~

is explained in his account of the sack of Kapilavastu by king Virūḍhaka. Instead of stating that "the inhabitants were raided while keeping their own territory" the author probably meant to state that the Himatala people made raids into other countries while guarding their own borders. One of the kings of Himatala had, as the pilgrim relates in another passage, invaded Kashmir and murdered its king.[1] Then the words "reaching westward to the Krism country" are treated by Julien as a separate clause—"du côté de l'ouest ce pays touche au royaume de Kharism". There is nothing in the original for "ce pays", but *hsi-chie* (西接) seems to mean "du côté de l'ouest touche". The pilgrim, however, has already stated that Himatala was above 300 *li* distant from Krism, and we must apparently understand the passage as meaning that the nomads of Himatala had their temporary encampments as far west as the confines of Krism.

PO-TO-CH'ANG-NA (BADAKSHAN).

The pilgrim proceeds to relate that he went east above 200 *li* to the *Po-to-ch'ang* (*ch'uang*)-*na* country. This he describes as having been formerly Tokhara territory, as being above 2000 *li* in circuit with its capital, which was on a cliff, six or seven *li* in circuit. The country was an unbroken succession of hills and vales and it was covered with sand and stones; it yielded pulse and wheat and a great quantity of grapes, walnuts, pears, and plums. The climate was very cold; the people were valorous but without good manners and without education; they were ill-favoured and their garments were chiefly of felt and serge. There were three or four Buddhist monasteries with a small number of Brethren. The king was a sincere upright man with a profound belief in Buddhism.

The Life calls this country *Po-ch'ang-na*, but the pronunciation was probably nearly the same as the *Po-to-ch'ang-na* (鉢鐸創那) of our text, that is Patach'an or Badakshan. This latter is the restoration of the name given by St. Martin, and accepted by the other commen-

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[1] See *Chuan* III.

tators on the Records. Yule thinks that the capital may have been on or near the site of the modern Faizabad.[1] At the time of the pilgrim's visit, we learn from the Life, the weather was so severe that he had to make a halt of more than a month. In the D text of the Records, and in the Fang-chih, the region between Himatala and Badakshan is called a *ku* (谷) or "valley between mountains". The account of the pilgrim's outward journey makes Badakshan come after Dharmasthiti, and before *Yin-po-kan*.

YIN-PO-KIEN (OR -KAN)

From Badakshan, we are informed by the Records, the pilgrim proceeded south-east through a district of hills and vales for over 200 *li* to the *Yin-po-kien* country. This is described as old Tokhara territory, as being above 1000 *li* in circuit its capital being above ten *li*. It was a series of mountains with narrow valleys of cultivated land; in climate, products, and the character of the people it resembled Badakshan, but the language was not quite the same; its king was a bad, cruel man.

Julien restores the *Yin-po-kien(-kan)* of this passage as Invakan, and the restoration has been accepted. In the C text of the Life we have *K'a(恪)-po-kan*, but the old reading is *Yin* as in the Records. Yule, after mentioning the identifications proposed by St. Martin and Cunningham, writes—"Direction and distance, however, antecedent and consequent, point not to Wakhán, but to Yamgán or Hamakán, the old name of the valley of the Kokcha from Jerm upwards."[2] The word here transcribed by the pilgrim may have been one like Impakin or Impakan.

KU-LANG-NA.

The pilgrim proceeds to relate that from *Yin-po-kan* he travelled south-east across mountain and valley by narrow dangerous paths for above 3000 *li* to *Ku-lang-na*. He describes this country as old Tokhara territory, and as being above 2000 *li* in circuit;

[1] Julien III, p. 423; Yule op. c. p. 109.
[2] op. c. p. 110.

it resembled *Yin-po-kan* in the character of the country and in climate; the people had no civil polity and had bad dispositions; there were only a few Buddhists. The cliffs yielded much gold-essence ("d'or pur"), which was obtained by smashing the rocks. There was a small number of monasteries, and the Brethren were few; the king was a sincere upright man who reverenced Buddha, the Canon, and the Order.

The *Ku-lang-na* of this passage, restored as Kuraṇa, has been identified by Yule with the modern Kuran or Koran, in the upper part of the valley of the Kokcha and "a sub-division of the province of Jerm, lying among the spurs of the Hindu Kush. In fact, it includes the Lazuli Mines".[1] Other forms of Chinese transcription are Kü-lan (俱蘭) and *Kü-lo-su* (俱羅弩).[2] It is described as adjoining Tokhara, as being 3000 *li* in circuit, bounded on the south by the Great Snow Mountains (the Hindu Kush) and on the north by the river Kü-lu (俱魯). In A. D. 646 *Hu-t'i-p'o*, the râja of this country, sent an envoy to T'ang T'ai Tsung bearing a letter in Indian writing.

TA-MO-SI-T'IÈ-TI.

From Kuran, the narrative in the Records proceeds to relate, the pilgrim going north-east over hill and through valley by steep narrow paths travelled more than 500 *li* to *Ta-mo-si-t'iè-ti*, which lay between two hills. This country, formerly Tokhara territory, was 1500 or 1600 *li* east to west and four or five *li*, (but in its narrowest part not above a *li*), from north to south. It lay along the *Po-chu* (Oxus) river, following the windings of the river; it was full of hillocks with sand and gravel everywhere; its winds were icy cold; the only crops were wheat and pulse and there was little vegetation; the country yielded many fine horses of small size but capable of long journeys. The people were ill-tempered and ill-favoured, and their clothing was of felt and serge; their eyes differed from those of other people in being of a turquoise hue. There were above ten Buddhist monasteries but very few Brethren. The capital, which was called *Hun-t'ê-to*, had a monastery built by a former king of the country by quarrying the cliff and filling up the gully. Our

[1] op. c. p. 111: Wood's "Journey to the Source of the Oxus," ed. Yule, Int. p. LXXXVII and p. 169.

[2] T'ang-Shu, ch. 221.

pilgrim then gives the conversion of this king to Buddhism by a mendicant missionary, and the consequent introduction and establishment of Buddhism. The shrine (*ching-shê*) of this monastery had a stone image of the Buddha over which was freely suspended a gilt copper canopy set with precious stones; this canopy moved with the worshipper as he performed pradakshiṇa to the image, and stopped when he stopped. Our pilgrim examined the walls, and questioned the residents, but could not learn the secret of the self-acting canopy.

The native annotator to our text here tells us that another name for *Ta-mo-si-t'iè-ti* was *Chên-k'an* (鎮 侃) or *Huo*(鑊)-*k'an*, the latter being apparently the correct reading. He also tells us that the country was also called *Huo-mi* (鑊 密). This latter, written also *Hu*(護)-*mi*, is the name used in the T'ang-Shu[1] and by the pilgrim Wu-k'ung.[2] We may regard *Huo-k'an* or *Huo-mi* as the local and popular name, while that given by our pilgrim was probably known only to the Buddhists. The T'ang-Shu also records as another name for this country *Po-ho* (鉢 和) which is taken from the Wei History and the travels of Sung-yun.[3] The latter traveller describes the country as being north of the Great Snow Mountain (the Hindu Kūsh) with high hills and deep defiles, as being extremely cold, its inhabitants living with their domestic animals in pits excavated in the earth. Julien suggests Tamasthiti as a conjectural restoration of our pilgrim's transcription, but we should perhaps restore it as Dhammasthiti. The name which Yuan-chuang gives to the capital is, as we have seen, *Hun-t'è-to* (昏 馱 多), but in the T'ang-Shu the capital of *Huo-mi* is *Han-ka-shên* (塞 迦 審), or in one text *Sai*(賽)-*ka-shên*. It is described as being to the south of the Oxus, but Sung-yun tells us that the hill was turned into the city. Yule agrees with Cunningham in identifying Dhammasthiti with Wakhan, the long valley of the Wakh, taking in also the upper part of the Chitral valley.[4] The

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[1] *Ch*. 221.

[2] Shih-li-ching and J. A. Vol. VI, p. 347.

[3] Wei Shu, *ch*. 102; Ka-lan-chi, *ch*. 5.

[4] op. c. p. 112.

Chinese name *Huokhan* seems to be merely a transcription of Wakhan, and *Po-ho* may be for Wakh pronounced Vakh.

The Records, as we have seen, make this country to be only from one to four or five *li* wide (from north to south), but in the Fang-chih it is from ten to nearly 100 *li* from north to south.

SHIH-K'I-NI.

The pilgrim continues—"Crossing a mountain of Dhammasthiti (Wakhan), one goes north to *Shi-k'i-ni*". This country he describes as above 2000 *li*, and its capital as five or six *li*, in circuit; it was a succession of hills and vales with sand and stone wastes everywhere. There was much pulse and wheat, but little of other crops; trees were rare and there were very few flowers or fruits; the climate was very cold; the people were given to robbery and murder and did not recognize social proprieties or moral distinctions, erring as to future retribution they feared the [punitive] misfortunes of this life. They were ill-favoured, wore skins and serge; and they had a writing like that of Tokhara, their spoken language being different.

In the first *Chuan* of these Records *Shih-k'i-ni* is apparently to the immediate south of the country called *Kou-mi-t'ê*. The T'ang-Shu calls the district *Shi-ni* (識匿), and gives *Sê-ni* (瑟匿) and our *Shih-k'i-ni* as other names.[1] These three are probably different transcriptions of a word like Sikhni or Sighni. At one time the country had a capital called *K'u-han* (苦汗), but in the course of time the inhabitants dispersed themselves among the five mountain valleys of the country. Each valley had its own chief and capital and so the district came to be called the *Five Shi-ni*.[2] The *Shih-k'i-ni* of our pilgrim has been identified with the modern Shaghan or Shighnan, and Yule says there can be no doubt about it, the gentile adjective of Shighnan being Shighni with which the Chinese form is identical.[3] This is evidently the district which

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[1] Ch. 221.
[2] Ch. 221.
[3] Julien III, p. 299; Yule op. c. p. 118.

was in the "Pamir Valley" according to Wu-k'ung, who calls it the "Five Chi-ni" (五赤匿), a note adding that another name was *Shi*(式)-*ni*.[1] The features and character of the modern Shighnan do not seem to agree with the description of Shighni by our pilgrim, but we must remember that Yuan-chuang is apparently describing from hearsay.

SHANG-MI.

The pilgrim's narrative proceeds to tell us that passing through Dhammasthiti to the south of a mountain you come to the *Shang-mi* country. This he describes as being 2500 or 2600 *li* in circuit, with alternating hills and vales, and with hillocks of various sizes. All crops were grown in it, pulse and wheat being very abundant, and there was plenty of grapes; it yielded realgar which was obtained by breaking up the rocks. The mountain gods were malicious and caused disasters; if travellers offered them worship the travellers had good luck, but if they did not worship then they encountered storm and hail. The climate was cold, the people were rash in their ways; they were upright, without ceremonial observances and with narrow views and slight accomplishments; they had the same writing as Tokhara, but their spoken language was different; they chiefly wore coarse woollen garments. Their king was of the Sākya stock and was a Buddhist, and under his influence the people had all become genuine believers; there were two monasteries with a few Brethren.

To the north-east of Shang-mi, the account in the Records continues, across mountains and defiles by dangerous paths at a distance of above 700 *li*, was the *Po-mi-lo* Valley. This was above 1000 *li* east to west, and 100 *li*, but in its narrowest part not more than ten *li*, from north to south. It was between two Snow Mountains and so had fierce chilling winds and snow-storms, spring and summer; the soil was saltish with much gravel. As there was no cultivation, and scarcely any vegetation, the place had become a mere waste destitute of human inhabitants. In this Valley was a large Dragon Lake above 300 *li* east to west and 50 *li* north to south. As the lake was in the Ts'ung-ling, the centre of Jambudvipa, in a very high position, its water was very pure and clear, it was of unmeasured depth, and was of a bluis k colour with a very pleasant taste. In the depths of the dwelt all kinds of aquatic monsters, and water-birds of variou

[1] Shih-li-ching and J. A. Vol. VI, p. 346.

species haunted its surface, the shells of their great eggs being left in the wilds among the marshes, or on the sandy islets. This lake sent forth on the west a large stream which joined the Oxus to the east of Dhammasthiti, and flowed west; and so all streams on the right (west) side flow west. On the east the lake sent out a large stream which went north-east to the confines of Kashgar, where it joined the Sitā and flowed east; and so all streams on this side of the lake flow eastward.

The *Shang-mi* (商 彌) of the text of this passage has been restored by Julien as Śāmbhi, but the restoration does not seem to be admissible. It was apparently from our pilgrim's narrative that this name Shang-mi became known to the Chinese as denoting this country. In the Wei-Shu and other books we find mention of a district called *She-mi* (賒 彌) which was at a mountain south of a country called *P'o-chih* (波 知), perhaps Balti, between *Po-ho* (Wakhan?) and Udyāna.[1] This *She-mi*, which was visited by Sung-yun, may have been our pilgrim's Shang-mi. Then we learn that in the T'ièn-pao period of the T'ang dynasty, that is between A. D. 742 and 755, eight States of these remote regions sent embassies to the Chinese emperor. One of these states was *Ku-wei* (俱 位), and this is described as the country also called Shang-mi; and the capital at that time is given as *A-shih-yuh-shih-to*, represented as being in the Great Snow Mountain north of the river *Po-lü*.[2] Wu-k'ung also traversed a country called *Kou-wei* (拘 緯) on his journey from *Hu-mi* (Wakhan) on towards Kashmir, and this is evidently the *Ku-wei* and *Shang-mi* of other travellers and writers.[3]

As we have seen the text places the Pamir Valley 700 *li* to the north-east of *Shang-mi*, but the Life gives the direction as east, the distance being the same. Neither in it, nor in the Records, is there any information as to the bearing or distance of Shang-mi from Dhammasthiti, but the latter was evidently, as in the T'ang-Shu, between

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[1] Wei Shu, *ch* 102.
[2] T'ang Shu, *ch.* 221; Ma T. l., *ch.* 339.
[3] Shih-li-ching and J. A. op. c. p. 348.

Shighni on the north, and *Shang-mi* on the south. There seems to be a consensus of opinion that the modern representative of *Shang-mi* is the Chitral District, and the identification must be accepted, although it does not seem to meet all the requirements of the texts. This district is also known as Kāskār, and Elphinstone relates that the inhabitants, who live chiefly in tents, "belong to a nation called Cobi". This name, as Yule suggests, may be the *Ku-wei* of the Chinese historian although Elphinstone seems to have regarded it as connected with Gobi.[1]

The *P'o-mi-lo* of our pilgrim is evidently the *Po-mi* (播蜜) of Wu-k'ung and the T'ang-Shu, and the Pamir of western travellers. There are eight Pamirs in the district which bears this general designation. and geographers are not agreed as to which of these is the "Pamir Valley" of our text. Mr. (now Lord) Curzon from study and personal observation concludes that this is the Great Pamir and that the Dragon Lake is the Victoria Lake or Sar-i-kul.[2] This identification, however, does not seem to suit the requirements of the narrative and description in the Life and Records. These do not require us to believe that the pilgrim visited either Shighnan or Shang-mi, and it seems probable that he went on from Wakhan into the Pamirs. His account of the "Valley" with its Dragon Lake does not agree with all the particulars in the descriptions of any one of the Pamirs given by western explorers, but it is in substantial agreement with Mr. Curzon's summary of the general features of a Pamir. Much of the pilgrim's information was apparently obtained from books or guides. Thus it was evidently from others that he learned of the hornless dragons, tortoises, and other aquatic monsters which lived in the dark depths of the Lake. He may have seen the wild fowl, the ducks, geese, swans, and great king-fishers (?) and heard the clanging clamour of their cries. The shells of the great eggs left

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[1] "Account of Caubul" p. 442 (2d ed.): Yule, op. c., p. 114.
[2] "The Pamir and the Sources of the Oxus" p. 17, 67 ff.

on the marshes or sandy islets are conjectured by the author of the Life to be identical with the "large egg-shells of T'iao-Chih" that is, ostrich egg-shells.[1] The eggs were as large as water-jars and the parent bird with due regard to proportion was ten feet high.

The identification of the Dragon Lake of the Pamirs, that is, the Sar-i-kul, with the Anavatapta Lake is not made by our pilgrim, as some have asserted. He does not apply the name Anavâtapta to the Pamir Lake, and he assigns the two lakes to localities far apart.

KIE-P'AN-T'Ê.

The Records proceed to relate that "to the south of the Pamir Valley across a hill is the *Po-lu-lo* country", which yielded much gold and silver, the former being of a fiery hue. It adds that from the centre of the Pamir Valley going south-east the road has no inhabited villages, over hills by risky paths where frozen snow prevailed, a journey of over 500 *li* brought the pilgrim to *Kie-(ka)-p'an-t'o*. This country was above 2000 *li* in circuit; its capital, founded on a rocky ridge and having the river Sîta at its back, was above twenty *li* in circuit. The country was a system of mountains with narrow river-courses and downs; there was little of other crops but much of pulse and wheat, and there were few fruit and other trees; its downs and swamps were wastes and its cities and towns uninhabited. The people had no social etiquette or common feeling of right; they had little education and were fierce, daring, and ugly; their clothes were of coarse woollen material (lit. felt and serge), their written and spoken languages were like those of Kashgar; and they were sincere Buddhists. There were more than ten monasteries with above 500 Brethren, all Hinayânists of the Sarvâstivâdin School. The reigning king was a patron of Buddhism, and a scholar of culture. Many years had elapsed since his dynasty was established; before that event the country was a wild valley of the Ts'ungling. A king of *Po-li ssŭ*, the pilgrim continues, had married a lady in China, and the bride-elect had reached this place on her way to her husband's home. At the time of her arrival armed rebellion had broken out in the country, and the roads were impassable. So the king's bride was taken to the top of a high steep rocky hill, and kept there for safety. When

[1] See Dr. Hirth's "China and the Roman Orient" p. 152.

tranquillity was restored, and the journey was to be continued, the king's envoy in charge of the bride discovered that she was *enceinte*. On making enquiry he found that the sun-deva had visited the lady every day at noon, and that it was by him she was with child. So it was decided that the party should remain at the place; a palace was built on the hill, and the whole company settled there, and made the Chinese lady their queen. In due time she gave birth to a son who grew up very handsome and accomplished, famed for his power over the elements and his good government, and neighbouring States became his vassals.

The pilgrim next tells of the petrified body of this sovereign preserved in a cave in the steep side of a mountain above 100 *li* to the south-east of the capital. His lineal descendants had reigned ever since, and because their first ancestress was a Chinese lady and their first ancestor a sun-deva, they styled themselves "China-[sun]-deva stock". But the successors of the first king came to lose their prestige and be kept down by powerful Countries, and when Asoka came to rule he built a tope in the palace. Hereupon the king then reigning removed to the north-east of the palace, and made a splendid monastery of the old palace for the śāstra-master *T'ung-shou* (Kumāralabdha). This man, we are told by the pilgrim, was a native of Takshaśilā who in early youth embraced the religious life, and became an enthusiastic student of sacred literature. He composed some tens of treatises which were widely known and read; and he was the founder of the Sautrāntika School. He was brought by force from his native land to this country. In his time Aśvaghosha in the east, Deva in the south, Nāgārjuna in the west, and Kumāralabdha in the north were called the Four Shining Suns.

Above 300 *li* to the south-east of the capital was a cliff in which were two caves, each containing an arhat in a trance which had been prolonged for more than 700 years: the bodies were like skeletons, and the only sign of life was that the hair kept growing, and had to be cut periodically. Going to the north-east of this cliff over a mountain for 200 *li* the pilgrim came to a Puṇyaśālā. This had been built and endowed, according to tradition, by an arhat in pity for distressed caravans crossing the wild bleak region.

Foreign commentators on the contents of this passage are not agreed as to the modern representative of the *Po-lu-lo* country which the pilgrim places on the other side of a mountain to the south of his "Pamir Valley".

It is apparently the "*Pu-lu-chou* (布路州) country" of the Sung pilgrim, who places it beyond a snowy range before the "Ts'ung-ling snow mountains" on the way down to Kashmir.[1] It is also the *Po-lu-lo* (鉢盧勒) of the Wei-Shu, which was to the east of the *Shê-mi* country over mountains with precipitous sides up which travellers climbed by means of chains.[2] Yule follows Cunningham in identifying the district with the modern Balti adding that "doubtless the territory included Gilghit and Kanjut the latter famed for its gold produce";[3] but objections have been made to this identification.

From the "Pamir Valley" the pilgrim's journey lay *south-east* according to the Records, but *east* according to the Life. After travelling above 500 *li* (perhaps about 60 miles) he came to the country which he calls *Ka-p'an-t'o*. This is apparently the *K'ê-p'an-t'o* (渴槃陀) of earlier writers, called also *K'ê-lo* and *Han-t'o* (漢陀). The capital of this country was in the Ts'ung-ling. Beyond the country on the south and south-west was the Hindu-Kūsh, to its north was Kashgar, and to its west was *Hu-mi* (Wakkhan).[4] Sung-yun mentions a country *Han-p'an-t'o* which he locates on the Ts'ung-ling, the last before *Po-ho* (Wakhan?) on his itinerary.[5] Julien suggests *Khavandha* as the possible restoration of the pilgrim's transcription, and the name was probably something like Kabhanda or Kavanda. The country has been identified by modern Chinese writers with Sol-gol or Sariq-gol, the chief city of which is Tash-kurghan,[6] and this is the identification made by Cunningham and his successors. It is admitted, however, that Tashkurghan cannot represent the capital of Kabhanda,

[1] Ma T. l., *ch.* 338.
[2] Wei Shu, *ch.* 102.
[3] op. c. p. 117.
[4] Ma T. l., *ch.* 339. The situation here assigned to the country does not agree with that in the Wei Shu which tallies with the Life's account of our pilgrim's journey.
[5] Ka-lan-chi, *ch.* 5
[6] Hsin-chiang, *ch.* 1.

the former being situated in a plain. St. Martin regards Karchu as occupying the site of Yuan-chuang's capital, and adds that the river which passes Karchu is one of the principal upper branches of the Yarkand river, that is, the Sitā of ur nilgrim.[1] But the situation of Karchu (or Karachu) seems to make the identification inadmissible.

In the legend here related by the pilgrim about the origin of the dynasty reigning in Kabhanda at the time of his visit, we find the king of a country called *P'o-li-ssŭ* contracting a marriage with a Chinese lady. In the C text the reading is *P'o-la-ssŭ* which is Yuan-chuang's transcription for Persia. The D text has "P'o-li-la-ssŭ" which is evidently a mistake. The correct reading as we can learn from the D editor's note is evidently *P'o-li-ssŭ*. This was not Persia, but a country not far from the region of the Pamirs, it is also called P'o-ssŭ, and it is probably sometimes confounded with Persia. Julien transcribes correctly *P'o-li-ssŭ*, but Yule turns this into Persia, and adds that "in Persian legendary history we find king Jamshid marrying a daughter of Máhâng, king of China". The king of P'o-li-ssŭ, however, never actually became the husband of the Chinese lady who had only a temporary husband in the sun-god. By him she became the mother of the king who founded the reigning dynasty of Kabhanda, and made the country prosperous and powerful. The kings of this dynasty styled themselves "China-deva-gotra" translated by "China and sun-god stock". But this interpretation seems to be absurd, and Chinadeva may be a proper name.

The T'ung-shou or Kumāralabdha of this passage is the Śāstra-master with whom we have met already in the account of Takshaśilā. Here as before the Life has the faulty reading "Youth-long-life" or Kumārajīva. The transcription shews that Kumāralabdha is the name, and this agrees with Tāranātha.[2] He mentions a Sautrāntika

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[1] Julien, III, p. 426.

[2] Tār. S. 78.

āchārya of the west whose name was *Gzom-nu-lena*, that is Youth-received, or Kumāralabdha. None of the treatises written by this great Buddhist have come down to us in the Chinese collections, but his name is occasionally mentioned in the Śāstras.

The pilgrim, it will be noticed, describes the people of Kabhanda as having a writing and a language like those of Kashgar; but in his description of the latter country he represents its writing as taken from that of India, and the spoken dialect as being peculiar to the people.

WU-SA (OR WU-SHA).

The pilgrim's narrative proceeds to relate that "from this", that is perhaps the Puṇyaśāla going eastward he descended the eastern ridge of the Ts'ung-Ling, over passes and through defiles by risky paths in a constant succession of wind and snow, for above 800 *li*, *to the Wu-sa country outside of the Ts'ung-Ling*. This country he describes as being 1000 *li* in circuit, with its capital above ten *li* in circuit bounded on the south by the Sita river. The district had a rich soil yielding good crops with plenty of fruit and other trees: it produced various kinds of jade, white, black, and dark blue; the climate was mild and regular: the people were rude, harsh, and deceitful; their written and spoken language had a little resemblance to those of *Kie-sha* (Kashgar), they were ugly, wore skins and serge. and they were devout Buddhists. There were more than ten monasteries with nearly 1000 Brethren of the Sarvāstivādin School of the Hīnayānists. For some centuries there had been no native dynasty, and the country was subject to Kabhanda. Above 200 *li* to the west of the capital was a mountain the vapours of which soaring up, and coming in contact with the rocks, raised clouds; its sheer cliffs of imposing height seemed on the verge of crashing down. On the summit of this mountain was a magnificent tope of marvellous workmanship, and the pilgrim narrates the legend connected with its erection.

In the corresponding passage in the Life the pilgrim is represented as staying in Kabhanda for above twenty days; he then continues his journey in the company of some traders going north-east. When the party was five days on the way it encountered robbers, and its members were dispersed; coming together again they continued their

journey, and when they had gone 800 *li* they emerged from the Ts'ung-Ling and arrived at *Wu-sa* (烏鎩 or 鏦). The second character of this name we are told to pronounce as *sha*, or *sa*, or *sai*, and also as *cha*, and the two characters probably represent a word like Usa or Osh. We may adopt the latter as a provisional restoration. Cunningham identified the country with the modern Yangihissar; and this is apparently the identification made by recent Chinese writers. Yule, who takes the Si-to river of our text to be the Sirikol, makes the capital of Osh to have been at "Chihil Gumbaz" ("The Forty Domes"), which is to the south of Yangihissar. Dr. Sven Hedin describes Chihil Gumbez as "a collection of stone and clay houses, stables, and yurts, besides a cemetery with a small chapel crowned with a cupola".[1] The district in Chinese Turkestan now called *Wu-shih* (烏什) does not correspond in situation to the *Wu-sha* of our pilgrim's travels

KA-SHA (KASHGAR).

The narrative next tells us that from this (that is perhaps, the capital of Osh) the pilgrim went north across hilly sand-heaps and waste plains for above 500 *li* and came to *Kie(Ka)-sha*. This country he describes as being above 5000 *li* in circuit with many sand-heaps and little fertile soil; it yielded good crops and had a luxuriance of fruits and flowers. It produced fine woollen stuffs and fine woven woollen rugs; the people had the custom of flattening their babies' heads by compression; they were ill-favoured, tattooed their bodies and they had green eyes; their writing had been copied from that of India, and although changes had been made the substance was still preserved; their spoken language was different from the languages of other countries. The inhabitants were sincere believers in Buddhism; there were some hundreds of Buddhist monasteries with more than 1000 Brethren all adherents of the Sarvâstivâdin School; these men read their scriptures much, without penetrating the meaning, and so there were many who had in this way read through all the canon and the vibhâshâs (or Commentaries).

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[1] op. c. p. 119. "Through Asia," Vol. I, p. 261. See Hsin-chiang Intª.

A Chinese note inserted in the text of this passage tells us that *Ka* (or *K'a*)-*sha* is the old *Su* (or *Shu*)-*leh*, that this latter was the name of the capital of the country, and that it was incorrect for *Shih-li-ki-li-to-ti* which was the correct name. The last is restored by Julien as "Śrīkrītati", a word which does not seem to be known to the dictionaries. It is possibly a mistaken identification by the Chinese annotator. But the *Ka-sna* of our text is apparently the *Su-leh* of Chinese writers from the time of the Han dynasty down to that of the Mongols (Yuan). In the latter period the foreign name Kāshghar or Kashgar came to be used, but some Chinese writers still occasionally employ the old name. The country called Su-leh was evidently in former times of much greater extent than the modern district of Kashgar. Our pilgrim's Ka-sha is apparently the *Ka-shih* (迦師) which was the capital of Su-leh in the time of the After-Wei and T'ang dynasties.[1] It may be also the Ka-sha mentioned in a Mahāyāna treatise as the name of a foreign land the people of which had "fine", that is shrill voices,[2] and it may be the Khasha which was in the Bṛihat-Samhitā's north-east division.[3] In the Chinese translations of the Divyāvadāna one text gives *Ka-shih*, and the other *Ka-sha*, as the name of the country to which Prince Asoka went from Takshaśilā. This seems to favour Burnouf's suggested correction of Khasa for the "Śvaśa" of the original text.[4] Ka-sha (or Ka-shih) that is perhaps Kāsh, was the name of the capital and of the country. The city, we are told, was in the water, and hence perhaps the name Su-leh, that is Su-lik or Su-laq, from *su*, "water". Its modern designation

[1] T'ang Shu, *ch.* 221 (2d part). In A.D. 435 Su-leh and eight other states of the "West Countries" gave in their allegiance to the Wei dynasty (T'ung-chien Kang-mu, Sung Wên Huang Ti, yuan-chia 12th year).

[2] P'u-sa-shan-chie-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 185); Abhi-ta-vib., *ch.* 79.

[3] Alberuni Vol. I, p. 303.

[4] Divyāv. p. 372; Bur. Int. p. 362 note; A-yü-wang-ching *ch.* 1; A-yü-wang-chuan, *ch.* 1.

is translated by the Chinese "Motley (kash) houses (gar),[1] but this seems to be an improbable rendering. There is a Turki word *Kasha* (or Kashka) which means "variously coloured", but *gar*, in Mongolian *ger*, is perhaps for the Chinese interpretation of a corruption of the Hindu word *ghar* which means "a house".

The term rendered in the above passage by "hilly sand-heaps" is *shan-chi* (山 磧) literally, "hill stone-heaps", but *chi* is here, as in many other passages, to be taken in the sense of "sand-accumulation". According to our pilgrim hills covered with sand and waste plains were the features of the country between Osh and Kashgar, and Mr. Sven Hedin describes the country on the east side of Yangihissar as "ranges of low hills of sand, clay, and conglomerate".[2]

In the expressions "fine woollen stuffs" and "woollen rugs" in the above passage the word for "woollen" is *tieh* (氎). This is the reading of the A and C texts, but instead of *tie* the B and D texts have *chan* (氈), which means "felt". The term *pai-tie*, as we have seen, is used as a name for "cotton cloth", but *tieh* is also used in the sense of *wool*. This is, apparently, the meaning of the word here, but we should perhaps regard *chan* as the correct reading.

The custom of flattening babies' heads, common to this country with Kuchih, is mentioned by other writers; so also are the tattooing, and the peculiar eyes. But instead of the "green eyes' which the pilgrim ascribes to the people other authorities represent them as having "turquoise pupils (碧 瞳)". We are told also that all the inhabitants of this country were born with six fingers on each hand; and six toes on each foot.[3]

The pilgrim, it will be observed, describes the writing of Kashgar as, like that of Kuchih, borrowed from India; although certain letters had been left out, and other changes

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[1] Hsin-chiang, *ch.* 8.

[2] "Through Asia," Vol. 1, p. 256.

[3] Wei-Shu, *ch.* 102.

made, the essentials of the Indian script had been preserved. As to the Brethren, and their use of the Buddhist scriptures, Julien's rendering seems to make the author contradict himself. What the pilgrim tells us is that the monks spent much of their time humming the books, without studying the meaning, and because they read in this hurried way many of them had succeeded in going through all the Tripiṭaka and the Vibhāshas or Commentaries. He does not say that "il y a un grand nombre de personnes qui lisent et comprennent les trois Recueils et le Vibhāchā".

The reader of the passage now under notice will observe that the pilgrim does not tell us anything of the form of government in Kashgar. We know, however, that in the T'ang period the country was under Chinese administration, with the designation Su-le-ch'ên or Su-leh Military station, the military governor being a Chinese official.

CHE-KU-KA.

The narrative in the Records proceeding relates that from Kashgar the pilgrim travelled south-east above 500 *li* crossing the Sitā river and going over a large sandy mountain-range to the *Che-ku-ka* country. The pilgrim describes this country as being above 1000 *li* in circuit, and its capital as above ten *li* in circuit; it was naturally very strong and it had a flourishing settled population. There was a succession of hills and rising grounds all covered with stones and gravel, where the country lay along the two rivers there was some cultivation; fruits such as grapes, pears, and plums were abundant; the winds were cold; the inhabitants were rude and deceitful, and robbery was openly practised. The writing was like that of Khoten, but the spoken language was different, and the people had little culture or education; they were sincere Buddhists, and they enjoyed good works. There were some tens of Buddhist monasteries many of which were in ruins; the Brethren, of whom there were above 100, were Mahāyānists. The pilgrim then gives an account of a great mountain in the south of the country with numerous topes in memory of the Indian arhats who had passed away on the mountain, and tells us of the three arhats in prolonged samādhi in its caves. The pilgrim adds that in this country the treatises (*pu* 部) of Mahāyāna canonical texts were very numerous, more than in any other country to which Buddhism had reached.

Of treatises of 100000 stanzas each there were more than ten, and shorter treatises had a very wide-spread circulation.

A note to the text by the native editor tells us that the *Che-ku-ka* of the passage is the old *Tsü* (or *Tsie*)-kü (沮渠). This latter word is found given as an official title among the Hiungnu, and we are told that it became a proper name.[1] Our pilgrim's Che-ku-ka is apparently the *So-kü* (莎車) of the Han period, and the *Chu-kü-p'o* (朱俱波) of later times.[2] *So-kü* is placed 1000 *li* west of Khoten and 900 *li* south of *Su-leh* (Kashgar), and Sung-yun makes *Chu-kü-p'o* to be five days' journey from Khoten.[3] Modern Chinese authorities identify the old So-kü with the modern Yerkiang or Yarkand, and to some extent Che-ku-ka answers this identification.[4] Yule, however, thinks that the particulars of our pilgrim's description "would seem to point to a site among the hills south of Yarkand", while the distances given from Kashgar and Khoten to Che-ku-ka agree with modern itineraries from the same places to Yarkand.[5] The name used by our pilgrim was perhaps, as in the T'ang-Shu, that of the tribe or people by which the district was occupied.[6] A Tibetan writer tells us that "the Sanskrit name for Yarkhan (or Yarkand) is Arghan", and that our pilgrim calls it "Su-kakai".[7]

For the last clause of the passage here translated with omissions the Chinese is 自茲已降其流寔廣. This is in Julien's rendering.—"Depuis qu'elle (that is, "la doctrine du Mahāyāna") a été introduite dans ce pays jusqu'à nos

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[1] Ma T. l., *ch.* 341.

[2] The character 車 is commonly read *chê*, but in this combination as in many other cases it is to be red *ku* or *kü*. The *Che-ku-ka* of this passage is apparently the 遮居迦 of *ch.* 55 of the Ta-fang-têng-ta-chi-ching.

[3] Ka-lan-chi, *ch.* 5.

[4] Hsin-chiang, *ch.* 8; Li-tai-yen-ko-piao, *ch.* 3.

[5] op. c. p. 120.

[6] T'ang-Shu, *ch.* 221 (2d part).

[7] "Buddhist and other legends about Khoten" by Babu Sarat Chandra Dás C. I. E. in J. A. S. Ben. Vol. LIV, p. 198.

jours, elle s'est étendue d'une manière remarquable.". It will be seen that there is nothing in the text corresponding to "elle a été introduite dans ce pays", and the translator seems to have quite missed the author's meaning. The pilgrim tells us that no other Buddhist country had so many Mahāyāna texts as Che-ku-ka had, that of those treatises having 100 000 slokas there were about ten in the country, and that "decreasing from this their circulation was wide", that is the treatises which had a diminished number of slokas had an increased circulation.

KU-SA-TAN-NA (KHOTEN).

From Che-ku-ka, the narrative proceeds to relate, the pilgrim went east over mountain ranges and their valleys above 800 *li* and came to *Ku*-(or *Kü*)-*sa-tan-na*. This country he describes as being above 4000 *li* in circuit, more than half of it being sand-dunes; the cultivated land, which was very limited, yielded cereals and fruits of various kinds; the country produced rugs, fine felt, and silk of artistic texture, it also yielded white and black jade. The climate was genial, but there were whirlwinds and flying dust. The people were of gentle disposition, fond of the practical arts; they were in easy circumstances, and had settled occupations. The nation esteemed music and the people were fond of dance and song; a few clothed themselves in woollens and furs, the majority wearing silk and calico (or "white felt", according to some texts). The system of writing had been taken from that of India, but the structure had been slightly altered by a sort of successive changes; the spoken language differed from that of other countries. The people were Buddhists, and there were above 100 Monasteries, with more than 5000 Brethren chiefly Mahāyānists. The reigning sovereign was warlike and a Buddhist, and he claimed Vaiśravaṇa-deva as his progenitor. This is justified by the legend which follows, which also accounts for the Sanskrit name of the country. When Asoka banished the officials who had blinded Kunāla in Takshaśilā these men with their families were settled in the wild land to the west of the Kustana district. About the time this occurred, an imperial prince of China, being sent into exile, settled in the country to the east of Kustana. The Takshasilā exiles had raised one of their number to the position of king, and the Chinese prince also called himself king, and sought to gain preeminence over the Takshasilā chief, but could not succeed. These two princes

with their retinues met on hunting expeditions and on one occasion they disputed about their hereditary precedence and very nearly came to battle. They were kept from a pitched battle by the advice that their military prowess could not be displayed on a hunting expedition, and that they should go back to their respective districts, and after due training meet to decide their claims by battle. This was agreed to, and in due course the chiefs with their armies met and fought; the Takshaśilā chief being defeated fled, but was captured and beheaded. Then the Chinese prince decided to settle in the district between the territory which he occupied and that in which the Takshaśila people had settled. Wishing to select a site for his capital he called for one expert in Land-science whereupon a Pâsupata Tîrthika appeared bearing a calabash full of water. This person described a circle on the ground with the water, and then suddenly disappeared. Here was built the capital, and although not strong the city had continued impregnable from that time down. When this king found himself an octogenarian, and still heirless, he prayed to Vaiśravana for a son and heir, and the boon was granted in a miraculous manner, a child being produced from the god's forehead. Then to provide milk for the boy the god caused a teat to rise up on the face of the ground, and from it milk issued; hence came the name of the country, Ku-stana (Earth-teat).

Above ten *li* to the south of the capital was a large monastery, built by a former king of the country for the arhat Vairochana. Before Buddhism reached this land the arhat had come to it from Kashmir, and lodging in a wood had gone into samâdhi. On hearing of the peculiar stranger the king went to see him, and asked him "who he was to live alone in a dark wood" The arhat replied that he was a disciple of Ju-lai, and the king farther enquired as to the virtue and divinity of Ju-lai. To this the arhat replied—"Ju-lai has tender pity for the four classes of living creatures, and shews the right way to the three Worlds, he may appear visibly or be hidden from view: he exhibits birth and extinction; those who follow his system become exempt from life and death, while those who err from his religion are caught in the net of carnal attachment". The king became converted to Buddhism, built the monastery, and held a religious assembly; Afterwards in accordance with the arhat's prediction an image of Buddha descended from upper space, bringing a gong for the use of the monastery.

Above twenty *li* to the south-west of the capital was the Gośringa mountain double-peaked with cliffs sheer on all sides. Between the steep mountain-side and the ravine was a monastery containing an image of Buddha which emitted a bright light.

The Buddha had visited this place, preached here, and prophesied that a country would arise here which should reverence his religion and follow the Mahâyâna.

In the steep side of the Gośringa mountain was a large cave in which was an arhat who had gone into the "mind-extinguishing samâdhi", awaiting the coming of Maitreya, and had been respectfully served without cessation for several centuries. Within recent times a landslip had closed the entrance to the cave and the king had sent his soldiers to remove the blocking rocks. But a swarm of black wasps inflicting poisonous stings on the soldiers caused them to desist, and so the entrance to the cave remained closed.

Above ten *li* to the south-west of the capital was the *Ti-ka-p'o-fo-na* monastery in which was a standing cemented(?) image of the Buddha which had come from Kuchih. An ambassador from Khoten had been sent to Kuchih, and while there he was a constant worshipper of the image. On his return to his native place he continued to reverence the absent image, and one night the image came over to the official, who thereupon gave up his residence, and built this monastery

A journey of more than 300 *li* to the west of the capital brought one to the *Po-ka-i* city in which was a sitting image of the Buddha, above seven feet high, crowned with a tiara. This image had formerly been in Kashmir, and the pilgrim relates the local account of its transfer to this place.

Also to the west of the capital, and at a distance from it of about 150 *li* on the highway through the desert, were mounds which were inhabited by certain rodents, and the pilgrim gives the legend which related the origin of the worship paid to these animals.

Five or six *li* from the capital, still on the west side, was the *Sha-mo-no* (Samajnâ) monastery with a tope, and the pilgrim tells the legend connected with the foundation of the monastery, and the erection of the tope.

To the south-east of the capital was a monastery which is called the *Mo-she* or *Lu-she* sanghârama. This had been built by a queen of a former king of the country, a princess of China, in commemoration of her successful introduction of silk-culture from China. The pilgrim relates the story of the princess smuggling the seeds of the mulberry and the eggs of the silk-worm out of her native land, and bringing them to this place.

Above 100 *li* south-east from the capital was a large river flowing north-west which was used by the inhabitants for irrigating their lands. Then the legend is told about the patriotic official who, when the flow of water was cut off by the dragon

of the river, appeased the dragon by giving himself up to marry his daughter.

To the east of the capital, above 300 *li*, was a great marshy waste in which was a bare dark-red patch of some tens of *ch'ing* (a *ch'ing* being 15.18 square acres). This, according to local tradition, was the field of a great battle between armies of the "East Country" (China) and Kustana. In this battle the Chinese were completely victorious, took the king prisoner, and slaughtered all the army of Kustana; the blood which flowed dyed the ground the colour which it still presents.

Going east from the Battle-field above 30 *li* you come to *P'i-mo* city which had a sandal-wood image of the Buddha more than twenty feet high. This image had supernatural powers, emitting light and effecting cures. Local tradition reported that it was made in the Buddha's life-time by Udayana, king of Kosambi, and that after Buddha's decease it went through the air to *O-lao-lo-ka* (Rallaka?) in the north of the Kustana country. The people of that city were not Buddhists, and did not reverence the image. An arhat worshipped the image, and the king subjected the saint to the ignominy of being covered with sand and mud. A few days afterwards, as the arhat predicted, the city was overwhelmed by a great shower of sand and mud, which buried it completely. The image escaped to P'i-mo, and Rallaka had remained a waste. Two days after the arhat had gone away there fell a shower of precious substances in the streets of the city; these were buried by the subsequent sand and mud; in after times, when various rulers tried to excavate for the precious substances, violent storms arose, and dense mists made it impossible to keep the path.

From the P'i-mo valley going east into the desert you travel for above 200 *li* and reach the *Ni-jang* city. This was three or four *li* in circuit and was situated in a great marsh. The hot watery nature of this district, and its wastes of reeds, made it impassable except by the road through the city. This was regarded as the eastern frontier barrier of Kustana.

The *Kü* (or *Ku*)-*sa-tan-na* of this passage is translated into Chinese by *Ti-ju* (地 乳) or "Earth-teat", and it is supposed to be the transcription of a Sanskrit word Kustana composed of ku, *earth* and stana, a *woman's breast, an udder*. By this name the pilgrim designates a region, with its capital, which corresponds in some measure to the modern Khoten, and the latter may be substituted for his *Ku-sa-tan-na*. In the Chinese note to the text we

are also told that other names for the district were *Huan-na* the native designation, their *elegant* (or according to to one text, *incorrect*) name; *Yü* (in some texts *Ch'ien*)-*tun* used by the Hiung-nu, *K'i* (or *Huoh*)-*tan* by the Tartars, *K'ü-tan* by the Hindus, and *Yü-t'ien* the old incorrect Chinese name.[1] We are told in a glossary on this *chuan* that all these terms denoted different places in the Khoten region, but this is evidently a mistake. The names *K'ü-tan* and *Yü-t'ien* seem to point to a word like Go-dan or Gothān. The former is found in Tūrki, and the latter in the Indian vernacular, and they represent the Sanskrit *Gosthāna*. These words denote a *place* or *station for cattle*. A mispronunciation of Gosthāna in the monasteries of the country may have led to the sound Kustana, and the silly legend invented to account for the name.[2] That the name which the pilgrim here transcribes was Gosthāna appears probable from the character which gives the first syllable, viz. *Kü* ([illegible]) which he uses to write *Go-* in Gośringa. The Hiung-nu name *Yü-tun* may have been the word which is now pronounced Atun by the Manchus, and denotes a *station* or *inclosure for cattle*. For the Chinese, however, *Yü-t'ien* has always been the recognized name for the country and its capital, and the Ho-t'ien or Khoten of the present dynasty has replaced it only in official or government writings. This Ho-tien is perhaps the Tartar *Huoh-tan* and means simply *the city*.[3] The capital is now

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[1] These names are—*Huan-na* (渙那), *Yü-tun* (于遁) or *Ch'ien* (于)-*tun*, *Huoh* or *K'i-tan* (谿 or 豁旦), Ku-tan (屈丹), *Yü-tien* (于闐). This last is the term used in the Ta-fang-têng-ta-chi-ching, *ch.* 55. The other forms of the name or names are seldom met with in any variety of Chinese literature.

[2] In the "Dsam-ling-Gyeshe" as translated by Babu Sarat Chandra Dás C. I. E. we find the following statement—"To the south of Yarkhan there is a desert which having crossed, we arrive at the country called Gosthan, or place of virtue now, vulgarly called Khothan (or Khöten), which contains the mountain of Langri (Goshirsha) mentioned in the religious work called Langri Lungtan". J. A. S. Ben. Vol. LV, l. c. The name Lang (or Glang)-ri means "Ox-mountain"

[3] But this explanation of the name is not accepted.

called Ilchi or Ilichi or *Ngo-li-chi* (額里齊). As Mr. Rockhill has shewn, the Tibetan name for Khoten is Li-yul which is explained as meaning "Bell-metal (Li, the Sanskrit Riti) Country (Yul)".[1] But the first part of this name may be the Chinese word *Li* (犛) which denotes "the Yak". This animal, in Turki *Kotas*, is still found wild in the Khoten region. Then "U-then", the great city of Li-yul in the Tibetan scriptures, is evidently the Chinese *Yü-t'ien* and not, as Mr. Rockhill thinks "a modern corruption of Kusthana".

Our pilgrim's story of the first king of this country being one of the officials in Takshaśila who took out the eyes of Kunāla does not agree with the Life. There it is Kunāla himself who is the founder of the colony. So also in the Tibetan work from which Mr. Rockhill gives extracts it is a son of Asoka named "Kusthana" who is the founder of Khoten.

The story here told about the arhat Vairochana for whom a monastery was built is very interesting. This arhat does not seem to be known to the Buddhist scriptures, but he is evidently the Bodhisattva Manjuśrī of the Tibetan books when he came as a man, with the name Vairochana, to teach the Tibetan vernacular to the peasants, and also to introduce Buddhism. The monastery built for him by the king is the Ts'arma Vihāra of the Tibetan text. In the passage now under consideration the arhat gives the king a description of the Julai or Tathāgata which is Lokottaravādin or even Mahāyānist. According to these Schools the Julai does not really pass through the Jātakas of the books, and he is not actually born as a human being, and does not suffer death.—"He is visible or invisible, he exhibits (示) birth and death". This description is at utter variance with the answer which the arhat gives the king in the Life. There the Julai is the Buddha of the scriptures, the prince who was son of

[1] Rockhill, 'Life,' ch. VIII. See also Mr. Sarat Chandra Dás in J. A. S. Ben. l. c.

Suddhodana, and gave up his royal inheritance to save the world. This orthodox account of the Buddha was the natural one to give to an ignorant enquirer, and we should regard the words put into the mouth of the arhat in the Records as an interpolation by some sectarian editor. It will be seen that Yuan-chuang like Fa-hsien represents the Buddhists of this district as being for the most part Mahāyānists.[1] But there was at least one establishment of the Sarvāstivādins,[2] and there may have been some Brethren of other schools.

The Gośringa or Ox-horn hill, which was to the south-west of the capital, is apparently, as Mr. Rockhill suggests, the Gośīrsha of his Tibetan book. But we have no canonical record of the Buddha having visited this country and sojourned on this mountain.

To the south-west of the capital, according to our text, was a Buddhist monastery called *Ti-ka-p'o-fo-na*. This is doubtfully restored by Julien as Dīrghabhāvana, but the characters *Ti-ka* (地 迦) seem to require rather Tikabhāvāna. This name gives a show of meaning as the image had *changed its abode* having flown from Kuchih to Khoten. Our pilgrim describes this image as a *Ka-chu* (夾 紵) standing image of Buddha". Julien translates *Ka-chu* by "couverte d'un double tissu de soie", but this rendering violates the meaning and cannot be accepted. I have proposed "cemented" as the meaning, taking the author to indicate that the image was not carved from one piece of wood, but was made up of parts cemented together. This interpretation is apparently in accordance with a glossary which explains *Ka-chu* as "made with cemented edges" The word seems to be a foreign one, and it may be connected with the Türki word *gaj*, and the Hindu *gach*, which mean *cement* or *mortar*. It is applied to the plastering of wooden tiles to make the roof of a temple in China,[3]

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[1] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 3.

[2] It was in a monastery of Brethren belonging to this School that our pilgrim lodged while at Khoten.

[3] T'ang-Shu, *ch.* 18.

but it is not of frequent occurrence. It was apparently a strange term to the editors of the Han-shan edition of these Records, for they state in a note that they had found *Kachu* to be what was called in their time *t'ā* (or *t'ok*)-*sha* (脫沙).

In the passage under consid ration the pilgrim's description places the city *Po-ka-i* (孛伽夷) 300 *li* to the west of the capital. In the Life this was the first city in Khoten which Yuan-chuang reached on his way through the country. Julien suggests "Pogaï" as the original form, but this may have been a word like Bhāgya.

The name of the monastery five or six *li* to the west of the capital which Yuan-ch ang here gives as *Sha-mo-joh* (or *noh*) (娑摩若) is rest red by Julien as "Samājñā", and he takes this to have be n the name of the arhat on whose behalf the monastery was built. This may have been so, but the text does n t give any indication as to the arhat's name. If we ta e it to have been Samajñā that word has the meaning of *fame* or *reputation*, and Yaśas, the name of the grea arhat in Asoka's time, and of the minister of Asoka who led a colony to Khoten, also means *fame* or *reputation*.

Then we have the monast ry five or six *li* to the south-east of the capital which in some texts is called Lu-she (or ye) (鹿射). But instead of this the D text has *Mo* (麼)-*she*, and C has *Shu* (麈)-*s* e. We find in other books a story about the introduction of the silk-worm into Khoten very similar to that given i this passage, but the Princess is only from a "neighbourin country" without any mention of China.[1] In Mr. Rockhil s Tibetan texts she is Pu-nye-shar a daughter of the r ler of China. The Ma-dza of these texts is evidently the Mo-she of the D edition of our Records, the place in K oten where the Princess commenced the rearing of the silk-worm.

The *Pi-mo* (媲摩) that is Bhīmā city, which the passage under consideration places above 330 *li* to the east of the

[1] Ma T. L, *ch.* 337.

capital of this country, was visited by the pilgrim on his way from the capital towards China. He applies the name to the city, and to the valley or river-course in which it was situated. This Bhīmā is Durgā and she is the Śrī-Mahādevī mentioned in Tibetan books as worshipped in this country. In other works we read of a monastery called *Pi-mo* (比摩), which was 500 *li* to the west of Khoten city. It was here that Lao-tzŭ left earth for Heaven preparatory to his descent in India to become the Buddha.[1] It is strange to find Yuan-chuang here representing Udayana's sandal-wood image of the Buddha as having flown from Kosambi to Khoten. This is not in agreement with other accounts of the fortunes of that image, or his own statements in *Chuan* V. The Rallaka or Stag city in the north of Khoten, which was the first abode of the image in this country, became as we are told here, buried under sand and mud. Its fate in this respect is quoted in later works as an example of what has befallen cities and towns in the great desert region east of the Ts'ung-Ling.[2]

The *Ni-jang* (or *-yang*) city of our pilgrim, which was 200 *li* east from Bhīmā in the desert, has been identified with the present Niya. Mr. Sven Hedin writing about it with reference to Yuan-chuang's account tells us that "the Chinese traveller's description of Niya and its situation agrees in all particulars with the actual state of things, as I myself was able to verify".[3]

KHOTEN TO NA-FO-P'O.

The narrative in the Records continues—Going east from this (that is, Nijang) the pilgrim entered the „Great Flowing-Sand". As the sand is in constant motion it is collected and dispersed by the wind. As there are no tracks for travellers many go

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[1] Wei-Shu, *ch.* 102.

[2] e. g. in Shêng-wu-chi, *ch.* 4.

[3] Through Asia p. 783, and see Chs. LX and LXII for much about Khoten. Prejevalsky identifies *Pi-mo* with Marco Polo's Pein (or Peym) and *Ni-jang* with the modern Kiria. See his "From Kulja across the Tian-shan to Lob-nor" p. 156.

astray; on every side is a great vast space with nothing to go by, so travellers pile up bones left behind to be marks; there is neither water nor vegetation and there is much hot wind; when the wind blows men and animals lose their senses and become unwell. One constantly hears singing and whistling, and sometimes wailing; while looking and listening one becomes stupified, and consequently there is frequent loss of life, and so these phenomena are caused by demons and sprites. A journey of more than 400 *li* brought the pilgrim to the old country of *Tu-huo-lo* (Tokhara). This country and its cities had long been unoccupied wastes. Going on east from this the pilgrim after a journey of above 600 *li* arrived at *Che-mo-t'o-na* old country, the *Nie-mo* land, with lofty city-walls but without an inhabitant. Then continuing his journey he went north-east for above 1000 *li* and reached the old country of *Na-fo-p'o*, the *Lou-lan* territory.

The description here given of the passage of the great desert east of Khoten agrees with the accounts by other old travellers such as Fa-hsien, P'ei-chü, and Marco Polo.

The name *Che-mo-t'o-na* given by our pilgrim to the country which lay to the east of the former Tokhara country is evidently a Sanskrit word, and it is possibly a rendering of a native term. The text tells us that the country was the *Nie-mo* (涅末) land. But the correct reading is *Chü*(沮 or 且)-*mo* which is given in the Life, the T'ang-Shu, and other old treatises. This is said to have been originally the name of the capital of the country.[1]

The *Na-fo-p'o* of this passage we are told in the text was the old *Lou-lan*. This country, once powerful and flourishing, lay about 1500 *li* to the east of Khoten.[2] In the year B. C. 77 its prince was treacherously murdered by the Chinese envoy, and on this occasion the new name *Shen-shan* was given to to the country. The common way of writing this is 鄯善 but the first syllable is also written 鱓, and the name is pronounced *Ch'an* (or *Shan*)-*shan*. At one time the capital of the country was *Han-ni* (扜泥),[3]

[1] Wei-Shu, *ch.* 102 where the name is written 且末.
[2] Ma T. L. *ch.* 357.
[3] Wei-Shu, *ch.* 102; Yuan-chien-lei-han, *ch.* 236.

and another important city it was *I-sun* (伊循) at which there was a Chinese settlement.[1] Now *isun* is a Tartar word for *nine*, and *nava* is the Sanskrit word for *nine*, so our pilgrim's *Na-fo-p'o* may possibly be for a word like *Nava-bhāga*. But this Sanskrit name, probably used only in the Buddhist monasteries, was never employed by the ordinary Chinese who continued to call the country Shan-shan as long as it existed. Its modern representative is found by recent Chinese writers in Mahai-Gobi and Pijan.[2] In the Ta-fang-têng-ta-chi-ching the name used is the old and common Chinese designation *Shan-shan*.[3]

CONCLUSION.

The narrative of the Records terminates with the arrival of the pilgrim in the country which had been *Na-fo-p'o*, but a few sentences are appended to form a graceful epilogue. Julien here had the faulty and imperfect B text, and his translation of the passage was made under a partial misapprehension of the meaning of the author. What the latter writes may be freely rendered as follows—

> I have set forth at length natural scenery and ascertained territorial divisions. I have explained the qualities of national customs and climatic characteristics. Moral conduct is not constant and tastes vary; where matters cannot be thoroughly verified one may not be dogmatic. Wherever I went I made notes, and in mentioning what I saw and heard I recorded the aspirations for [Chinese] civilisation. It is a fact that from here to where the sun sets all have experienced [His Majesty's] beneficence, and wherever his influence reaches all admire his perfect virtue. The whole world having been united under one sway I have not been a mere individual on a political mission travelling a myriad *li* along a post-road.

As this passage appears in all the texts it forms the close of the pilgrim's account, but it is perhaps better to regard it as an addition made by the courtly editor, per-

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[1] Yuan-chien-lei-han l. c.

[2] Hsin-chiang, *ch.* 2; Shêng-wu-chi, *ch.* 4.

[3] *Ch.* 55.

haps Pien-chi, at the time the Ms. was presented to the Emperor. It apparently puzzled subsequent editors and the texts present considerable varieties. Thus the words which Julien renders—"il n'est pas possible d'en parler exactement d'après ses souvenirs" are *Fei-k'o-yi-shuo* (非可憶說) This is the reading of the B text, but instead of the third character here A and C have yi (抑), and D has *yang* (仰). It is the A text which has been followed in the rendering "one may not be dogmatic". So also the words for—"It is a fact that from here to where the sun sets all have experienced his beneficence" are not in the B text, but are in all the other texts. Further the words for "The whole world having been united under one sway" are in A, C, and D, but not in B, and in D they are repeated. In the expression—"I have not been a mere individual" the original for individual is *tan-ch'ê* (單車) literally, "a single carriage". This term is applied to an official sent to a foreign state on government service without escort or retinue. Since all the world was united as one empire under Chinese sway, according to the audacious exaggeration of the writer, the pilgrim was not a mere solitary envoy obliged to keep to the post-road and the official resting-places. The benevolent rule and moral influence of his sovereign had produced effects to the furthest region of the pilgrim's travels, and gave him dignity and importance as a subject of the incomparable ruler.

ABBREVIATIONS USED.

The four texts of the Hsi-yü-chi mentioned in Ch. I are indicated by the letters A, B, C, D in the following order. The old Chinese edition is A, the Han-shan Ming edition is B, the old Japanese text is C, and the recent Japanese reprint is D.

Abhi-ta-vib.	for Abhidharma-mahā-vibhāshā-śāstra (Bunyiu, No. 1263).
Alberuni	for Alberuni's 'India', tr. by Sachau.
A. G. I.	for 'Ancient Geography of India' by General Cunningham.
As. Res	for Asiatic Researches.
B.	for the Revd S. Beal.
Baber	for 'Memoirs of Baber' tr. by Laidley and Erskine.
Bigandet	for 'Legend of Gaudama the Buddha' by Bishop Bigandet.
B. T. S.	for Buddhist Text Society.
Bud. Lit. Nep.	for 'The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal' by Rājendralāla Mitra.
Bun.	for 'Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka' by Bunyiu Nanjio. In very many cases the "Bun." is omitted.
Bur. Int.	for 'Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien', par E. Burnouf.

Chavannes	for 'Mémoire composé à l'époque de la grande dynastie T'ang &c.', tr. by Ed. Chavannes.
Chung-hsü-ching	for Fo-shuo-chung-hsü-mo-ho-ti-ching (Bun. No. 859).
Cor. Ins. Ind.	for Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
Dh.	for Dhammapada, ed. Fausböll.
Digh. Nik.	for Dīgha Nikāya (P. T. S.).
Dīp.	for Dīpavamsa, ed. Oldenberg.
Divyāv.	for Divyāvadāna, ed. Cowell and Neill.
F.	for Fa-hsien.
Fang-chih	for Shih-ka-fang-chih (Bun. No. 1470).
Hsi-yü-ch'iu	for Ta-T'ang-hsi-yü-ch'iu-fa-kao-sêng-chuan (No. 1491).
Hsing-chi-ching	for Fo-pên-hsing-chi-ching (No. 680).
Hsin-chiang	for Chin-ting-hsin-chiang-chih-liao (欽定新疆識略).
Ind. Ant.	for Indian Antiquary.
Ind. Lit.	for Weber's 'History of Indian Literature' (Trübner's Oriental Series).
J.	for St. Julien.
J. A.	for Journal Asiatique.
J. As. S. Ben.	for Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J. P. T. S.	for Journal of the Pali Text Society.
J. R. A. S.	for Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Jāt.	for The Jātaka, ed. Fausböll.
Ka-lan-chi	for Lo-yang-Ka-lan-chi.
K'ai-yuan-lu	for K'ai-yuan-Shih-chiao-lu (No. 1485).
Lal.	for Lalitavistara.
Life, The	for Ta-tzŭ-ên-ssŭ-San-tsang-fa-shih-

	chuan, and Julien's tr. 'Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Thsang.'
Ma T. l.	for Ma Tuan-lin's Wên-hsien-t'ung-k'ao.
Mah.	for Mahāvaṃsa, tr. Wijesiṃha.
Mahāvastu	for Mahāvastu, ed. Senart.
Maj. Nik.	for Majjhima Nikāya (P. T. S.).
M. B.	for Hardy's 'Manual of Buddhism', 2d ed.
Med. Res.	for 'Mediæval Researches from Eastern Asiatic sources', by Dr. Bretschneider.
Mi-sa-sai-lü	for Mahîśâsaka-vinaya (No. 1122).
Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei	for Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei-nei-fa-chuan (No. 1492).
P. T. S.	for Pali Text Society.
Records The	for Hsi-yü-chi.
Rockhill, Life.	for 'Life of the Buddha', by W. W. Rockhill.
Sam. Nik.	for Samyutta Nikāya (P. T. S.).
Sar. Vin.	for Mûla-sarvâstivâda-nikāya-vinaya, the different sections being quoted by their titles added.
S. B. E.	for 'Sacred Books of the East', Oxford.
Sêng-ki-lü	for Mahâsaṅghika-vinaya (No. 1119).
Shan-chien-lü	for Shan-chien-lü-p'i-p'o-sha (No. 1125).
Shih-li-ching	for 佛說十力經. Intn.
Ssŭ-fên-lü	for Ssŭ-fên-lü-tsang (No. 1117).
Takakusu	for I Tsing's 'Record of the Buddhist Religion', tr. by J. Takakusu.
Târ.	for Târanâtha's 'History of Buddhism', tr. Schiefner.
Tib. Tales	for Schiefner's 'Tibetan Tales', tr. Ralston.
Vin. or. Vinaya	for The Pali Vinaya, ed. Oldenberg.
Vinaya Texts	for Translations from the Pali Vinaya by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg (S. B. E.).

Wass. Bud.	for 'Der Buddhismus' by Wassiljew tr. Schiefner.
Wu-fên-lü	This is the Mahîsâsaka-vinaya (No. 1122).
Yin-kuo-ching	for Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching (No. 666).

INDEX OF THE CHINESE FORMS OF THE NAMES OF INDIAN PERSONS.

A.

C.

F.

H.

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S.

T.

THE ITINERARY OF YUAN-CHWANG.

I. CHINA TO INDIA.
II. IN INDIA.
III. INDIA TO CHINA.

WITH TWO MAPS.

COMPILED BY

VINCENT A. SMITH, M. R. A. S.

Note. The pilgrim's routes from China to India and from India to China are plotted on an extract from Mr. Stanford's map of Asia on the scale of 110 miles to the inch.

In working out the details the following books treating of Central Asia have been used in addition to Mr. Watters' volumes and Beal's translations: -(1) Chavannes, *Documents sur les Turcs Occidentaux* (St. Pétersbourg, 1903). The map inserted has no scale marked, but the author informs me that it is drawn approximately to the scale of 1 in 250,000, or 39.4 English miles to the inch; (2) same author, *Voyage de Song-yun dans l'Udyāna et le Gandhāra* (École Fr. de l'extrême Or., Hanoi, 1903); (3) Sven Hedin, *Through Asia* (London. 1898, with maps the Pāmir and the Tarim basin); (4) Stein, *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan* (London, 1903, with a map of portions of Chinese Turkestan); (5) Bretschneider, *Mediæval Researches* (London, 1888, Trübner's *Or. Ser.*, with a map of the middle part of Asia); (6) India Office *map of India*, including the countries to the north-west, on the scale of 32 miles to the inch.

Mr. W. R. Carles, C. M. G. (Consular Service in China, Ret^{d}) has kindly supplied me with references and given valuable help in other ways. (V. A. S.)

I. CHINA TO INDIA.

From September, 629 A.D. to September, 630 A.D.

In the month of September 629 A.D.,[1] Yuan-chwang,[2] being then twenty-eight or twenty-nine years of age,[3] quitted Ch'ang-an,[4] at that time the seat of the imperial court, and started on his long pilgrimage.

From the capital he proceeded in a north-westerly direction through the provinces of Shen-si and Kan-suh, passing through the towns of Tsin-chau and Lan-chau, and so arriving at Liang-chau, the great mart and meeting-place for merchants and travellers from the west. The pilgrim was occupied for more than a month at Liang-chau, presumably in completing his equipment, and, when ready, advanced, through Kwa-chau, to the frontier. Crossing the Bulunghir (Hu-lu) river, and traversing the *Kwan*, or barrier, of Yu-mēn (Yuh-mên), he passed four out of five of a series of frontier watch-towers, separated one from the other by intervals of a hundred *li*, or about eighteen miles. In pursuance of friendly advice, he avoided the

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[1] "In the third year and the eighth month of the period Chêng Kwan" (Beal, *Life*, p. 11). Beal equates that year with 630 A.D., but Mr. Watters and M. Chavannes seem to be right in equating it with 629 A.D. September roughly corresponds with the eighth month as the Chinese year begins with "the nearest new moon to the month of February" (Du Halde, *Hist. of China*, Engl. transl., 3. ed., Vol. III, p. 97). A later passage in the *Life* (p. 209) asserts that the pilgrim started in the fourth month, but the date of the eighth month is confirmed by the 'address to the reader' (*postface*) of the *Si-yu-ki* (Chavannes, *Turcs Occidentaux*, p. 193 note), and harmonizes with the details of the narrative of the travels better than the earlier date.

[2] The authorities differ widely concerning the proper way of writing the pilgrim's name. Mr. Watters' spelling is one way of representing the pronunciation current in Peking of the second element in the name, and of the syllables, forming the first portion, which have been substituted for the original *Hiuen*, because that word formed part of the name of the emperor K'ang-hi. The 'scientific spelling' is said to be *Hiuen Tsang* (Chavannes, *Religieux Éminents*, p. 2, note 4; addenda, p. 202).

[3] "Twenty-six years of age", according to Beal (*Life*, p. 11). But the pilgrim was born at some time in the year 600 A.D., according to Watters (p. 10), and so must have completed either twenty-eight or twenty-nine years before starting.

[4] "The capital Ch'ang-an, the modern Hsi-an" (Watters, p. 11); = Tch'ang-ngan (Chavannes); = Sian, Si-ngan-fu, Seganfoo, etc. of maps and books of reference, = Kenjanfu of Marco Polo. The city, which is still of importance, was the capital of the empire during the T'sin, Han, and T'ang dynasties. It is now the capital of the province of Shen-si, and includes a quarter known by the ancient name of Ch'ang-an: N. lat. 34° 17', E. long. 108° 58'.

fifth tower, and plunged into the Mo-ho-yen desert,[1] where he barely escaped with his life, having lost his way and been without water for four nights and five days.

Beyond the desert, he reached I-gu, the capital of a principality subordinate to the kingdom of Kao-ch'ang, the exact position of which apparently has not been determined. Yuan-chwang, who had intended to travel by the northern route past Kagan-Stūpa, the modern Bishbalik or Pei-t'ing, near Gu-chen (Gutchen), to the north of Turfan, was compelled to change his plans in deference to peremptory orders of Kü-wĕn-tai (Khio-wen-t'ai, or Kü-ka), the powerful Turkī king of Kao-ch'ang who insisted on receiving a visit from the pilgrim. A journey of six days through the desert from I-gu brought Yuan-chwang to Pih-li (? = P'ih-chan or Pi-ch'ang between Hami and Turfan), a frontier town of the Kao-ch'ang State. From Pih-li he advanced to Kiao-ho, the Kao-ch'ang capital, now represented by Yar-khoto, a few miles (20 *li*) to the west of Turfan.[2]

Yuan-chwang was detained at Kiao-ho for a month or more, and was then sent on his way laden with valuable gifts. Passing through the towns of Wu-pwan and To-tsin, which do not seem to have been identified (Beal, *Life*, p. 34), he came to the kingdom of A-k'i-ni (O-ki-ni, Yen-k'i). The pilgrim does not state the name of the capital, but other Chinese authors give it as either Nan-ho-ch'êng or Yun-kü, the latter being perhaps only another form of Yen-k'i (Watters, p. 48). Its site is generally identified with Kara-shahr (Kharashahr), a town situated to the north of Lake Bagrash (Bostang, or Barashahr); but M. Chavannes holds that there is good authority for maintaining that the ancient town which he calls Yuen-kiu-tch'eng, lay to the west of the lake.[3] Yuan-chwang stayed only a single night at the capital of A-k'i-ni, and next morning went forwards and crossed 'a great river', now known as the Khaidu (Kaidu, Khaidick, Haïdick, or Tan). After surmounting some hills, and traversing a level valley, he arrived in the kingdom of Ku-chih (Kūcha, Koutcha, K'iu-chi (Beal), Kocha, etc.).

At the capital of the same name he was detained for about sixty days waiting for the snow-covered passes of the Tian-shan (Thian-

[1] The transcription *Mo-kia-yen* is erroneous (Chavannes, *Les Turcs Occidentaux*, p. 74, note 3).

[2] Kiao-ho is generally identified with Karakhojo (Huo-chow), lying about 27 miles (40 versts) to the east of Turfan. But strong reasons exist for believing that the position of the capital in the time of Yuan-chwang is marked by Yar-khoto (Chavannes, *Les Turcs Occ.*, pp. 7, 8, 101, 306, note 2).

[3] Watters, p. 48; *Les Turcs Occ.*, p. 7. Karashahr is also spelt Karachar by French, or Harashar, by Russian writers. Sven Hedin visited the town, which is now 'the chief commercial emporium in that part of Chinese Turkestan' (*Through Asia*, Vol. II, p. 859).

shan) mountains, which lay before him, to be open. Enormous masses of snow accumulate during the winter on the mountains to the south of Lake Issik-kül.[1]

From the city of Ku-chih, Yuan-chwang proceeded in a direction slightly south of west for a distance estimated as 600 *li*,[2] across a strip of desert, to the small kingdom of Poh-lu-ka (= Sanskrit *bâlukâ*, or 'sandy'; also called Kimē, Kimo, Kumē, or Kumo, with the same meaning in Turkī). The intermediate stages are not named by the pilgrim, but he must have passed the towns now called Sairam and Bai. The kingdom of Poh-lu-ka undoubtedly is represented by the modern district of Aksu, but the exact position of the capital is uncertain. The town was known by the name of Nan-ch'eng, or 'South City', and also bore the names of Po-hoan (Pu-han) and Wei-jong. Some Chinese writers identify it with Bai, but Mr. Watters prefers to locate it at a place called Khara-yurgun (Kharayurghun, Karayalghan), while M. Chavannes argues that it should be identified with Yaka-aryk to the north-east of Aksu town, which latter stands in N. lat. 41° 12', E. long. 79° 30'.[3] Perhaps the problem is not capable of an exact solution

Yuan-chwang probably proceeded as far south as Aksu, for it is recorded that when he quitted the kingdom of Poh-lu-ka, he travelled in a north-westerly direction to the foot of the great mountain range now known as the Ping-shan, or 'Ice-mountains' (old Chinese Ling-shan, Turkī Musur-dabghan, with the same meaning). The transit through the passes occupied seven days, and was so arduous that twelve or fourteen of the company perished, and the number of oxen and horses lost was still greater (Beal, *Life*, p 41) There seems to be little doubt that the Pass by which Yuan-chwang travelled was the Bedal (Bédel), and not the Muzart.[4] After emerging from the mountains, he crossed the Ajak-tash or Chen-chu (Tchen-tchou) river, and in due course approached, and, perhaps, actually reached, the shores of Lake Issik-kül, which he designates simply as the 'Clear (*tsing*) Lake'. The Turkish tribes call it Issik-kül, or the 'Warm Sea', because it never freezes, and a Chinese name, Jo-hai. has the same meaning. This great sheet of water,

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[1] Sven Hedin (*Through Asia*, Vol. I, p. 87)

[2] *i. e.* twelve days march, if M. Foucher is right in holding that the expression 'about 50 *li*', as used by Yuan-chwang is ordinarily an approximate equivalent for a day's march, which was variable in length, but averaged about four French leagues, nearly ten English miles. Yuan-chwang liked short marches. (*Notes sur la Géographie du Gandhâra*, pp. 20, 27, n. 1). The distance given in the text seems to be excessive.

[3] Watters p. 65; *Chavannes Turcs Occ.*, pp. 8, 120. and Index *s. v.* Po-hoan and Po lou-kia.

[4] Chavannes, *Turcs Occ.*, p. 9, and Index. *s. v. Pa-ta-ling* and *Bédel*.

about 112 miles long by 38 broad, is also known to the Mongols as the 'Ferruginous Lake' (Temurtu-nor); and is sometimes called the 'Salt Sea'.

Opinions differ concerning the question whether the pilgrim passed to the south of the lake, or followed the easier circuitous route through Karakol by the eastern and northern shores. The balance of evidence seems to be in favour of the former supposition, and the direct route is consequently shown on the map as that taken by Yuan-chwang.[1]

A north-westerly course from Lake Issik-kül brought the traveller to the place which he calls 'the city of the Su-she water', that is to say, the modern Tokmak on the Chu (Tchou) river, which the Chinese knew by the name of Su-she. This city was the residence of the powerful Khakan, or supreme chief, of the Western Turks, who hospitably received the pilgrim,[2] and appointed officers to conduct him as far as Kapiśa on the Indian frontier (Beal, *Life*, p. 44).

At a distance of some seventy or eighty miles (400 *li*) to the west of Tokmak, Yuan-chwang entered the pleasant district lying to the north of the Alexander Mountains, which was known by the name of the 'Thousand Springs' (Chinese *Ch'ien-chuan*, or *Ts'ien-tsiuan*, Turkī *Bing ghyul*, transliterated in Chinese as *Ping-yü*; Mongol *Ming bulak*). The modern town of Tardy seems to mark the position of this district.[3]

The next important halting-place was the town of Talossu, situated about seventeen miles (5 *farsang*) to the south of the modern Auliéata on the river Talas (Taras).[4]

The pilgrim's face was now turned in a south-westerly direction, so that he might traverse in succession the basins of the rivers Jaxartes (Syr Daryā), Zarafshān, and Oxus (Amū Daryā), on his way to India. The town designated as 'White Water City' (Pai-shui-ch'êng, Peh-shwui, *Beal*) cannot have been far from the modern Mankent, which lies about fifteen miles to the north-east of Chimkend. Passing through a town named Kung-yü and a district named Nu-chih-kan, Yuan-chwang arrived at Tashkend (Che-shih, Che-she, etc.), now the capital of Russian Turkestan, situated on a tributary of the Jaxartes in N. lat. 43°, E. long 69°. From Tashkend probably he proceeded direct to Samarkand (Sa-mo-kin). The descriptions of Ferghana (Fei-han) and Ura-têpé (Ura-Tube, Ouratjübe etc.

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[1] Watters (p 69) advocates the direct route, and this view is supported by the observations of Tomaschek (*Turcs Occ.*, Addenda, p. 304). But M. Chavannes (*op. cit.*, p. 9) prefers the other opinion.

[2] Tomaschek is positive that Tokmak represents the capital of the Turkish sovereign (*Turcs Occ*, Addenda. p. 304)

[3] Watters, pp. 72—82 Chavannes, *Turcs Occ.*, references under *Ts'ien-ts'iuen* in Index.

[4] *Turcs Occ.*, p. 304.

of maps; Chinese Su-tu-li-se-na, ? = Sutṛishṇa), which are interpolated, do not seem to be based upon personal observation (Watters, p.91).

While staying at Samarkand, Yuan-chwang collected and recorded much information concerning neighbouring regions, and then continued his march, in a direction slightly west of south, to Shahr-i-sabz in Kesh (K'a-sha, K'ê-shih, or Kasanna). From this town he proceeded, by four marches, a distance of about 55 English miles, nearly due south to the famous defile of the 'Iron Gates', which marked the boundary between Sogdiana and Tokharistan (Tu-ho-lo, Bactria), and is situated about eight miles to the west of Derbent (N. lat. 38° 11′, E. long. 66° 54′).[1] Yuan-chwang thus attained the most westerly point of his pilgrimage, having traversed about forty-two degrees of longitude since he quitted the Chinese capital.

On emerging from the pass he turned in a south-easterly direction through Tokhāristān (Tu-ho-lo), and, crossing the Oxus, reached Kunduz (Huo), where he was obliged to halt for more than a month. From this resting-place he made an excursion westwards to Balkh (Fo-ho, Po-ho), and thence resumed his journey to India. At a distance of about twenty miles (more than 100 *li*) to the south of Balkh, he passed through a district called Ka-chih (Kie-chih), supposed to be that now known as the valley of Gaz; and thence made his way, in a direction east of south, to the 'Great Snowy Mountains', or Hindū Kush range, and so arrived at the pass and city of Bāmiān (Fan-yen-na. Wang-yen). He then turned eastwards through the Ghorband Valley, crossed 'a black range', that is to say, mountains of moderate elevation without snow, apparently those marked on modern maps as the Paghmān Mountains, and so entered the kingdom of Kapiśa (Ka-pi-shih), roughly corresponding with Kāfiristān. Yuan-chwang fails to specify the position of the capital, which has not been identified.[2] The pilgrim spent the season of compulsory 'rest' or 'retreat' during the rains at a monastery named Sha-lo-ka in the capital; and, when travelling was again lawful, resumed his journey. Passing, evidently, down the valley of the Panjshīr river, and crossing a 'black' range (Siyāh Koh) he entered the country of Lamghān (Lan-p'o); which, as a foreigner, he considered to be part of India.[3] The traveller had then no difficulty in marching down the valley of the Kābul river until he reached India Proper.[4] O-

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[1] Full details are given by Bretschneider (*Mediæval Researches*, Vol. I, pp. 81—4); and Chavannes (*Turcs Occ.*, p. 146, n. 5).

[2] For discussions as to the meaning of the term Kapiśa, see Watters, pp. 122—4; Chavannes, *Turcs Occ.*, Index, *s. v.*; *Voyage de Song-yun*, p. 37.

[3] Watters, p. 180.

[4] Not through the Khaibar (Khyber) Pass. See Holdich, *The Indian Borderland*, p. 38, Foucher, *Notes sur la Géographie ancienne du Gandhāra*, Hanoi, 1902.

his way he crossed a 'large river', the Kūnar, and passed through the Na-ka-lo-ho country, or region near Jalālābād, and so entered the kingdom of Gandhara (Kan-t'o-lo), now the Peshāwar District. His entry into this kingdom may be dated at the end of September or beginning of October, 630 A. D.

II. IN INDIA.

From October 630 A. D. to July 644 A. D.

Cunningham's approximate 'Chronology of Hwen Thsang's Travels' (*Anc. Geogr. of India*, App. A) errs in attempting an unattainable precision of detail. But the devious journeyings of the pilgrim in India may be arranged roughly in chronological order, although it is absurd to profess to indicate his exact position in each month of fourteen years. If we remember that Yuan-chwang, as a Buddhist monk, was bound to observe the 'rest' or 'retreat' during the rainy season, with a certain amount of latitude as to the exact time of the observance (Watters, I, 145), and if we note the longer halts as recorded, we obtain, as an approximately correct outline of his Indian travels in order of time, the following table:—

Rains,	630	A. D.,	at Sha-lo-ka monastery in Kapisa, ('The Master kept the Rain-rest in this temple' *Life*, p. 56);
"	631 } 632 }	" "	in Kaśmīr (stayed two years, *Life*, p. 72; say from May 631 to April 633);
"	633	"	at Chīnabhukti in Eastern Pañjab (stayed fourteen months, *Life*, p. 76);
"	634	"	at Jālandhara (four months' stay, *Life*, p. 77);
"	635	"	at Matipura in Bijnōr District (stayed for half the spring and the summer following, *Life*, p. 81);
"	636	"	at Kanauj (stayed at the Bhadra-vihāra for three months, *Life*, p. 84: and, after leaving, was attacked by the river pirates 'in the autumn');
"	637	"	at Nālandā in Bihār (stayed for some time, *Life* p. 113; returned, *ibid.* p. 120; and then stayed for fifteen months, *ibid.* p. 121. Counting his subsequent visit at the end of 642 A. D., his total residence at Nālandā amounted to about two years, *Life*, p 154);
"	638	"	in Īriṇa country (Mungīr), where he stayed for a year (*Life*, p. 127);
"	639	"	at either Amarāvatī or Besvāda on the Kṛishṇā, where he resided for several months (*Life*, p. 137);
"	640	"	at Kānchī probably, the most southern point attained, where he halted evidently for a considerable time, hoping to visit Ceylon, *Life* p. 139);

Rains, 641 A. D., perhaps at the capital of Pulakēśin II (who was dethroned in 642), supposed by Dr. Fleet to have been Nāsik at that time; see *Life*, p. 146;

„ 642 „ in the Po-fa-to country, probably Jamū in south of modern Kaśmir State, where he stopped for two months, according to Julien. Beal's version 'two years' (*Life*, p. 152 and Watters, II, 256) is difficult of acceptance: Yuan-chwang was at Nālandā 'in the beginning of the first month', equivalent to the end of January, 643 (*Life*, p. 156).

„ 643 „ at Pi-lo-shan-na, probably Bilsaṛ in the Itā (Etah) District of the United Provinces, where he halted for two months (*Life*, p. 190). The early months of 643 were spent in attendance on king Harsha Śīlāditya; whom he quitted apparently in April; and he must have reached the Indus (*Life*, p. 191) about the beginning of 644;

„ 644 „ perhaps at Khotan, somewhat later than the normal time. Yuan-chwang spent seven or eight months at Khotan (*Life*, p. 210) awaiting his sovereign's permission to return, and, as he reached Ch'ang-an in the spring of 645 (April), he must have arrived at Khotan in September 644. Probably he had crossed the Hindu Kush early in July

This outline cannot be far wrong, and all the pilgrim's various xpeditions in different directions must be fitted into the intervals. There is no need to follow him now through his complicated wanderings, but a few notes are required to justify the entries in the map

Mr. Watters' inveterate scepticism carried him too far when it induced him to treat as 'doubtful' (I, 223) the identification of Wu-to-ka-han-t'u (or *ch'a*), the U-to-kia-han-ch'a of Beal, with Ohind (Waihand or Und) on the Indus. The proofs of the identity are conclusive (Stein, *Rajat.* transl., Vol. II, p. 337).

Nothwithstanding Mr. Watters' sarcastic criticism that certain discrepancies in distances and bearings are 'not insuperable difficulties to an enthusiastic Indian archaeologist' (I, 249) desirous of identifying the Salt Range region with the pilgrim's kingdom of Siṃhapura, I am convinced that Cunningham and Stein were right in making the identification. Siṃhapura is described as 'a network of mountain defiles' lying midway, as measured by the number of marches, between Jālandhara and Taxila (Beal, *Life*, p. 191); and this description can apply only to the Salt Range.

The country named Wu-la-shih (Wu-la-cha) by Yuan-chwang is undoubtedly roughly equivalent to the Hazāra or Abbottābād District (= Urasā), of which the northern portion lies to the north-west of the capital of Kaśmīr. The observations of Stein (*op. cit.*

Vol. I, p. 215 n.) are sufficient to show that no adequate reason exists for the doubts hinted at by Mr. Watters (I, 257).

Sākala (I, 290), which Mr. Rodgers believed to be represented by either Chiniōṭ or Shāhkōt in the Jhang District (*E. Hist. India*, p 274 n.), is supposed by Dr. Fleet and Mr. H. A. Rose to be Siālkōṭ.

The district of Chinabhukti or Chīnabhukti, the name of which used to be transcribed erroneously as Chinapati (I, 292), must have lain near Fīrōzpur. The *Life* is right in placing Tamasāvana (I, 292) at the distance of only 50 *li* to the south-east of Chinabhukti town.

Ku-lu-to (I, 298) evidently is identified rightly with Kulu, N. N. W. of Simla, in the basin of the upper waters of the Biās, which must be the 'great river' crossed by the pilgrim when he turned south. Mr. Watters admits that the designation, She-lō-t'u-lu, of the country next visited may represent Śatadru. The region so named, which was bounded on the west by a 'large river', the Sutlaj or Śatadru, may be taken as comprising the western portion of the Ambāla (Umballa) District, as well as the Sahrind (Sarhind), and Lūdiāna Districts, with the Patiāla State, or part of it.

The bearing S. W., that is to say, west of south, to the next place, named Po-li-ye-ta-lo, or Pāryātra, now represented by Bairāt in Rājputana, situated N. N. E. of Jaypur, indicates that the pilgrim visited the eastern part of the Śatadru country, equivalent to the western side of the Ambāla District. The distance between Śatadru and Pāryātra is obviously understated as being 'over 800 *li*', and Cunningham's proposal to read '1800' is reasonable.

The distance eastward from Bairāt to Mathurā (*Mo-t'u-lo*), which is about 95 miles, as measured on the map, agrees well with the pilgrim's estimate of 'above 500 *li*'. In easy country the *li* may be reckoned as $^3/_{10}$ths of a mile, or somewhere between one fifth and one sixth.

The identification of *Mo-t'u-lo* with Mathurā appears to be certain, and that of Sa ta-ni-ssŭ-fa-lo with Sthanesvara (Sthānvīśvara, *Bāṇa*) or Thanesar is equally free from doubt. But the distance and bearing given in the text (*Life*, p. 78; *Records*, I, 183) are erroneous. Thānēsar is described as being situated more than 500 *li* to the N. E. of Mathurā, whereas it really lies N. N. W. of that city, at about double the distance stated. A good many errors in figures have crept into certain parts of the MSS. of Yuan-chwang's travels.

From Thānēsar Yuan-chwang travelled more than 400 *li* N. E. to Su-lu-k'in-na or Srughna. The position of this country is fixed unmistakeably by the specification that it was bounded on the north by high mountains, and on the east by the Ganges, while the Jumna flowed through the midst of it. It must have corresponded to the Dehra District, and the north-eastern portion of the Ambāla

District, with probably a part of the Sahāranpur District, and some of the Hill States abutting on Dehra.

The distance from the Jumna to the Ganges is greatly overstated in the text (I, 319) as being above 800 *li*. In reality it does not exceed 50 or 60 miles, or 300 *li* at the outside. Mo-ti-pu-lo, or Matipur, is represented by the Bijnor District, or the eastern part of it; but Mr. Watters is right (I, 322) in rejecting Cunningham's identification of the capital with Mandāwar.

Mo-yü-lo, or Mayūra city, clearly was close to Hardwār, although not exactly identical with it, being on the other side of the river (I, 328).

The P'o-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo, or Brahmapura, country is unmistakeably Garhwāl, which lies north of Matipur (I, 330). The modern capital is Śrīnagar. N. lat. 30° 14′, E. long. 78° 37′.

There is no reason whatever to doubt the identity of Ngo (or O)-hi-ch'i-ta-lo with Ahikshetra, or Ahichatra, the modern Rāmnagar near Aonlā in the Barēli (Bareilly) District (I, 332).

Cunningham's later identification (*Reports*, XI, 15, not cited by Mr. Watters) of Bilsar in the Ita (Etah) District with the capital of Pi-lo-shan-na (I, 332) may be accepted.

I do not believe in Cunningham's identification of the little village called Sankisa in the Farrukhābād District with Kapitha or Sankāśya (Sêng-ka-she) (I, 335). Space will not permit of detailed discussion, and I confine myself to the remarks that the position is determined by the fixed points Ahichatra and Kanauj, and that the 'elephant-pillar' at Sankisa cannot be the 'lion-pillar' seen at Kapitha by Yuan-chwang. I should look for Kapitha-Sankāśya in the N. E. corner of the Itā District not many miles from Patiali.

Mr. Watters (I, 354), like Cunningham, has been misled by the apparent similarity of the names A-yü-t'ê and Ayōdhya. Detailed examination of the question would require many pages, and I can only note that in my opinion the A-yü-t'ê country should be sought in the Fatehpur District. Aphui, 29 miles S. E. of Fatehpur may be taken as the *approximate* site of the capital (See Führer, *Monumental Antiquities of N. W. P. and Oudh*, p. 157). Aphui was one of the stages on the old road from Kanauj to Prayāga (Allāhābād), along which the pilgrim was travelling.

The A-ye-mu-k'a country (I, 359) seems to correspond to the Partābgarh and Rai Barēli Districts in Oudh, or parts of those Districts. The distance of more than 700 *li* from A-ye-mu-k'a to Prayāga (I, 361) is an obvious blunder. Mr. Watters was mistaken, I am convinced, in supposing (I, 360) that Yuan-chwang erroneously applied the name Ganges to some other river. Although errors in the statements of distances undoubtedly exist in the pilgrim's text, as we possess it, the bearings and names are generally correct, and must not be tampered with lightly.

The question concerning the position of Yuan-chwang's Kośāmbi is a very difficult one (I, 366), and the materials now available do not justify any positive identification. I adhere to the view that the famous Buddhist town was somewhere on an arc distant about 90 miles, more or less, from Allahabad in a direction between south and west, and am now rather disposed to search for the site at the extremity of the Bāndā District to the N. E. of Ajaigarh. The statements of the *Records* and *Life* on the subject are specially detailed and precise, and cannot be ignored.

Guesses as to the exact position of P'i-sho-ka (? = Viśoka) (I, 373) and Kāśapura must also be unsatisfactory at present; but, after renewed study of the question, I should not be surprised, if the ancient site Nimkhar or Nimsār, 20 miles S. of Sītāpur, turned out to be P'i-sho-ka. If this be so, Kāśapura would be somewhere in the Unāo District. The country is full of old sites; and some lucky discovery is needed to give precision to topographical guesses, which alone can never solve the problem.[1]

As to the position of Śrāvastī (I, 379) I have no doubt that the ruins lie on the upper course of the Rāptī in Nepalese territory, near the point where the river emerges from the hills. The Achiravatī river, which flowed past the city, seems to be the Airavati, or Rāptī (p. 398). Similarly, the river at Kuśinagara is called both Ajitavatī and Airāvatī (II, 28) and that river is the Little Rāptī.

Mr. Watters' descriptions of the mountains, caves, and hill at Śrāvastī (III, 398, 401) offer additional proof that the city lay close to the foot of the Himālaya.

Concerning Kapilavastu I still hold the oponion that the remains at Piprāwā were shown to Fa-hsien as those of Kapilavastu, while the guides of Yuan-chwang identified the town with the walled city now known as Tilaura Kōṭ. The reasons for this opinion will be found in my Prefatory Note to Mukherji's *Report on the Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal (Archaeol. Surv. Rep. No. XXVI, Part I,* Calcutta, 1901).

Mr. Watters' remarks on the Lumbinī Garden (II, 17, 18) are not quite up to date, and require some correction.

The site of Rāmagrāma (II, 20) certainly must be sought near Dharmauli (Dharmapuri) on the frontier of Nepāl and Gōrakhpur, in approximately N. lat. 27° 26', and E. long. 83° 52' (*J. R. A. S*, 1902, p. 151).

The best indication of the site of Kuśinagara is that given by General H. H. Prince Khaḍga Shamsher Jang, Rana Bahadur, late Governor of Western Nepāl, who places it at the confluence of the

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[1] Major Vost offers fresh conjectures, more or less plausible, in *J. R. A. S*, 1905, p. 437.

Little Rāptī (which he calls Achiravatī) with the Gandak or Hiraṇyavatī, near Bhavasar Ghāṭ (*Pioneer Mail*, 26 Feb., 1904). Mr. Watters erroneously supposed (II, 29) that the names Hiraṇyavatī and Airavatī (Ajitavatī, Achiravatī) referred to one stream.

Ghāzīpur must undoubtedly be the approximate representative of the capital of the Chan-chu country (II, 59).

For discussion of identity of Basāṛ with Vaiśālī see *J. R. A. S.*, 1902, p. 267 (II, 63).

The Vṛiji (*Fu-li-chih*) country (II, 81) evidently is roughly equivalent to the northern part of the Darbhanga District and the adjacent Nepalese Tarāi. A *possible* site for the capital is offered by the ruins at Baligaṛh or Kshemagaṛh, some 16 miles north of Madhubaṇi, which are miscalled 'Burdras' on the map, and 'Bindras' in the official *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal*. I am indebted to the Magistrate of Darbhanga for the real name of the place. The ramparts are said to be ten feet high and in an excellent state of preservation.

The villages Nataka (*Na-t'ê*) and Kotī (*Kou-li*) between Vaiśālī and Pāṭaliputra (II, 86) perhaps may be identified by local enquiry.

Mr. Watters' sceptical remarks (II, 107) fail to shake my belief that the identification of the Ti-lo-shi-ka monastery with the ruins at Tilāḍha (or whatever may be the proper spelling) is well-established (Cunningham, *Reports*, VIII, 34, XI, 165).

Mr. Watters corrects Julien's transliteration of I-lan-na-po-fato as Hiraṇyaparvata, and suggests that the first element in the name is the Sanskrit *iraṇa*, meaning 'a piece of wild or barren land'. This may be substantially right, but the dictionaries give the word as *iriṇa* or *iruṇa*. Whatever be the accurate form of the name, the locality indicated certainly is Monghyr (Mungīr). (Watters, II, 180).

Kajangala (II, 183) is an improvement on Julien's Kajughira as the transliteration of the Chinese name which is said to be properly Ka-chu-wen-k'i-lo. The region so designated is the Rajmahal District.

The capital of Karṇa-suvarṇa was Raktamṛittikā (Rangāmaṭī, Rungamutty) some twelve miles to the south of Murshīdābād (*J. A. S. B.* 1853, and *ibid.*, Part I, Vol. LXIII, p. 172). The Puṇḍra-vardhana country lay to the north of Karṇa-suvarṇa, and Samataṭa, the delta of the Ganges, lay to the south. As Mr. Watters points out (II, 190), there is no reason to doubt the identity of the ancient port Tāmralipti with the modern Tamluk. Mr. Watters' identification of Śrīkshetra with the Tipperah District (II, 189) seems to be correct.

Colonel Waddell and Mr. Watters agree in placing, at least provisionally, the ancient capital of Orissa near the village named Nendra, a few miles below Cuttack (Katak), on the Mahānadī (II, 195).

The province which Yuan-chwang calls Kung-yü-t'o is the Gañjām coast, the Kōngōdamaṇḍala of inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, 136).

The capital of Kalinga in Yuan-chwang's time (II, 198) apparently was Kalinganagaram, the modern Mukhalingam in the Gañjām District (see references in *E. Hist. of India*, p. 356, n.).

I accept the identification of T'e-na-ka-che-ka or Dhanakaṭaka with Bezvada (II, 216). The pilgrim's notes of distances in this part of his travels are largely in excess.

I am still of opinion that the Chola (Chu-li-ya) country of Yuan-chwang was substantially the modern Cuddapah District (II, 224; *E. Hist. of India*, p. 344 and *G. O., Madras, Public*, No 518, dated 18 July, 1905).

The cave-temples seen by the pilgrim in Mahārāshtra undoubtedly were those of Ajaṇṭa (Ajuṇṭha) (II, 240).

--Nobody doubts that the Chinese Po-lu-ka-che-p'o represents Bharōch (Bharōc, Broach, etc.), the town near the mouth of the Narmadā or Narbadā river (II, 241); but considerable misunderstanding has arisen concerning the identity of the kingdom of Mo-la-p'o, which Mr. Beal and most other commentators have wrongly identified with Mālava, or Malwā, the country of which Ujjain was the capital. In my essay entitled 'The Indian kings named Śilāditya, and the kingdom of Mo-la-p'o' (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1904, p. 787) I have shown that Mo-la-p'o was a kingdom of Western India lying between Bharukaccha or Bharoch, Kaccha (Cutch), Valabhi, and Anandapura (Vaḍnagar). It corresponded roughly with the modern Districts of Kheḍā (Kaira) and Ahmadābād of the Bombay Presidency, together with parts of the Baroda State and some adjoining territory. The identity of Ānandapura (Watters, II, 24) with Vaḍnagar is demonstrated in the same essay (p. 792) on evidence presented by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar.

It is not possible to locate precisely the country called A-t'a-li or A-ch'a-li (p. 248); but there is no reason to doubt that Kaccha (Cutch) is designated by the name K'i-ch'a or Ki-t'a (p. 245).

Mr. Watters was needlessly doubtful about the exact position of Valabhī (Fa-la-p'i, p. 246), which is quite certainly represented by the ruins at Walā, eighteen miles north-west of Bhāonagar (*Arch. S. W. I.*, Vol. II, p. 80, etc.). This identification has never been doubted by any archæologist except, apparently, Mr. Fergusson.

Kü-che-lo (p. 250) with equal certainty is a transcription of Gurjara or Gurjjarā, an important kingdom, the history of which has been investigated recently by Mr. Bhandarkar, Dr. Hoernle, and other writers. The capital, P'i-lo-mo-lo, has not been successfully identified. Vivien de Saint-Martin's guess, mentioned by Mr. Watters,

appears to be erroneous. The country was equivalent to Central and Northern Rājputāna.[1]

Wu-shê-yen-na (p. 250) is undoubtedly Ujjain or Ujjayinī; and Chih-chi-t'o (p. 251) was understood rightly by Cunningham to represent Jijhoti, or Jejāka-bhukti, the modern Bundēlkhaṇḍ. The suggestion that Chitore (Chitaur) should be considered the equivalent of Chih-chi-t'o is quite out of the question. Careful examination of the map and bearings makes it plain that Maheśvarapura (Mo-hi-ssŭ-fa-lo-pu-lo, p. 251) is the modern Gwalior (Gwāliyār).

The precise limits of the pilgrim's kingdom of Sind (Sin-tu, p. 252) cannot be determined.

Notwithstanding Mr. Watters' criticisms (p. 254), I am still inclined to believe that Mou-lo-san-pu-lu was intended to be a transcription of Mūlasthanapura, the modern Multan, although inaccurately written. Po-fa-to (p. 255) seems to indicate the region of Jamū (Jummoo), in the south of the Kaśmīr State as at present constituted.

A-tien-p'o-chih-lo, whatever the Sanskrit phonetic equivalent may have been, clearly designates the delta of the Indus (p. 256).

The countries in the Indus valley, Pi-to-shih-lo and others (II, 258 foll.) cannot be identified with precision. Their approximate relative positions are indicated on the map. Fa-la-na seems to be rightly identified with the valley of the Gūmal (Gumul) river (II, 263).

Everybody is agreed that Ghazni is either on or near the site of Ho-si-na, the ancient capital of Tsao-ku-t'a, or Arachosia. Mr. Watters' suggestion (II, 266) that Tsao-ku-t'a is a transcription of *jāguḍa*, said to mean 'saffron', is novel.

Hu-pi-na, the capital of Fu-li-shih-sa-t'ang-na (II, 267) should certainly be identified, I think, with Hupiān or Opiān, near Chārikar, some thirty miles distant from Kābul in a northerly direction.

III. INDIA TO CHINA.

From July, 644 A.D. to April, 645 A.D.

Yuan-chwang, after leaving Ghaznī (*Ho-si-na*), the capital of the Tsao-kut'a (Tsau ku-cha or Jāguḍa) country, travelled in a northerly direction for a distance estimated as 500 *li*, or ten easy stages, and so arrived in the Kābul territory, which he calls Fu-li-shih-sa-t'ang-na. The capital was Hu-pi-na (U-pi-na), almost certainly identical with Hupiān or Opiān, situated to the north of Chārikar, in N. lat. 35° 2', E. long. 69° 1. The city of Kābul, which is 35 miles distant

[1] 'Gūrjaras', by D. R. Bhandarkar, in *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, read 13th Nov. 1902; Hoernle and Stark, *History of India*, pp. 62, 64.

from Ghaznî, is never mentioned by the pilgrim, and perhaps was not important in his time.

A short journey eastward brought him to the frontiers of Kapiśa (Kâfiristân), where he was detained for seven days in attendance on the local king. He next proceeded a few miles (one *yojana*) to the north-east, took leave of his host, and turned towards the north, crossing the Hindû Kush mountains by the Khawak Pass (Po-lo-se-na), probably early in July.

His next important halting-place was Andarâb (An-ta-lo-fo (or -po)); whence he advanced through Khost (*K'woh-si-to*) to Kunduz (Huo or Hwoh), which he had visited fourteen years before. There he halted for a month (August), and then, instead of taking the northern or Samarkand road by which he had come, he plunged into the mountains, travelling in a direction easterly on the whole. In Badakshân (Po-to-ch'ang-na) he was detained for a month and seven days waiting for the opening of the passes. Proceeding along difficult and devious paths, he traversed Yamgân (Yin-po-kien or In-po-kin), Kurân (Ku-lang-na), Wakhan (Ta-mo-si-tiè-ti, Huo-mi, or Hu-mi), the capital of which was Kandut (Hun-t'è-to or Hu-en-t'o-to), and so reached Lake Victoria or Sarikul.[1]

Yuan-chwang then made his way to the Wakhjîr Pass, on the watershed of the Oxus and Yarkand rivers, and proceeded through the Tâghdumbâsh Pamirs to Tashkurghan, the capital of Sarikul (Ka-p'an-t'o, or Kie-p'an-to). Passing along the western flank of the huge mountain named Mustagh-Ata, and traversing a region named Osh (Wu-sa, or U-sha) he ultimately emerged in the plain of Kashgar (Kâshghar, Ka-sha, or Kie-sha).[2]

From Kashgar the traveller followed the now well-known road through Yarkand to Khotan (Khoten). The capital, Che-ku-ka (Cho-kiu-kia), of the intervening country, should be identified according to M. Chavannes, with Karghalik to the south of Yarkand. Yuan-chwang thus reached Khotan, probably in September, and was constrained to remain there for seven or eight months waiting for the imperial permission to return to China. In due course the necessary orders were received, and the pilgrim resumed his journey. Passing the town of Pi-mo (= Bhima), probably the modern Uzun-tati, about 55 miles E. N. E. from Khotan, he arrived at Niya (Ni-yang, or Ni-jang) on the eastern frontier of the Khotan kingdom.[4] He then entered the desert, and so came to the small Tukhâra (Tu-ho-lo) country, which may be located at Andere or Endere.[5] He next

[1] See Beal, *Life*, pp. 193—8; *Records*, II, 285 *seqq.*; Chavannes, *Song-yun*, p. 23 n.

[2] Stein, *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, pp. 60, 72.

[3] Chavannes, *Song-yun*, p. 20 n. (Hanoi, 1903).

[4] Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 434, 440.

[5] The horrors of this desert are described by a Chinese author (Rémusat, *Hist. de la ville de Khotan*, p. 64. Paris 1820).

passed through the territory known as Che-mo-t'o-na (Chü-mo or Nie-mo), apparently the modern Cherchen.

From this points onwards the *Life* gives few details of the route, but it is clear that Yuan-chwang passed to the south of Lake Lop-nor (Lob-nor), as he is recorded to have traversed the kingdom of Na-fo-p'o, included in that formerly called Lou-lan, which is known to have extended to the south of the Lake.[1]

He must have proceeded next by the road skirting the base of the Altyn Tagh Range, from which turning northwards, he reached Sha-chau (Sha-chow, Sachu) Presumably he must have journeyed onward to the Yu-mên barrier, through which he had made his escape when furtively quitting China sixteen years before, and thence must have travelled by the ordinary road through Liang-chau to the western capital Ch'ang-an (Hsian or Si-ngan-fu), where he arrived in the spring' of 645 A D., probably at some time in the month of April.

[1] Chavannes, *Song-yun*, p. 13 n. See also Watters in *China Review*, VIII. 112

Postscript. — My views concerning the kingdom of Mo-la-p'o (*ant.* p. 341, *E. Hist. of India*, p 279) have been criticized recently by Dr. Burgess (*Ind Ant*, Aug 1905, Vol. XXXIV, p. 195) and Prof Sylvain Lévi (*Journal des Savants*, Oct. 1905, pp. 544—8). The latter scholar holds, that the Chinese K'i-ch'a (Kie-tch'a) should be regarded as the phonetic equivalent of Kheṭa (Kaira of maps), and not of Kaccha (Cutch). The discussion is not yet closed, but I may say that I adhere to the opinion that the kingdom of Mo-la-p'o was quite distinct from that of Ujjain; and that consequently all historical theories are erroneous which rest on the assumption that Śilāditya of Mo la-p'o was king of Ujjain.

INDEX TO INDIAN NAMES.

A few names not Indian, and some subjects, are also included

B.

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